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**A PHANTOM ENEMY: METAPHORS OF TERRORISM IN MAINSTREAM
AND ALTERNATIVE NEWS MEDIA**

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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, minkälaisia metaforia käytetään viitattaessa terrorismiin, terroristeihin ja terroritekoihin valtavirtamediaa edustavassa sanomalehdessä ja vaihtoehtomedialla edustavassa nettilehdessä. Materiaali koostuu mielipidekirjoituksista, jotka on kerätty muutamien viikkojen ajalta Lontoossa 7.7.2005 tapahtuneiden terrori-iskujen jälkeen. Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Minkälaisia kategorioita metaforat joita käytetään viitattaessa terrorismiin ilmiönä, itse terroristeihin sekä tapahtumiin Lontoossa heinäkuussa 2005 muodostavat? 2) Minkälaisia mielikuvia metaforat luovat ja minkälaisia mahdollisia ideologioita metaforat kätkevät? 3) Miten metaforat eroavat toisistaan eri lähteiden välillä?

Tutkimus perustuu kriittisen diskurssianalyysin ja metafora-analyysin teorioihin ja menetelmiin, sekä näistä muodostettavaan yhdistelmään. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi mahdollistaa metaforien tarkastelun kriittisestä näkökulmasta, ja metafora-analyysi tarjoaa keinot metaforien tunnistamisen ja jakamisen kategorioihin. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi myös mahdollistaa kahden eri materiaalinlähteen vertailun.

Materiaali koostuu 13 artikkelista Britanniassa valtavirtamediaa edustavasta lehdestä *the Independent*, ja 13 artikkelista netissä toimivasta vaihtoehtomedialla edustavasta lehdestä nimeltä *Open Democracy*. Tekstit valittiin sillä perusteella, että niissä kommentoitiin heinäkuun terrori-iskujen tapahtumia.

Terrorismia ilmiönä kuvailtiin molemmissa lehdissä pelinä, sairautena, henkilönä, tai ansana. *The Independent* –lehdessä terrorismia kuvattiin myös tulena ja musiikkina. *Open Democracy* –lehdessä terrorismia kuvattiin myös sotana ja myrkkynä. Terroristit kuvattiin molemmissa lehdissä eläiminä, kasveina tai sotilaina. *The Independent* –lehdessä terroristeja kuvattiin myös epäinhimillisinä olioina. Itse tapahtumia kuvattiin eräänlaisena viihteenä sekä luonnonimiönä. Tapahtumien osapuolet, kuten hallitus ja itse kaupunki, personoitiin elollisiksi olioiksi, jolloin tämä kokonaisuus edusti kaikkia sen osia.

Lehtien väliset erot jäivät odotettua pienemmiksi, joten ei voida sanoa että vaihtoehtomedialla kielenkäyttö olisi jollain lailla valtavirtamediaa radikaalimpaa tai suorasukaisempaa. Vaihtoehtomedian näkökulma tapahtumien seurauksiin oli kuitenkin enemmän maailmanlaajuinen, kun taas valtavirtamedialla keskittyi enemmän seurauksiin valtiotasolla.

Asiasanat: critical discourse analysis. metaphor. metaphor analysis. mainstream news media. alternative media.

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1 INTRODUCTION

On July the 7th, 2005, a group of suicide bombers committed a terrorist attack in central London. This event was very widely reported on around the globe, and in Britain it caused a lot of discussion in the media about the current situation with terrorism and the politics surrounding terrorism. A great deal of discussion was also in the media about British society in general, when it was discovered that the terrorist were British citizens. Media discourse and news discourse has an important role in establishing and maintaining power relations in societies, as well as in constructing an image about the society and the forces that control it. People's opinions are affected by the decisions made by the media, and often this happens without the people being aware of it. A case in point are metaphorical expressions that people have grown accustomed to.

Traditional media, the news especially, have been studied extensively by discourse analysts, but what has not received much attention is the alternative news media. Today news media have a clear political position; they are funded and controlled by big companies that dictate to a great extent the manner according to which information is given to the public. Traditional news media have certain patterns and customs in producing the information they provide. In contrast, alternative news media are not bound by these conditions or traditions. Therefore, they offer an interesting object for study.

The purpose of this study is to examine the metaphors used in the discourse of alternative news media compared to metaphors used in mainstream news media. The metaphors studied here deal with terrorism and the politics surrounding terrorism and the specific events of July 7th 2005. Metaphors are chosen here as objects of study because they are very common in news discourse, but often they are not noticed or acknowledged at all by the public, as stated above. The fact that metaphors create images in people's minds makes them an important tool for media texts to create ideas and images that suit their purpose, and that is why a study like this can make people realize the

power metaphors can possess. It is important for readers to be aware of the methods that news media use to get their message across, so that they are able to form an opinion of their own. Alternative news media are also becoming more common. However, not so many people are aware of them, so a study like the present one also makes people realize the alternatives they have in the massive field of information.

The use of metaphors in the traditional news media has been studied a fair amount, and metaphors in general have become an increasingly popular field of study in recent years. Alternative news media have, however, not got much attention in the study of metaphors either. Therefore, this study aims to examine the metaphors used specifically in alternative news media, and to compare them with mainstream media, in order to investigate what kind of picture the metaphors give of the power relations in the society and of the terrorism that has entered it in the recent years.

The present study belongs to the field of media discourse analysis. More specifically, the theories of critical discourse analysis and theories of metaphor and metaphor analysis will be drawn on in this study. Critical discourse analysis will be used to find out the possible ideologies conveyed by the metaphors used in news texts at a moment of crisis like a terrorist attack. The goal is to investigate how terrorism is represented, how the terrorists themselves are described, and what kind of power relations can be identified between the terrorists and their target when the events are described. Metaphor analysis will be used to identify and explain the metaphors. These two fields of study are combined here to form the specific method of analysis of this study.

A British mainstream newspaper *the Independent* and a web-based, alternative news magazine *Open Democracy* serve as a source of data in the present study. These two sources were chosen because they share a similar political position and therefore the comparison between them is possible. Differences in political ideologies do not therefore affect the results. In addition, *the Independent* has a wide circulation in Britain, and therefore it is a good example of a mainstream

newspaper. *Open Democracy* is also a very popular representative of the alternative news media.

The present study is structured so that it first discusses critical discourse analysis. Norman Fairclough's theory is especially useful in the context of this study. In addition, some differences between mainstream and alternative news media will be briefly discussed. After this, metaphor theory and metaphor analysis will be explained paying particular attention to the studies by Lakoff and Johnson. For the purposes of this study, a combination of critical discourse analysis and metaphor analysis will be formulated; the metaphors must be interpreted beyond their linguistic form. Previous studies that have critically interpreted metaphors in media texts will be briefly reviewed in order to provide a methodological model for the present study. This will be followed by a short description of the events that took place on July 7, 2005, as well as some of the consequences and possible motives of the attacks. The data and methods will also be explained in more detail after the central theories and previous research are presented.

Opinionated texts and argumentative editorials will be the specific objects of analysis in the present study. Argumentative texts have been often the object of study in critical discourse analysis. Qualitative as well as quantitative methods will be used in describing the results, and the study is mainly interpretive and descriptive.

The results are presented on three levels. First of all, the metaphors of terrorism as a phenomenon form one level of analysis. The metaphors describing the terrorists form the second part, and the final level includes the metaphors that are used when the events of July 7 2005 are discussed. In the discussion part, the overall results will be summarized and the differences between the metaphors in *the Independent* and *Open democracy* will be observed. In addition, possible reasons behind the choices of metaphors in the texts will be examined. Finally, in the conclusion the limitations and the significance of the results when it comes to further research are contemplated.

2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

As the methods of the present study combine critical discourse analysis and metaphor analysis, a review of critical discourse analysis is relevant at this point. First the term ‘discourse’ will be explained and then the main points of critical discourse analysis will be outlined. Some criticism towards critical discourse analysis will also be presented. Norman Fairclough’s theory of critical discourse analysis will be reviewed in more detail in the last section.

2.1 Definition of ‘discourse’

‘Discourse’ is a term that has many definitions. Fairclough describes discourse as the use of language as a form of social practice (Fairclough 1995b: 6). It is also used to refer to a way of “signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective” (Wodak & Meyer 2001). Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) in turn, define discourse with the help of the idea that everyday language is structured and that when people speak, their utterances follow specific patterns that have been set for that specific domain of life. Examples of these everyday domains of life would be medical discourse or political discourse.

Discourses are shaped by social, situational and institutional settings. However, there is also a dialectical relationship between these processes and discourses, because discourses also influence and shape them in return. Discourse is constructive in the sense that it constructs social identities and types of ‘self’ (Fairclough 1992). It also helps construct social relationships between people, and has a part in constructing knowledge and belief systems.

2.2 An overview of CDA

Critical discourse analysis is a field that consists of numerous different approaches. It is one of the most recent versions of discourse analysis, and it combines views from both linguistic and social studies of discourse

(Pietikäinen 2000). These two fields share the view that discourse provides a way to organise and structure the world. Scholars of both fields agree that language – and discourse – have a social impact on the surrounding world. Social research benefits from the connection between linguistic analysis and social analysis, gaining new perspectives and points of view (Fairclough 2004). Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) provide a basic definition that defines critical discourse analysis as a set of “theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains”. Between these different theories and methods there are both similarities and differences. Of these theories, Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) consider the theory of Norman Fairclough to be the most developed one, and it is the theory that is the most suitable one also for the purposes of this study. Fairclough’s basic theory is that critical discourse analysis is multidimensional, and the dimensions are text, discourse practices and social practices. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Phillips and Jorgensen (2002: 61-64) identify five common features between the different approaches to critical discourse analysis. Firstly, they argue that “the character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly linguistic-discursive”. This means that discursive practices (text production and consumption) play a part in social and cultural change, including change that happens in social identities and social relations. The second common feature is that “discourse is both constitutive and constituted”, which means that not only do discursive practices change the social world, but social world also changes the discursive practices.

The third common feature is that “language use should be empirically analysed within its social context”, which refers to concrete textual analysis in actual social interaction. The fourth feature is that “discourse functions ideologically”. This refers to the unequal distribution of power between different social groups, and the fact that discursive practices have a part in creating these inequalities. And the fifth and final common feature is *critical research*. Critical research means that the research is committed to social

change, and takes the side of those who are socially oppressed (Phillips and Jorgensen 2002: 61-64).

The analytical goals of critical discourse can be, according to Pietikäinen (2000), summed up into three points. The first goal is to examine causal relationships between texts, discourse practices and social phenomena. The second goal is to examine, how texts, discursive practices and phenomena are shaped by power relations, and the third goal is to analyse how these processes participate in changing the power relations, and therefore have an ideological impact. Power relations is an interesting object of study from the point of view of discourse because, as Fairclough (1989) points out, power must be constantly reasserted by those who have it, and those who don't have it, are striving to gain it. Therefore, power relations are an ever-changing attribute of society.

Ruth Wodak (2001) also sees language as a social practice, and according to her, the context of language use is the most important aspect of critical discourse analysis. Another important thing is the relationship between language and power. In her view, the roots of CDA are in classical rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics. The kinds of texts critical discourse analysis focuses on are institutional, political, gender and media texts (Wodak and Meyer 2001). In order for a study to be 'critical', the actual process of text production as well as the structures of texts must be studied, and the social processes surrounding them must be taken into consideration.

Fowler's (1996) view on CDA is rather similar to the others already mentioned here, but he states that CDA's main task is to reveal biased attitudes that have been hidden in information that seems objective. Another task is to encourage awareness of individuals so that they are able to avoid expressing social values that create inequalities in their own use of language (Fowler 1996). People commonly take for granted the impartiality and objectivity of the reporting media, as Caldas-Coulthard (1994 as quoted by Uusitalo 2001) points out.

Although there are many different interpretations of critical discourse analysis, most scholars agree that critical discourse analysis is not actually a method; rather it is a critical perspective on doing research. Van Dijk (1993) sees this as an essential characteristic of critical discourse analysis; it does not directly serve a specific discipline, rather it is motivated by pressing social issues. What are particularly of interest are implicit and indirect meanings, which also include metaphors due to their hidden meanings. Their indirectness makes them interesting for critical discourse analysis. Implicit meanings are always related to underlying beliefs (Wodak and Meyer 2001). Also here the concept of contexts is necessary. Van Dijk (2001) divides context into global and local contexts. By global contexts he refers to “social, political, cultural, and historical structures in which communicative events takes place”. Local contexts on the other hand are “the immediate, interactional situation in which a communicative event takes place”.

Critical discourse analysis studies power relations and social structures by examining vocabulary, grammar, and other characteristics of texts such as cohesion and text structure (Fairclough 1992). The choice of words in a text can have political and ideological significance, and thus is an important aspect of text analysis. Metaphors have a part in maintaining and constructing power relations, because they are used to reinforce certain viewpoints about the world and society (Hellsten 2002: 32). Changes in metaphorical conceptions may change the social order or images of power relations, but these changes may on the other hand occur also due to changes in the society. Metaphors can both maintain common images of society and change the image when new metaphors are introduced. In order to establish the role of metaphors in social change however, one must also take into consideration the other changes in discourse practises that have a part in the change process. Furthermore, van Dijk (1993) points out that power relations and domination are not simply ‘imposed’, rather they are ‘jointly produced’, meaning that the dominated groups are persuaded that the domination is legitimate and somehow ‘natural’.

Critical discourse analysis is a field that people from very different fields are interested in, and therefore it has also faced some criticism. Michael Toolan

(1997), for instance, has listed some of CDA's weaknesses. One theme that has received criticism is CDA's inability to create options for 'bad' discourses, although it provides the means to bring them out and describe them. Power relations, for instance, can be pointed out and described, but they cannot be affected or changed, and often this is not even set as the goal. This is fair criticism in the sense that what good is it to bring the inequalities out if nothing is meant to be done to fix them. Toolan (1997) also says that CDA should be able to criticise its own discourse, which would be achieved for example by taking more into consideration the possible bias a researcher might have towards a certain data.

Another object of criticism has to do with manipulative texts which are often present in different discourses in the society. Toolan (1997: 88-89) points out that critical discourse analysis should provide models of these kinds of texts, so that it would be easier to recognise them, and so that people could see what changes need to be done in order to make the texts 'non-manipulative'. The elements in discourse that display inequality must be exposed and ways to change them should be presented. Toolan (1997:89) argues that CDA is committed to achieving change, which means that providing options to 'bad' discourses should be one of its most important tasks. Another important task, which in Toolan's (1997:90) opinion has not been taken on is creating new, more acceptable terminology. This would be important firstly so that a change in the discourse is accomplished, and secondly, so that the criticism towards the old terminology can be proven appropriate.

Interpretations are constantly made of the surrounding world and one of CDA's tasks Toolan (1997:92) points out should be to bring out the possible interpretations that the writer of a certain text might have of an event in news discourse for example. The reader should be informed of this in order to be able to make their own interpretation of it. This is an important issue to consider these days, when you can't be sure who the true speaker behind the text is, and what information in general is filtered to the public. Fairclough's model on critical discourse analysis gives light to this issue as well.

2.3 Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Discourse analysis is a heterogeneous concept. Fairclough's description of discourse analysis is that it is "analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice" (Fairclough 1995b: 6). A definition of discourse is relevant to a study of metaphors because they are a particular way of language usage with sociocultural implications.

As stated above, discourse has a part in constructing social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. According to Fairclough's model, discourse has three different functions: an 'identity' function in constructing identities, a 'relational' function in constructing social relations and an 'ideational' function in constructing systems of knowledge and belief (Phillips and Jorgensen 2002). In conducting critical discourse analysis, there are two important factors that have to be considered: the event where the communications takes place and the order of discourse. In Fairclough's model, order of discourse means "the configuration of all the discourse types which are used within a social institution or a social field" (Phillips and Jorgensen 2002).

Each communicative event consists of three dimensions. One dimension is the *text*, which can be speech, writing, or a visual image. The second dimension is the *discursive practice*. This dimension includes the production and consumption of texts. The third dimension is the *social practice*. Figure 1. illustrates Fairclough's model for critical discourse analysis.

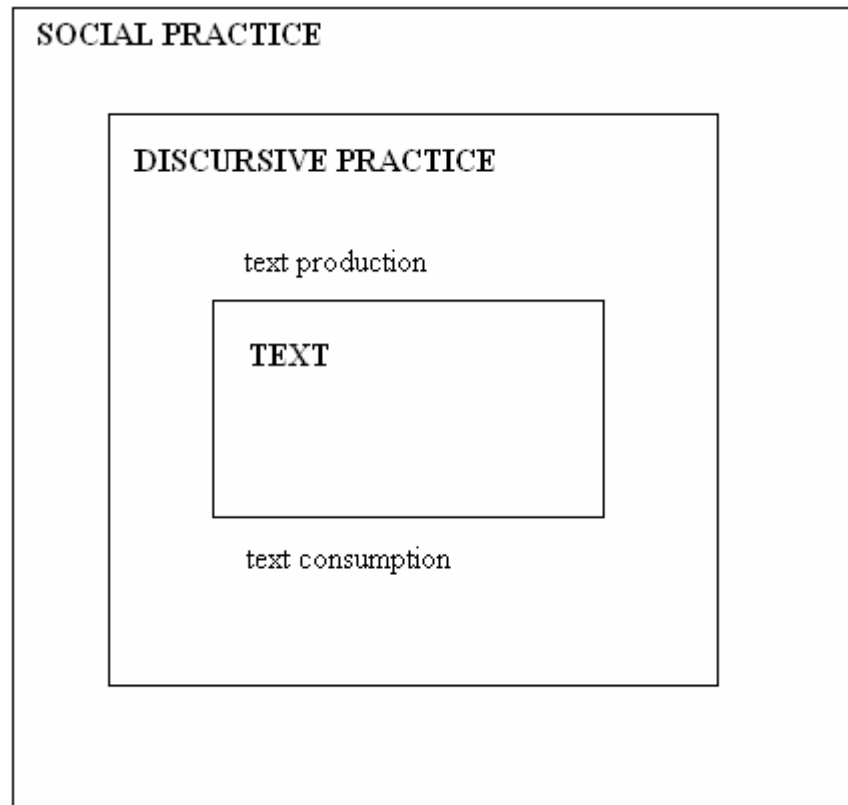


Figure 1. Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (1992)

In Fairclough's model for critical discourse analysis, analysis on the level of text has four main themes: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. Fairclough (1992) describes these four themes separately:

These can be thought as ascending in scale. Vocabulary deals with individual words, grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences, cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together, and text structure deals with large-scale organizational properties of texts. (Fairclough 1992:75)

In analysing on the level of vocabulary, the three most important aspects that critical discourse analysis focuses on are alternative wording, word meaning and metaphor (Fairclough 1992: 77). Alternative wordings can have political or ideological significance, word meanings can exhibit forms of hegemony, and metaphors can carry political and ideological meanings.

When doing analysis on the level of discourse practices, one must take into consideration the processes of text production, distribution and consumption, and also the fact that these processes might vary due to different social factors. The context of text production is one example where a lot of variation can occur. The social context of text consumption can also vary a great deal. Both the production and consumption of a text can be either collective or individual, varying from personal letters to administrative records (Fairclough 1992).

The distribution of a text can be either simple or complex. A conversation between two people for example, has a simple distribution, because it belongs only to the context it occurs in. Political texts on the other hand, go through a variety of processes before it reaches the public through television news or newspapers, and therefore has a complex distribution. How a member of a society interprets the texts that he or she consumes depends on the resources that they have internalised. These resources are mostly non-conscious and automatic, and they include the norms, conventions and social structures of the society (Fairclough 1992: 80).

Discourse as social practice as a focus of analysis has to do with discourse in relation power and ideology. In Fairclough's theory there are three key claims about ideology:

First the claim that it has a material existence in the practices of institutions, which opens up the way to investigating discursive practices as material forms of identity. Second, the claim that ideology 'interpellates subjects', which leads to the view that one of the more significant 'ideological effects' which linguists ignore in discourse (according to Althusser 1971: 161 n. 16) is the constitution of subjects. Third, the claim that 'ideological state apparatuses' (institutions such as education or the media) are both sites of and stakes in class struggle, which points to struggle in and over discourse as a focus for an ideologically-oriented discourse analysis. (Fairclough 1992: 87)

Fairclough (1992: 87) describes ideologies as "significations/constructions of reality". This reality includes the physical world that surrounds us, our social relations and identities. The constructions are present in meanings and forms of

our discursive practices, and they also have an effect on the power relations, when they are produced and transformed through time. This means that ideologies are embedded in the texts that people consume, and the ideologies that have become 'common sense' are the most effective ones. But there is also a struggle constantly going on within the discourse practices, a struggle to change and reshape the ideologies that have become manifestations of power.

According to Fairclough (1995b), studying implicit meanings in texts and determining what actually is present in a text and what is not is important in revealing what is taken as common sense. Certain aspects of texts are often taken as given, and the ideologies and hidden meanings behind them are disregarded. Critical discourse analysis is all about revealing these meanings and ideologies. His view is also that all texts are multifunctional, in the way that language in texts functions simultaneously in ideational, interpersonal and textual level. This is because in texts there are always two occurring processes: they are always representations of the world, and they are a part of social interaction. The ideational function of language means that texts are representations of experiences; the interpersonal function means that texts constitute social interaction, and the textual function means that texts are tied together into coherent wholes from small parts of texts (Fairclough 1995b).

Kitis and Milapides (1997) share Fairclough's view on the power of the writers in the media to persuade the readers to adopt their view. These writers are described as *persuaders*:

By instigating the emotional rather than the cognitive involvement of the readers, a persuader may succeed in consolidating or inculcating certain thoughts and ideas or in getting consumers of the text to adopt his/her own perspective by surreptitiously forcing them to either relinquish or modify theirs. (Kitis and Milapides 1997: 561)

For the present study, critical discourse analysis provides the tools for finding ideologies behind the metaphors that are used in the chosen data. Metaphor analysis on its own does not provide sufficient model for finding these possible

ideologies, and on the whole that is not the task of traditional metaphor analysis. Therefore, critical discourse analysis forms a crucial part of the present study, although it is not possible to include all three levels of Fairclough's model in the framework of the present study. An important aspect of his theory concerning the present study is discourse as a social practice, because media texts can be included in that dimension. Fairclough's as well as other scholar's views on this issue will be reviewed next.

2.4 Mainstream vs. alternative news media

The power of media discourse to influence important parts of people's lives comes from the ability to represent events and ideas in particular ways. This also has to do with the ideology of the language that the mass media uses, which has a part in constructing social identities. The studies conducted of the language the mass media uses, belongs also to the study of sociocultural change, because today's society and culture is to a large extent defined by the media. It is the decision of the makers of the news what to include and what to exclude (Fairclough 1995a: 3-4). According to Fairclough, "media texts constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social position and interests and objectives of those who produce them" (Fairclough 1995a: 104). In addition to Fairclough, van Dijk also claims that people's opinions often do have a social basis: "Many personal likes and dislikes presuppose socially shared criteria, general group opinions and attitudes and social norms and values" (van Dijk 1995a: 122). The media have an important role in maintaining and constructing these norms and values.

Today's media – including news media - are very much characterized by market-mindedness. Reporters are almost like artists who entertain people who are considered consumers in the media market. This kind of change is partly due to general economic changes which have turned our culture to a more and more marked based culture. People who 'consume' the news are no longer participants; rather they are spectators (Fairclough 1995a: 4, 11, and 14). It has

become more difficult for ordinary people to get their voices heard in the media. Fairclough (1995a: 11) describes the problem this causes in society:

“If audiences are constructed, and competed for, as consumers, even in the news and current affairs programmes, does this not negate the claims of broadcasting to constitute a public sphere, in which people, as citizens, are drawn into serious debate on the issues of the day? And if the media is not sustaining a political public sphere, where else can it be constructed in our mediatized society?”

The media are increasingly under the control of profit-making organizations, and those people who have the most control in economic, political and social life, also have the most power in their hands in the media. According to Fairclough (1995a: 42) “the press is a profit-making organization that sells audiences to advertisers, and tries to achieve the highest possible readership with the lowest possible financial outlay”. These big organizations also have their interests in the global economy, which influences media discourse and the voices that are heard in the media. Even the kinds of non-commercial organizations that are not driven by profit-making, have to compete with the commercial organizations, and are that way driven to the ‘media market’. Government is also one thing that has influence on media discourse. Although the government has the power to limit the media outlay, conflicts between the media and the government are also possible and quite common (Fairclough 1995a: 45).

Although it is a fact that language choices can carry different ideological meanings in media texts (Fairclough 1995a: 25), it is important to separate ideology from persuasion because “ideologies are taken for granted as common ground between reporter and audience, but persuasion means adopting a certain point of view and then using different rhetorical devices to make people see it the same way too” (Fairclough 1995a: 45). And in analysing the media, you are constantly comparing and evaluating representations and their possible ideological meanings. Representations can be evaluated by examining what is included or excluded, and what factors have influenced the production of the text. In mainstream media organizations, there is a certain routine according to

which everything is done, and the resources used for background information are very often the same sources for a long time, and sources that are considered 'radical' are often excluded (Fairclough 1995a: 47-49).

How do alternative news media differ from the news media described above? In the first place, in addition to 'radical' publishing, alternative news media can include lifestyle magazines, poetry and fiction publishers as well. According to Atton (2002: 2), mass media news are "based on a complex of newsroom routines and rituals, conditions of production, notions of professionalism and objectivity, rehearsed standards of writing and editing, as well as accident and opportunity". Alternative news media, on the other hand, have their own unique construction of news, "based on values and frameworks of news-gathering and access". Alternative news media also aims to challenge the 'hierarchy of access' that is prevailing in mass media news, and want to present their own different interpretation of things. Alternative news media provides information that cannot be found anywhere else in the media. Information is provided rapidly, as issues emerge (Atton 2002: 10-12).

There are many definitions made about alternative news media, and one of them was proposed by the Royal Commission of the Press in 1977, which defined alternative news media with the help of three points. Firstly, it proposed that "alternative news media deals with the opinions of small minorities". Secondly, "it expresses attitudes 'hostile to widely-held beliefs'". And thirdly, "it 'espouses views or deals with subjects not given regular coverage by publications generally available at newsagents'" (Atton 2002: 12). These days these definitions are widely criticized, especially the first one. But this was one of the first definitions proposed about alternative news media altogether.

More recent definitions emphasize the democratic process of the production of texts, and the commitment to innovation when it comes to the content of texts (Atton 2002: 13). But what is considered most important about alternative news media is that it strives to argue for social change, and wants to involve people in expressing their opinions that usually do not get their voice heard.

This is because it is believed that if ordinary people can participate in the production of the news, the news themselves become more relevant and useful for the majority of people (Atton 2002: 16). Alternative news media is therefore 'citizen-controlled', rather than 'corporate-controlled' (Atton 2002: 17). Alternative news media is anti-commercial, and is very much against capitalist and managerialism (Atton 2002: 34). Consequently, it is very unlikely that printed alternative news media can ever reach the same circulation figures as mainstream news media. Fortunately, it is not the purpose of alternative news media to compete with mainstream news media.

These definitions are quite accurate in the sense that alternative news media can serve as an alternative to the mainstream media that people need, because it has become a trend in recent years that the increasing commercialisation of news media has decreased the amount of political and governmental issues. This leads to the situation that politically active people and people who belong to minorities have an even smaller possibility to be heard in the media (Couldry and Curran 2003: 17).

In the history of alternative news media, it has been, as mentioned earlier, to get the news to the readers, in other words distribution has been a problem. There have also been economic difficulties, due to the fact that alternative media organizations do not get their finances from advertisers. These days the Internet has made a big difference in the distribution of alternative news sources. Using the Internet lower the costs of production, and makes them more accessible to a global audience (Couldry and Curran 2003: 13).

What must be taken into consideration in this study is that *Open Democracy* is not precisely a representative of the news media because it does not publish actual news; rather it starts conversation about the events that are described in the mainstream news. It is however a valid source for data as an alternative media resource and the articles published in *Open Democracy* can be compared to the editorials published in the Independent because their format is similar. It is not the purpose of this study to examine news as such; rather the purpose is to examine media texts in two different representatives of the media.

These points are important for this study because they provide the basis for comparison between the two genres. They present reasons why there are differences between them in the first place, and whether these differences are worth studying. It is unlikely think that the two sources could be compared without knowing something of their history in the society. What is certain, though, is that both of them contain metaphors, and the different theories of metaphor will be reviewed next.

3 METAPHOR

In this section, the different theories concerning metaphor will be reviewed first. After this, the cognitive theory of metaphor by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson is presented in more detail. Personification and metonymy will be explained briefly in the last two sections.

3.1 Theories of metaphor

The word *metaphor* derives from the Greek language, from the word *metaphora*, which means ‘to transfer’ or ‘carry over’ (Montgomery et. al. 1992). Traditionally metaphors have been studied in linguistics and literary studies, rhetorics and philosophy. In recent years the study of metaphors has become more common in other fields as well, such as in cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, and social sciences (Hellsten 2002: 13). Historically, theories of metaphors have been divided into substitution, comparison and interaction theories (Hellsten 2002).

The Greek philosopher Aristotle was one of the first ones to the study of metaphor (Talvitie 1999). He believed that the basis of metaphorical expressions was similarity, and the perception of that similarity had an important cognitive role. Therefore, already in the classical period, metaphors were considered to possess a lot of conceptual power (Kittay 1987). Aristotle’s definitions of metaphor represent the substitution theory of metaphor. The core

of the substitution theory is that “metaphor means giving something a name that belongs to something else” (Hellsten 2002: 23). In this view, metaphor is a linguistic ornament, a means of creating a particular linguistic style. These ornaments can always be replaced with the literal expression. Another scholar in the classical era was Quintilian, whose theories of metaphor also belong to the category of substitution theory (Levin, 1977: 81). Quintilian identifies four different types of metaphor: a) when one living thing is substituted for another, b) when inanimate things are substituted with other inanimate things, c) when inanimate is substituted for animate and d) when animate is substituted for inanimate (Levin 1977: 79).

The comparison theory emphasizes the use of metaphors as a deviant use of language. A metaphor is not necessarily a replacement of one word with another word, but rather it is a comparison of two different entities that takes place on a sentence level. Beardsley (as quoted by Mooij 1976: 29) describes the core of the comparison theory as follows: “A metaphor, in this view, is an elliptical simile, that is, a collapsed comparison from which ‘like’ or ‘as’ has been omitted, for convenience or for heightened interest”.

The interactional theory emphasizes the emergence of a metaphor from the context where it is used and the interaction between two domains that create the metaphor (Hellsten 2002: 23). The interactional theory is also the only one that states that metaphors exist in thought as well as in speech and writing (Hellsten in Kantola et al. 1998: 64).

Other theories of metaphor are semantic, pragmatic and constructivist theories (Hellsten in Kantola et al. 1998: 67). The semantic theory highlights the role of words and larger semantic units in metaphors, whereas the pragmatic theory emphasizes the placement of metaphors on the level of different ways of usage. This means that metaphors are born in the use of language in everyday speech. The constructive theory combines elements from both semantic and pragmatic theories, and it stresses the interaction between the metaphor and the entity that is ‘metaphorized’ (Hellsten in Kantola et al. 1998:67). In this theory metaphors are considered a part of the human conceptual system, which is the core of the

theory of Lakoff and Johnson that is the basis for this study and will be presented below.

3.2 The cognitive theory of metaphor

George Lakoff (for example 1981, 1989 and 1991) and Mark Johnson (1981) have conducted extensive studies on metaphors, and their theories have been very widely recognized in the field of cognitive linguistics. Their theory of metaphor is called a cognitive theory of metaphor, and it is based on the idea that metaphor is not something that has to do with language alone. Metaphors are in fact a very big part of our everyday life, in language, thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 3). Basically, the whole human conceptual system itself is metaphorical, and therefore metaphors have a strong influence on the way we think and act.

Metaphor essentially means “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1981). This kind of experience is very common, and the fact that there are such metaphors in our conceptual system as *time is money*, enables us to form linguistic expressions using that metaphor as a basis (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 5-6). But it is important to note that the linguistic expressions used to characterise metaphorical concepts are always figurative, and never literal (Lakoff & Johnson 1981: 54).

The definition of metaphor stated above is common to all theories of metaphor, not just the cognitive theory (Hellsten 2002). What is different between the various theories of metaphor is that some see metaphors as parts of language that reflect some similarities in ideas or abstract things that already exist, and others claim that metaphors themselves have a part in creating these similarities. The substitution theory of metaphor in particular emphasizes the role of metaphors in creating these similarities.

Lakoff and Johnson (1981) distinguish different types of metaphors. Firstly, there are systematic metaphors which are the most common ones in our everyday life and our conceptual system. When a metaphor is described as systematic, it refers to the fact that the way in which people talk about certain things follow certain patterns. For example, *argument is war* represents a systematic metaphor. When people conceptualise what a person does in an argument as a battle, it influences the overall way how people talk about arguments. Therefore, “because the metaphorical concept is systematic, the language we use to talk about that aspect of the concept is systematic” (Lakoff and Johnson 1981).

This does not mean that argument can only be characterized as war. In the cognitive theory of metaphor, the experience that is being described – in this case an argument -is called the target domain, and the term that is used to describe it – in this case war - is called the source domain. In addition to the basic metaphor *argument is war*; the source domain can also be something entirely different, for example *a building*, *a journey*, and so on. What is not so easy to determine is how many source domains one target domain can have. This works the other way round, too. A specific source can characterize many different targets. This aspect of metaphor is called the scope of metaphor (Kövecses 2003: 79-80).

Another example of a systematic metaphor is *time is money*. We conceive time as a commodity, a resource that has its limits. The concepts connected to the *time is money* metaphor are the product of a modern, industrialized society, which doesn't make these kinds of metaphors universal; instead, different cultures have different kinds of metaphors that depict their experience of, for example, time (Lakoff and Johnson 1981).

Secondly, there are orientational metaphors which give a certain concept a spatial orientation, which means that an abstract entity can take a concrete position in our spatial environment (Lakoff and Johnson 1981). An example of an orientational metaphor could be *happy is up* or *sad is down*. These kinds of

metaphors have their basis in our own physical and cultural experience. These kinds of metaphors also vary a lot from culture to culture.

A third category of metaphors according to Lakoff and Johnson (1981) are ontological metaphors. Ontological metaphors have their basis in experiences with physical objects. In these kinds of metaphors experiences *become* physical objects or entities. One example of an ontological metaphor is *mind is a machine*. Ontological metaphors are so self-evident that they are seldom noticed as metaphorical in the first place. The range of ontological metaphors is vast. There are ontological metaphors that describe things as containers, for example people as different kinds of containers. Our bodies occupy a bounded area. Our visual field is also a container, and everything we see is conceptualised as being inside of that visual field. Actions, activities and states are also certain kinds of containers, for example *he is in love* (Lakoff and Johnson 1981: 14, 19, 25, 29-31).

Metaphors are most commonly used in connection with natural experiences that have to do with everyday life, such as love, ideas, happiness, health and so on, because these concepts are “not clearly enough delineated in their own terms to satisfy the purposes of our day-to-day functioning” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 118). This also indicates that the basic nature of these kinds of experiences is partly metaphorical, because metaphors are used to characterise the structure of the experiences.

Metaphors combine reason and imagination (Lakoff and Turner 1989). This is explained so that “reason involves categorization, entailment, and inference”. Imagination involves “seeing one kind of thing in terms of another kind of thing”. Metaphors are also “one of our most important tools for trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally: our feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practices, and spiritual awareness” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 193). Metaphors can therefore also be described as *imaginative rationality*.

As mentioned above, metaphors are a way for people to conceptualise such abstract entities and experiences as life and death. All of the different categories of metaphors listed above include basic metaphors which refer to the basic meaning behind the literal expression of a metaphor (for example *time is money*- basic metaphor, and *spend one's time*- its literal expression). Basic metaphors mean the kind of metaphors that we use unconsciously and through them we understand abstract aspects of life, and if those metaphors were for some reason removed, the way we experience abstract things would change dramatically (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 5).

It is important to differentiate these kinds of basic metaphors from their linguistic expressions, because the linguistic expressions – which are often unique – always have a basic cognitive metaphor behind them (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 50, 56). There can be a numerous amount of different linguistic expressions for the same basic metaphor. What makes these basic metaphors understandable for people are similar cultural experiences of life. Furthermore, although the possibilities for different kinds of metaphors are vast, only a small amount of metaphors have actually assumed special status and become a part of our conceptual system.

Hellsten (2002) has pointed out three limitations of the theory of Lakoff and Johnson in her study about metaphors of scientific and technological issues in the media. She claims that the proposition that metaphors are implicit and unconscious applies only to a limited amount of metaphors. She states that metaphors are very often used consciously, and that they have a purpose in their use. Another deficiency of the cognitive theory that she points out is that it ignores the fact that the meanings of certain metaphors can change over time and also the meaning of a metaphor can change if the same metaphors are used in different contexts.

In her study, Hellsten identifies several functions that metaphors have in the mass media. Metaphors have become a routine for journalists, and the use of metaphors often has certain purposes rather than being unconscious. She states that metaphors are used for the purpose of “popularising, concretising and

dramatising issues, in brief for making issues both newsworthy and interesting for the relevant audiences” (Hellsten 2002: 23). The use of metaphors in the media helps people to understand unfamiliar and complex issues by making them familiar through shared experiences, and by narrowing the perspective of complex issues. They also can evoke strong feelings and images. By studying metaphors as “tools of communication between the systems of science and the mass media”, Hellsten states that metaphors are important because they create a common ground between the two domains and bring different discourses together.

Metaphors can change and evolve over time and thus bring about social changes and changes in the worldview of people. Hellsten (2002: 33) calls new metaphors counter metaphors, and they evolve from different formulations of conceptual metaphors. They offer people alternative views of events and issues in societies and in time change the conceptual metaphor behind them and cause change in the basic conceptual system of people. When a counter metaphor succeeds in changing the basic conceptual metaphor, the basic metaphor becomes an alternative metaphor. The persuasive effect of a metaphor can vary from one metaphor to the other, but according to Sopory and Dillard (2002) the more familiar the terminology (the source domain) used to describe a certain target experience, the stronger the persuasive power of a metaphor is.

3.3 Personification

Personification specifies physical objects as a person with human characteristics, or nonhuman entities as human. Personifications belong to the category of ontological metaphors. Personifications are very common metaphors, especially in news texts, and they cover a very wide range of different kinds of metaphors. Personification allows people to make sense of different phenomena in the world in human terms. The knowledge that we have about ourselves makes it easy to comprehend inhuman things through ourselves (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 33, 72). Examples of personification are

for example when countries or cities are described as persons with feelings and other physical characteristics, able to experience injuries in different ‘parts of body’, or when governments are the ones making decisions instead of real people. This can also be an example of metonymy, which will be examined further below.

Charteris-Black (2005) distinguishes two kinds of personification: the traditional personification where animate words are used for something that is inanimate, and depersonification, which is the opposite of personification. In depersonification, something that is animate is referred to using a word that in other contexts would be used for something that is inanimate. As an example, Charteris-Black uses the phrase “collateral damage”, where living people are referred to as something non-living.

3.4 Metonymy

In metonymy, one entity refers to another that is somehow related to it. In metonymy, a part can stand for the whole. Metonyms are very systematic. Cultural and religious symbols form special cases of metonymy, for example *dove as the Holy Spirit* (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 40). Whereas basic metaphors have two conceptual domains that have similar qualities, metonymy has only one conceptual domain where a part stands for the whole, or an object stands for the user, and so on (Santa Ana 1999: 204). Although metonymy differs formally from metaphor, it serves the same cognitive functions as metaphors. There are five characteristics that illustrate the differences between metaphor and metonymy (Dirven and Pörings 2003):

1. Metaphor sees one thing in terms of some other thing and is thereby hypothetical (as if it were a journey), whereas metonymy is non-hypothetical.
2. Metaphor is a rhetorical device or a meaning-extending device. Metonymy can but need not fulfil these functions.
3. Metonymy operates at phrase level only, while metaphors may also operate at sentence level, or even beyond.

4. Metaphor allows multiple mappings from the source to the target domain; metonymy never allows more than one relation.
5. Metaphor allows themes or chains of figurative expressions, but metonymy doesn't.

Understanding a metonymy can vary between different cultures quite extensively. Specific cultures use specific metonyms in their everyday speech, and making sense of the meanings behind certain metonyms depends on the context and background knowledge of the person reading or hearing the metonymy (Yule 1996: 122).

What is the most valuable of the issues dealt with above concerning the present study is the fact that the categorization of metaphors helps with the recognition of the metaphors in the texts. In analysing the data, I will be able to recognize the basic metaphor behind the literal expression, and again divide the expressions into categories. In this process the previous studies conducted on this subject also provide a helpful model, and these studies will be presented next.

4 PREVIOUS STUDIES IN CRITICAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS

In the present study, metaphor analysis is combined with critical discourse analysis, which makes it somewhat different from the traditional metaphor analysis. These two fields can nevertheless be combined to form a method of studying metaphors as a special use of language in media texts. Metaphors can be ideologically charged, and they can reveal power relations and inequalities between groups of people (Fairclough 1992, Charteris-Black 2005, Hellsten 2002). As mentioned above, the study of media texts is important in critical discourse analysis. Although critical discourse analysis most often focuses on vocabulary and grammatical features of texts, analysis on the level of expressions and idioms is also possible.

Charteris-Black (2005) has also combined critical discourse analysis and metaphor analysis in his studies on political rhetoric and the power that metaphors have in political rhetoric to influence and persuade the public. He calls his approach critical metaphor analysis, and the aim of his approach is to “identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use” (Charteris-Black 2005: 26). This term can also be applied to the present study, as well as other studies that have previously examined metaphors in the media from a critical perspective, some of which are looked at more closely below.

In his approach, Charteris-Black (2005) sees a very clear connection between ideology and metaphor. He claims that both of them share a function of persuasion. The difference between metaphor and ideology is that ideology works through a conscious set of beliefs and values, whereas metaphors are in his opinion unconscious and appeal more to people’s emotions. Metaphors work through the unconscious set of attitudes and beliefs that everyone possesses and influences them as well through language. Charteris-Black states that metaphors “activate unconscious emotional associations and influences the value that we place on ideas and beliefs on a scale of goodness and badness” (Charteris-Black 2005: 13).

In the approach of Charteris-Black (2005), there are three stages in the analysis of metaphors in a text. First the metaphors are identified; next, they are interpreted and finally explained. Charteris-Black also used the cognitive theory of metaphor created by Lakoff and Johnson as a basis for his analysis. The persuasive power of metaphors, especially in politics, is the essential object of his study.

Koller (2005) describes the relationship between critical discourse analysis and metaphor analysis in her article on metaphors in business media discourse. She suggests that the central claims of CDA can be very well applied also to metaphor analysis, because metaphors, as well as discourse in general, are “embedded in sociocultural practice”. Discourse has a part in constructing the context of these sociocultural practices from a certain perspective, and is also itself constructed by it. This applies to metaphors as well.

Furthermore, the linguistic features that writers choose in their texts, such as metaphorical expressions, are always selected representations of the world, and it is very probable that the choices are motivated by different kinds of intentions (Koller 2005). In other words, the people who produce the texts have the opportunity to represent the world and events the way in which they want to. Therefore it is the ‘people in power who get to impose their metaphors’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 157).

In her study, Koller (2005) investigated evidence from a corpus of over 160 000 business magazine texts on mergers and acquisitions (M&A). Her results indicated that the discourse in these texts had one basic conceptual metaphor used in them in different linguistic forms. That conceptual metaphor was that business is evolutionary struggle, and metaphors of fighting, feeding and mating were the most common. Essentially, “the companies involved in M&A are metaphorically represented as living organisms subjected to the natural forces of evolutionary struggle” (Koller 2005: 218).

George Lakoff also combined critical discourse analysis with his cognitive theory of metaphor in his article on metaphors used to justify the war in the Gulf (Lakoff 1991). He studied the political discussion surrounding the war in the Gulf and picked out metaphors where entities relating to the war were described in terms of something entirely else. This is a method which has its basis in Lakoff’s own theories of metaphor (Lakoff 1981, 1989). He noted that the discourse over the decision to go to war was full of metaphors, and that they were partly used to justify going to war. This is not surprising due to the fact that through metaphors we are able to understand enormously complex situations. Lakoff (1991) suggests that there is a special system of metaphors in our conceptual system for understanding complex international relations and war. In his study, he specifies two types of functions that this metaphor system has:

The metaphorical understanding of a situation functions in two parts. First, there is a widespread, relatively fixed set of metaphors that structure how we think. For example, a decision to go to war might be seen as a form of cost-benefit analysis, where war is justified when the costs of going to war are less than the costs of not going to war. Second, there is a set of metaphorical definitions that allow one to apply such a metaphor to a particular situation. In this case, there must be a definition of a 'cost', including a means of comparing relative 'costs'. The use of a metaphor with a set of definitions becomes pernicious when it hides realities in a harmful way (Lakoff 1991).

In his article, Lakoff (1991) lists the most commonly used metaphors in public discourse when it comes to international politics. The most common metaphor systems are the state-as-person system, the war-as-fairytale system and the causal commerce system. Other common metaphors describe risks as gambles, international politics as business and rationality as profit maximization. Metaphors of war describe war as politics, violent crime, competitive game, and as medicine.

The state-as-person system gives the state human characteristics; it is a person who has "relations within a world community" (Lakoff 1991). States are also given different personalities (e.g. peaceful or aggressive). The army gives the state physical strength. In these types of metaphors, war is seen as fights between two people. In these types of metaphors, the state acts as a unit, and the metaphors do not show the structure within the state. Class structure, ethnic groups, religions, political parties, corporations and so on are hidden by these metaphors (Lakoff 1991). Therefore, they maintain the prevalent balance of power, when the interest of different groups does not come through.

The fairytale metaphors depict one party in the war as villain and the other as the victim. There is also a hero involved, who makes sacrifices in order to save the victim from the monstrous villain. In the Gulf war Iraq was the villain, Kuwait the victim and USA the hero (Lakoff 1991). Lakoff argues that these metaphors are false and give the wrong picture because he does not see Kuwait as an innocent victim, and USA is not the hero because innocent people were

killed in Kuwait, and USA also acted in self-interest, when it comes to the oil in the area.

The representation of immigrants through the use of metaphors has been studied by Otto Santa Ana (1999). In his study, he examined news reports and other columns from the newspaper *Los Angeles Times* that discussed immigrants in the US. Although Santa Ana does not discuss his results from a critical perspective in his study, he reveals strong ideological attitudes behind the metaphors.

His data consist of texts from a period of two years, and a total of 107 articles were examined. The metaphors were picked out from the text on the basis that the target concept, that is, the concept that the metaphor describes, was the immigrant. In the process of identifying the metaphors, Santa Ana found clear patterns in the use of metaphors. These patterns created categories of metaphors which gave a negative, positive or a neutral picture of the immigrants (Santa Ana 1999: 197).

The dominant metaphor found in his data described immigrants as animals. Other common metaphors described immigrants as debased people, weeds or commodities (Santa Ana 1999: 198). From his results one can conclude that the immigrants were represented mostly in a negative light, and although positive metaphors were also found, the dominant metaphors give a poor picture of the position of immigrants in the US.

All of these studies have combined elements from both critical discourse analysis and metaphor analysis, which is also my task in the present study. Therefore, they provide a helpful model for my study. They also give me affirmation that the subject I have chosen is one that can in fact be studied. In all of these studies, as well as in mine, it is important to consider the context, the surroundings and the events that led to the discourse under examination, and therefore the events in London on July 7th are briefly discussed next.

5 BACKGROUND ON THE EVENTS OF JULY 7 IN LONDON

On the morning of July 7, when morning traffic was reaching its peak, and the underground was crammed with people there were four men with backpacks among the passengers, who's destination was not a workplace. Four bombs hidden in the backpacks exploded in three underground carriages and in one double-decker bus. The three men in the underground exploded themselves almost simultaneously at about 08:50 London time and the fourth detonated his bomb almost an hour later in the London bus. 56 passengers were killed – including the four perpetrators - and hundreds got injured (Danielsen et. al. 2006). After the explosions the entire London underground was brought to a halt, as well as the busses and trains that run in the city. At first the explosions were suspected to originate from a power surge, but it became clear very soon that this was actually a premeditated terrorist attack (http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lontoon_pommi-iskut_7._hein%C3%A4kuuta_2005).

The police were able to find out the identity of the British perpetrators quite quickly thanks to the surveillance cameras in the area (Danielsen et al. 2005). The suicide bombers were young, well educated Muslims with Pakistani backgrounds. Three of them were born and all four of them were raised in Leeds, Britain. None of them had committed any crimes in the past. These were crimes that were committed for the group involved, as well as for the ideology the group adheres. On the same day one group did announce itself as the executor of the attacks, and they called themselves a 'secret al-Qaida jihad organization in Europe'. The evidence gathered did support this. A statement claiming the attacks was published in an Islamist website, and was distributed to other media. This is a full text of the statement:

"In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, may peace be upon the cheerful one and undaunted fighter, Prophet Muhammad, God's peace be upon him.

Nation of Islam and Arab nation: Rejoice for it is time to take revenge against the British Zionist Crusader government in retaliation for the massacres Britain is committing in Iraq and Afghanistan. The heroic mujahideen have carried out a

blessed raid in London. Britain is now burning with fear, terror and panic in its northern, southern, eastern, and western quarters.

We have repeatedly warned the British Government and people. We have fulfilled our promise and carried out our blessed military raid in Britain after our mujahideen exerted strenuous efforts over a long period of time to ensure the success of the raid.

We continue to warn the governments of Denmark and Italy and all the Crusader governments that they will be punished in the same way if they do not withdraw their troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. He who warns is excused.

God says: "You who believe: If ye will aid (the cause of) Allah, He will aid you, and plant your feet firmly."

(<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4660391.stm>)

The terrorist attack was similar in nature of the one carried out in Madrid on March 11 in 2004. At that time the main motive of the terrorists was Spain's participation in the war in Iraq, where Britain has also sent troops. The terrorist attack caused the tightening of attitudes as well as legislation in other countries as well as in Britain. Surveillance and the rights of the police were expanded, and terrorism was elevated to the main news item in the media.

The question how these attacks could be actualised and why were they committed, by Britain's own citizens above all, was considered in the media after the attacks. The atmosphere in Britain is considered to be very multicultural, and the government has not wanted to restrict the entry of foreigners into the country, and some felt that "scrutinizing more carefully alleged foreign supporters of terrorism who request to enter" was needed (Goldston 2005). In addition, the fact that immigrants are in much greater risk of becoming alienated from the society, due to having much less opportunities for quality education and employment, might lead to the radicalisation of frustrated young people in the Muslim community, as well as in other minority communities (Goldston 2005).

The fact that the attacks were perpetrated by British citizens and in consequence the British government faced criticism makes this an even more interesting instance to study. I expect it to cause some discrepancy in the representation of the terrorists in the texts, the terrorists might be treated more

leniently by the writers, but this is only a hypothesis. This study differs also in that sense from other studies on terrorism because usually the threat comes from outside the country, and in this case the threat came from within the country, although it seems that the one's who actually planned the attacks were outsiders rather than British citizens.

6 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research problem is outlined in the next section. Firstly, the research questions will be presented. Secondly the data and how it was collected will be reviewed. Thirdly, the method used will be explained, focusing especially on the identification of the metaphors from the texts.

6.1 Aims

The purpose of this study is two-dimensional. On the one hand, the aim of the study is to find out how terrorism and the terrorists, as well as acts of terrorism, are described through metaphors, and on the other hand, the aim is to examine the differences between mainstream and alternative media in the use of metaphors. The research question of the present study therefore is:

What kinds of metaphors are used to refer to terrorism, terrorists and terrorist acts in the articles of *the Independent* and *Open Democracy*?

This question encompasses more specific questions like **a)** what kind of categories the metaphors form in opinionated articles about the incident in London on July 7th, 2005, when five bombs were detonated in central London, killing 59 people and injuring hundreds; and **b)** what kind of images the metaphors form of the events and perpetrators of the London attacks, as well as the issues that relate to the bombings, such as global terrorism and the politics surrounding terrorism. In order to find out answers to these questions, I will

examine with what sort of issues the metaphors are used in the texts most often associated to, people, ideologies, places or what. These questions are central to the present study because through them I can reveal possible ideologies behind the metaphors, as well as examine what the metaphors reveal about the power relations in issues concerning terrorism. Another important question is c) in what ways the metaphors are used in alternative news media different from the metaphors used in mainstream news media. This means that are there differences or similarities between the number of metaphors in the papers, and also, whether the metaphors are more radical or frank or plain-spoken in the alternative news media than the ones used in mainstream news media. Do the metaphors used in alternative news media give a different picture about the society and politics surrounding the events? The specific words used in the texts will be explained and defined, and their literal meaning described. Furthermore, the kind of picture the metaphors suggest to me as a reader will be described. All of these additional questions provide answers to the basic question, what kinds of metaphors are present in the data.

6.2 Data

The data were collected from two sources. The first one is a web-based magazine called *Open Democracy*, which mostly includes debates and opinionated articles. The subjects people write about there include mostly politics and cultural issues. Everyone is allowed to participate in the magazine and write their opinions. People all around the world can contribute by writing articles to the magazine or take part in debates held in the web-pages, and everybody in the world can access the articles and read them. The purpose of the site is not to please everybody, but rather to give people a chance to express their opinions and thoughts freely and to give an unbiased picture of events. That is what makes it an interesting source of material for this study, because it is not controlled by large companies or restricted by political positions like many of the representatives of the media today are. Also, the traditional media

has established patterns and traditions in producing texts, which does not apply to an internet based magazine such as the *Open Democracy*.

Open Democracy began operating in Britain in the 1990s, with the help of funding from the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, which was the “offshoot of a Quaker chocolate dynasty” (Curran 2003: 228). This seed money enabled a group consisting of a journalist (David Hayes), a film-maker and writer (Susan Richards), and a play writer (Paul Hilder) to start a venture that aimed at publishing articles on public affairs and cultural issues in the internet as a Net magazine (Couldry and Curran 2003). The beginning was not easy, and the group members were exposed to a large amount of debt in the early days of the venture. The difference between this group and other alternative media producers was that the group members had a strong connection to British politics. They had been a part in many pressure groups that managed to bring changes to many political issues in the 80’s and 90’s. *Open Democracy* was also different from other alternative news media because it encouraged debates between representatives of both left and right, which was considered new and refreshing. This also appealed to a wider audience than other alternative media sources.

In the beginning of its operation, *Open Democracy* still attracted only a very small audience. But this changed radically after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York. A British journalist who was present in New York during the attack wrote an article to the magazine about the events, which caused a huge influx of responses. The magazine got responses from around the world, and particularly from the United States, due to the fact that the people were dissatisfied with the traditional media and the news they provided and were looking for an alternative news source. These events changed the nature of the magazine from a British publication to a more international one, although it is still based in London as it was when its operation began. It also began to receive more funding from private donators. Recently, the concerns that mostly come up in the magazine are globalisation, American power and Islam. The people who contribute to the magazine are activists, academics, politicians,

businesspeople, and other active people who are concerned with global affairs (Couldry and Curran 2003: 228-233).

The second source of data for this study is a British newspaper called *The Independent*. It is a mainstream newspaper that comes out daily and has a circulation of about 250 000. The aim of the paper is to try and represent contrasting political views, but its politics are closest to those of *Liberal Democrats*. The web-based encyclopaedia *Wikipedia* describes *Liberal Democrats* as follows: “Generally promoting politically and socially liberal policies, the *Liberal Democrats* describe themselves as being concerned with the use of power in British and international society. They are also wary of the powers of the state over individuals, and as a principle seek to minimise state intervention in personal affairs. Because of this the party took a strong stand against the British participation in the war in Iraq, and are considered the most pro-European party in British politics”. *The Independent* was named newspaper of the year in the year 2004 (*Wikipedia*).

I chose *the Independent* as a source of material because I wanted to use a representative of the mainstream media that had quite similar political views and ideologies as the alternative news media representative, so that whatever differences would come up would not be due to different political viewpoints, but rather from the fact that one is a representative of mainstream media and the other is not. The articles from *the Independent* are editorials, so that the comparison between the two is well founded. What also influenced the choice of the sources was the fact that the terrorist attacks took place in Britain, and both sources are British, although *Open Democracy* is more international in nature.

The main criterion for choosing the data is that the subject of the article is connected to the London bombings. This is because the London terrorist attack is a current issue that caused a lot of discussion and was very widely reported on in the news. It also caused a lot of discussion on a political level about the consequences of the attacks and what has to be done to prevent something similar from happening in the future. Politicians were put in the spotlight and

they needed to come up with solutions to the situation with increasing risk of terrorism. It also led to discussions about changes in legislation concerning terrorism, a new Terror Act among others. The police got new means of preventing possible terrorist acts, which also raised a lot of conversation among the people.

The global discussion of terrorism that has been going on since the attacks in New York in 2001 is also closely connected to the London attacks, which makes it a suitable instance for the present study. The ‘war on terror’ has changed the way terrorism and terrorists themselves are portrayed in the media as well as in politics. Many studies have been conducted about the metaphors used in describing war, but terrorism is not war in the traditional sense, but has very different characteristics. A study of this kind will also give light to the currently relevantly unknown area of alternative media, and its characteristics.

A few words must also be said about the chosen genre of texts, that is, the editorials, as objects of study. Van Dijk (1995b) has discussed the role of editorials in the world of news media. He states that editorials have gone quite unnoticed by scholars of media discourse:

“Each day we find them, usually at the same page and at the same location, in our daily newspapers. For those people who read them, they help to make up their mind about the events of the world, even if often by critical opposition against them. Given this prominent function of editorials in the expression and construction of public opinion, one would expect a vast scholarly literature on them. Nothing is less true: There are virtually no book-length studies, and rather few substantial articles, on the structures, strategies and social functions of editorials. They are taken for granted as so many of the ordinary types of text and talk in society and culture”.

(van Dijk 1995b)

Due to the fact that this statement was made over a decade before the present study, it cannot be said for certainty that this is still valid, but most of the studies conducted these days still use traditional news reports as data, at least when metaphors in the news media are concerned.

Newspaper editorials have an important role in expressing ideologies, and therefore have prominent cultural, social and political functions. They have a role in forming and changing public opinions, and also influence the public debate and political actions. When journalists express their opinions and ideologies in newspaper editorials, they “exhibit their shared social representations, and participate in the complex processes of newspaper production and reception” (van Dijk 1995). This makes them a good source for data in a study like the present one, where ideologies and hidden meanings are the main target of investigation.

The data includes 13 articles from both *the Independent* and *Open Democracy*, which makes a total of 26 articles. The number is based on the fact that from the papers from the weeks following the terrorist attacks, that is how many articles were found on the subject. There would have been more articles dealing with the subject in *Open Democracy*, but 13 of them were chosen so that there would be the same amount of data from both papers.

6.3 Methods of analysis

Metaphor analysis often focuses on either variation of different metaphors of the same issue or the change of a certain metaphor over time (Hellsten 2002: 51). In this study the variation of different metaphors is the object of study. This includes identifying the metaphors from the text and reconstructing their contextual meaning.

The basic method used in the analysis draws upon the theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1981). Their theory provides a basis for the analysis, and the method itself evolves from other studies that have also used their book as a basis for research combined with methods of critical discourse analysis. Although the theory of Lakoff and Johnson provides the basic concepts for the method used, it does not provide specific guidelines when it comes to recognizing and picking out the metaphors. Lakoff’s and Johnson’s essential premise is merely

that when a certain thing is spoken of in terms of another thing, it can be identified as a metaphor. Rudolf Schmitt (2005) has, however, clarified the method of identifying metaphors from a text, using the theory of Lakoff and Johnson as a basis. Schmitt lists three points that provide the justification for picking out a metaphor from the text: “A word or a phrase can be identified as a metaphor if:

- a) a word or a phrase, strictly speaking, can be understood beyond the literal meaning in the context; and
- b) the literal meaning stems from an area of sensoric or cultural experience (source area)
- c) which, however, is transferred to a second, often abstract, area (target area)” (Schmitt 2005: 371).

This can be simplified by saying that if a literal meaning does not make sense in the context, it can be identified as a metaphor. In other words, when the target concept is terrorism, the terrorists or a concept relating to the events of 7/7 (as the events were referred to in the media), the metaphor qualifies as an example, and can be chosen for further examination.

Furthermore, the theory of Lakoff and Johnson provides the model for categorizing the metaphor, because they maintain that a basic metaphor can have several different literal expressions. If the metaphors share the same source and target area, they belong to the same category (Schmitt 2005). This way I can find the same basic metaphor behind different metaphors, and categorize them accordingly. Also, the different kinds of metaphors, such as ontological and orientational metaphors, can be identified.

The selected articles will be carefully read, and the metaphors will be picked out from the texts. A criterion for choosing a metaphor is that it is used to describe or refer to terrorism, the terrorists, of the events that took place in London, i.e. the terrorist attacks. The literal and contextual meaning of the metaphors is defined, and the bulk of metaphors will be categorized according to their meaning. This basically means identifying the basic conceptual metaphor behind the literal expression, and combining the metaphors that have

the same basic metaphor behind them. Examples from the articles will be given, to show the variety of the metaphors present in the articles.

The three categories will be metaphors that refer to terrorism as a global phenomenon, metaphors that describe the terrorists themselves and metaphors that describe the events that took place on the day of the attacks as well as the reactions to the attacks globally and on a state level. There will be a quantitative part in the analysis, where the amount of metaphors in the alternative news media and mainstream news media will be compared. After the metaphors have been categorized, the results from both alternative and mainstream news texts will be compared in order to find similarities or differences. The next step is to identify the possible ideologies behind the metaphors, and describe the image that the metaphors create about the different issues, which is the most fundamental part of the analysis. Through the careful analysis of the actual metaphors the hidden meanings behind them that contain ideologies can be found.

The articles are very rich in metaphors, so it is not useful to analyse all of them within the framework of this study. They will be all counted and their amount between the two different sources will be compared, but it is sensible to concentrate on the metaphors that have to do with terrorism only. That way the results will be narrowed down to the metaphors that actually answer the questions about power relations and representations of the perpetrators of the attack and the politics surrounding the events.

The articles were chosen on the basis that they dealt with the terrorist attack in London on July 7th in 2005. “London attacks” or “London bombings” were used as keywords in the search of the articles from open Democracy, and opinionated articles or editorials that dealt with issues concerning the attack were looked up from newspapers – in this case, the Independent - following the events of July 7th. The articles will be chosen that have a lot of metaphors and idioms used in them, because the focus will be on the actual metaphors and their interpretations.

7 RESULTS

The presentation of the results will be structured so that first there are examples presented from each metaphor category, and then the examples will be described and interpreted. When examples are presented from the data, they will each be numbered consecutively, and the issue from which they are from is marked at the end of the example, as well as the writer of the text and the publication date. The most relevant words of the metaphors are in boldface within the examples. When the relevant words are discussed in the text, they are in italics.

The results will be presented in three sections: in the first section the metaphors that are used to describe terrorism as a phenomenon are presented, in the second section metaphors describing terrorists are examined, and finally the metaphors that are used when referring to the terrorist attacks and the events in London on July 7 will be presented. This last section includes personification, as well as metonymy. Further interpretations of the reasons behind using certain metaphors and comparison between the two papers will be discussed in the discussion section.

For the purpose of comparison between the two sources of data, that is, *the Independent* and *Open Democracy*, there is a quantitative part in the beginning of each category, where the number of metaphors in each category is counted and presented. This way the differences between the two sources can be observed. There are also categories that can be found from only one of the sources, and those categories are dealt with separately.

Furthermore, it is important to note that not all of the identified metaphors describing terrorism, the terrorists and the events and the parties of the events are presented here as examples. The selected examples are metaphors that create the strongest images for me as a reader, and the metaphors that are left out are somewhat vague and very difficult to interpret. Some metaphors can have more than one interpretation, so in order to keep the analysis clear and as reliable as possible, only the metaphors creating the clearest connotations are

included. It is however important to mention the total number of metaphors in each category, although, as mentioned, one metaphor could belong to more than one category.

7.1 Metaphors describing terrorism

The metaphors identified in the data represented several basic metaphors which were used to describe terrorism: **terrorism as game**, **terrorism as person**, **terrorism as disease**, **terrorism as trap**, **terrorism as fire**, **terrorism as war**, and **terrorism as poison**. These are the categories that were the most common in the texts. In addition to these, there were also numerous metaphors that only appeared once or twice, and therefore form their own, small categories. First, the basic metaphor categories that were present in both papers, *the Independent* and *Open Democracy* will be presented, and then the categories that were present in only the one or the other of the papers will be presented.

Metaphors found in both the Independent and Open Democracy

In this section, the metaphors that were found in both papers are presented. The number of metaphors in each category is also shown, for the purpose of comparison between the sources.

Terrorism as game

One of the types of metaphor describes terrorism as a game. In this game, the players are mostly the terrorists and the heads of state that try to prevent terrorism. The **terrorism as game** metaphor was much more common in *the Independent*, and there were only two examples found of the **terrorism as game** metaphor from *Open Democracy*, and a total of seven examples found from *the Independent*, four of which are presented here and explained in detail:

- 1) But a violent response that helps to divide communities is one that would present **a victory for the bombers** and be of most practical use to those seeking to recruit terrorists in the future. (*The Independent*, S. Richards, 14.7.2005)
- 2) It has been suggested that by showing fear we are somehow **playing into the hands of terrorists**, or **letting them win**. (*The Independent*, 23.7.2005)
- 3) I can imagine their crazy eyes glued to the screen as they watch the mayhem they cause, **a reality video game** with piercing screams making them feel in control. (*The Independent*, Y.A. Brown, 11.7.2005)
- 4) To achieve its aims, terror needs to tempt the government of the country targeted **to play its game**. (*The Independent*, P. Cockburn, 11.7.2005)
- 5) Some argue that publishing such pictures is **playing the terrorist's game** of promoting [...] (*Open Democracy*, F. Halliday, 15.7.2005)

The *game* metaphor is one that is widely used in many contexts and in connection with many aspects of life. Gozzi (1999) reflects upon the power of the *game* metaphor in his of metaphors in electronic media. He argues that the *game* metaphor allows people to talk about different aspects of life in a vivid and dramatic way. Furthermore, many aspects of life actually do have rules which must be followed; people make common moves that signify the beginnings, endings and middle parts of encounters (Gozzi 1999: 206). Very often the *game* metaphor is used in the context of politics. There are teams that compete with each other, and in the present context the teams are formed by on the one hand the terrorists and their targets on the other.

Lakoff also discusses the game metaphor in his study on the metaphors used to justify the war in the Gulf. He sees that the game metaphor usually “highlights strategic thinking, team work, preparedness, the spectators in the world arena, the glory of winning and the shame of defeat” (Lakoff 1991). All of these aspects can be linked to a terrorist attack, and also to this specific attack in London: a strategy must have been agreed upon within the terrorist group, the attack was carried out as a team: all but one of the bombers detonated their

bombs simultaneously, which also required some level of preparedness. The attacks were meant for the entire world to see: the more people would see it, the more successful they would be in bringing their view out in the open.

In the first two examples, terrorism is presented as a game that the terrorists have started by committing the bombings in London. The response of the government and the politicians represents the next move in the game, and might help the terrorists to win the game they have started. The examples give the image that a move must be made, that the terrorists expect the move and that winning the game is crucial to them in order for them to achieve their aim. In the first example, a wrong move by the government could lead to the victory of the terrorists, and to the end of the game the terrorists started.

In the first example (1), *victory* can also be understood as a result of war, in which case the metaphor would refer more to a war between the terrorists and the west, and that interpretation is also plausible. However, here the game interpretation is preferred, because the context of the metaphor gives more the impression of a game going on. The victory of the terrorists would in the example lead to *recruiting* of more terrorists, which reminds of the recruiting of players to teams. When for example a soccer team has many victories, more good players will want to join them and they can therefore be *recruited*.

In the second example, the game between the west and the terrorists is a card game, and making a certain move, or in this case, showing fear to the opponent, would be almost like loosing on purpose. The card game metaphor gives quite a clear picture of the relationship between the terrorists and their target, because they are personified as actual players of a game and the actions of both are pictured as, for example, expressions of fear on the player's face.

In the third example the terrorists are almost like children playing a game, and the game is a video game of terrorism. It is children and teenagers who mostly play videogames, *eyes glued to the screen*. It gives the image of the terrorists being unaware of the actual damage they have caused, the events being just an image on the screen for them, and that they are in control of the events through

that video game. It gives the impression of the terrorist attacks as something pleasurable to the terrorists, as a hobby instead of something serious and criminal. It is as if they don't realize the actual consequences of their actions.

In the fourth example, the terror and the government the terror is aimed at are personified when it suggests that terror is able to tempt someone, which is a human characteristic. The two parties are presented as the players of the game of terrorism. Both sides make their moves and eventually the winner will be presented. In the fourth example terrorism is tempting the target country to play a game, and the target country must resist going along with the game. In this example, it is important not to start playing the terrorist's game, to stay out of it. Going along with the game helps the terrorists to achieve their goal.

In the last example, the terrorists are trying to start a game with the target government, but it has not yet gone along to play it. Making a certain move would give the terrorists the confirmation that the government they are inviting to play has accepted the invitation. To actually play a game with the terrorists would be considered to be a mistake, and that it would give the terrorists what they want.

Terrorism as disease

The **terrorism as disease** metaphors were the most common metaphors that were used to describe terrorism. It was the only category where there were plenty of examples in both sources, whereas in many other categories more examples were found from one or the other of the two sources. There were six metaphors describing terrorism as a disease in *the Independent*, and nine metaphors in *Open Democracy*, which means that terrorism was described as a disease more often in the articles of *Open Democracy* than in *the Independent*. There are a total of eight examples of the **terrorism as disease** -metaphors presented here. The **terrorism as disease** metaphors are mainly of two kinds. Either a state is a person and terrorism is a disease that affects the state, or

terrorism is a disease that the people committing terrorist attacks themselves have:

- 6) The leaders of the bombers know these **pulsating grievances** and the trapped rage, and they use it to justify what they do and to turn the most vulnerable into foot soldiers. (*The Independent*, Y.A. Brown, 11.7.2005)
- 7) The Middle East was turned into a **petri dish for the virus** of Wahhabi Islamic fundamentalism. (*The Independent*, J. Hari, 13.7.2005)
- 8) If the latter, it would not diminish the horror or despair, nor lessen the perception that our religion is being hijacked by **madmen** – but it would put some distance between us and them. (*The Independent*, K. Falkner, 12.7.2005)
- 9) This in turn requires a leadership rooted in traditional learning, underpinned by a moral and ethical outlook that rejects the zealotry and hatred that have formed a sub-culture of **theological neurosis** among young British Muslims. (*Open Democracy*, A. Malik, 15.8.2005)
- 10) And the world's greatest mistake has been to apply obsolete intellectual categories and formulaic modes of thought [...] incapable of understanding this **mutation**. (*Open Democracy*, F. Grillo, 12.7.2005)
- 11) Such media discussion and political resources that are dedicated to issues of global governance [...] focus on **symptoms** and details rather than wider, systemic reforms. (*Open Democracy*, F. Grillo, 12.7.2005)
- 12) But if democracy is to become a “**social immune system**” against terrorism, it must consist of more than elections. (*Open Democracy*, P. Neumann, 28.7.2005)
- 13) To deny responsibility, by pointing the finger at **alien infections** of our liberal body politic, is as unconvincing a response to the events of 7 July as it was for those of 11 September [...] (*Open Democracy*, A. Sajoo, 19.7.2005)

In the example (6) the word *pulsating* is the relevant word of the metaphor. A blood vessel pulsates, and here the picture is created that the bad things that these terrorists have experienced in their lives is like bad blood that runs

through their veins and makes them do horrible things. It makes these people weak, which in turn makes them vulnerable to the disease that is terrorism.

The example (7) describes The Middle East as a petri dish, which means the dish where microbes are cultivated and experiments are conducted with those microbes. It creates the image that terrorism is the cultivated disease and the terrorists are the testees.

An image of a mentally ill person is created in examples (8) and (9), and the insanity is created by the extremist ideas. When someone is described as mad or neurotic as is done in the examples, it suggests that they are not mentally healthy. According to Kitis and Milapides (1997: 569), in psychiatry and public experience, the connection between a mental illness and irrational and erratic behaviour is widely documented. The terrorists are described as *madmen* in (8), which would suggest that they are not mentally healthy. In (9) the people committing these terrorist attacks are suffering from *theological neurosis*. A neurosis is a mental condition that causes a person to have unreasonable fears and worries over a long period of time. The phrase *theological neurosis* creates the image that it is their religion that causes them to suffer from these fears and worries and makes them commit extreme acts.

The example (10) on the other hand describes terrorism as mutation. Mutation literally means a genetic abnormality which causes different diseases. In this metaphor, the ideologies of the extremists have been somehow mutated, which causes terrorism as a disease. Also, when people talk about a mutation, it is something not entirely human; rather it is an incomplete version of a human being. In the next example (11), the writer refers to symptoms, which are signs of an illness.

The state is personified in (12) when it is suggested to have *an immune system*, which only humans and animals have. The metaphor gives a picture of the state as a living person who is vulnerable and threatened by illnesses as ordinary human beings are, and democracy as the immune system of that person. This suggests that terrorism is the disease that the immune system is fighting. Also,

the immune system must be supported so that it can function properly, it can not fight terrorism in any other case.

The metaphor in (13) has to do with the politics of the state, and the government's *liberal body politic* is highlighted. The politics are also here personified, when it suggests that a policy can be *infected*, which again is characteristic only to living beings. In this metaphor, the politics that the governments practice when it comes to foreign immigrants is somehow infected and weakened, which causes a disease, that is, terrorism. Furthermore, the infections are *alien*, so they do not originate from the 'body' of the government itself, but it has been infected by something from outside.

A disease is something that absolutely no positive aspects. Therefore, these metaphors create a thoroughly negative picture of everything that has to do with terrorism. They create an image of the western lifestyle and politics as something healthy, and the lifestyle that the terrorists represent as infected, mutated and crazy, highlighting the superiority of the west.

Terrorism as person

Personification is one type of metaphor, and examples of it were also found in the data. There were four **terrorism as person** metaphors found in *the Independent*, and three in *Open Democracy*. In the metaphors found, terrorism was spoken of as if it were a living person with his own characteristics and goals:

- 14) They need to look pure, **hollow evil in the eye**, for that is what it is. (*The Independent*, Y. Alibhai-Brown, 11.7.2005)
- 15) **To achieve its aims, terror needs to tempt** the government of the country targeted to play its game. (*The Independent*, P. Cockburn, 11.7.2005)
- 16) Violence has a **ravenous maw**. (*Open Democracy*, V. Lal, 25.7.2005)

Personification belongs to the category of ontological metaphors, and in these examples the human form serves as a container for terrorism. The vague entity that is terrorism is much more easily understood if it is referred to as an animate creature.

In example (14) terrorism is given human characteristics, when the writer says that it must be looked *in the eye*. A picture is given of an evil person, who is staring at the people, and who must not be ignored but looked right back. The metaphor gives the image of two persons opposite of one another, like in a battle, and the enemy is pure evil. This metaphor makes sense when you think about how people often need someone to blame if something bad has happened, and terrorism is easier to blame when one can think about a person rather than a vague group of organized people. A single person is easier to identify with, and the anger is easier to direct to a person than to an unconcrete phenomenon.

In the second example (15) terror is described as a person *tempting* the government – which is also personified when it is suggested that the government is able *to play* a game in the first place – to play a game with it. In this example, terrorism is a person with a specific goal, and to achieve it, it must *do* something, as a living person would. This metaphor gives the image of terrorism and the government as almost children and the other child is tempting the other one to play, because in actual life it is usually children who want to play rather than adults. It also gives the impression of terrorism teasing the western government, trying to get a particular response to their actions. It is as if terrorism has the upper hand and the target government is underdog.

Example (16) gives the violence that terrorism represents an animate appearance, but not necessarily human. *Maw* means a huge mouth that swallows everything around it, which can be connected to an animal. In this respect this example differs from the other examples in this category, because the target is not actually *a person*. It can be included here, though, due to the fact that in the metaphor an inanimate entity is spoken in terms of an animate entity. The metaphor describes terrorism as a barbarous animal that consumes the innocent

around it. This gives the impression of the west as an innocent victim of a brutal carnivore.

Describing terrorism as a person could be explained through the fact that usually when something bad happens, people need someone to blame for it. People need that one person to target their anger at, and in the case of terrorism that one person is almost impossible to point out and bring to justice. Therefore, that target needs to be created through literal means, as is done here by personifying the phenomenon.

Terrorism as trap

Both *the Independent* and *Open Democracy* had some metaphors that described terrorism as a sort of trap that people got caught in and therefore became terrorists. There were two such metaphors found in *the Independent* and two in *Open Democracy*.

- 17) The best thing the Islamic community, worldwide and in the UK, can do is to condemn, isolate, re-educate and, if that fails, ensure they hand over the knaves who make **a trap for fools** by twisting the truths Mohammed spoke. (*The Independent*, C. Bellamy, 15.7.2005)
- 18) We must avoid the **terrorist trap**. (*The Independent*, P. Cockburn, 11.7.2005)
- 19) To be effective it must address the physical, the political and the psychological security of people **trapped in violence**; all are equally important, and one without the other is insufficiently strong to break the cycle. (*Open Democracy*, S. Elworthy, 20.7.2005)
- 20) Our society has to be sophisticated enough to resist *engrenage*, the military word for tit-for-tat spirals which might involve inflicting significant casualties on populations with whom the terrorists identify. This is **a trap laid by the politically violent**, into which the United States (and to an extent Britain) has fallen in Iraq. (*Open Democracy*, S. Elworthy, 20.7.2005)

The metaphors that describe terrorism as a trap belong to the category of ontological metaphors. As stated in the section about metaphor theory, ontological metaphors have their basis in experiences with physical objects. In these kinds of metaphors experiences *become* physical objects or entities, sort of containers (Lakoff and Johnson 1981). In these metaphors, terrorism is a sort of a container, in this case a trap, and it contains the terrorists as well as the actions taken by the terrorists. The trap also contains the ideologies the terrorists live by.

These examples create an image of terrorism as something that the perpetrators of the attacks have got into unwillingly, as animals might end up in a hunter's trap. In the first example (17) the trap is created to sort of imprison the minds of the terrorists, so that they cannot see the truth. This gives a picture of the people committing terrorist attacks as sort of victims that are forced to commit the crimes. Also, the phrase *trap for fools* suggests that the terrorists are stupid to fall into the trap, and when they do, they cannot think for themselves but do as they are told.

In the second example (18), terrorism has created a trap for the government, and if the government reacts to the attacks and gives them what they want, it falls in the trap that has been set for it. This creates an image of the terrorists as ruthless hunters and the British government as the innocent victim, or prey for the hunters. In this example, the terrorists have the advantage over the government, and the government has a weaker position compared to the terrorists. They have set a trap and it cannot be broken, only avoided.

In example (19) terrorism, or violence that terrorism includes, is also presented as a trap that people are caught up in without their own consent. They are pictured as victims of terrorism, unable to get out of it. It gives the picture of terrorism as a thing that preys on innocent people and takes them over and makes them do horrible things, and the people themselves are not responsible, they are just caught in the trap of terrorism.

The metaphor in example (20) creates the image of terrorism as a trap that the extremists have laid, and due to their actions, western countries have fallen into it and cannot get out. It suggests that once the west have gotten involved in the affairs of the Middle East, they can expect counteractions, and therefore a cycle is created where one violent act leads to another and the west cannot escape from the situation even if they wanted to.

Overall, these metaphors take some of the blame away from the actual perpetrators of the attacks and place it on some distant masterminds creating these traps for the easiest targets. This suggests that the blame is not within the country (Britain) but somewhere else.

Metaphors found only in the Independent

There were some metaphors describing terrorism that were only found in *the Independent*. These metaphors described **terrorism as fire**, **terrorism as a time bomb** and **terrorism as music**. One example of the **terrorism as a time bomb** and two instances of the **terrorism as music** –metaphor were found.

Terrorism as fire

There were four **terrorism as fire** metaphors found from the articles of *the Independent*. Two of them were selected as examples here.

21) For left wing terrorists, the process was even more complicated. Their operations, the Red Brigades, Prima Linea and the rest theorised, would lead to right-wing repression that would in turn **spark** the uprising of the proletarian masses that the terrorists [...] purported to represent. (*The Independent*, R. Cornwell, 9.7.2005)

22) But ultimately these movements **fizzled out**, doomed by both the absurdity of their reasoning and by changes in the respective national system. (*The Independent*, R. Cornwell, 9.7.2005)

The examples (21) and (22) describe terrorism as fire that originates from *sparks* of different uprisings, and eventually the uprisings *fizzle out*. A fire *fizzles out* when it dies down slowly, but *fizzle out* is also used when something ends in a weak or disappointing way. This creates the image of the terrorist group as incapable and weak organization. Another interpretation of the terrorism as fire metaphor is that fire is something very dangerous that consumes everything it meets, and once it spreads it can be very difficult to put out.

Terrorism as a time bomb or music

Although these metaphors do not actually belong to the same category, they are presented here in the same section because of the small number of metaphors found. There was one metaphor describing terrorism as a time bomb and two that described terrorism as music.

23) But it is possible now to see realistic ways to **defuse the ticking-bomb of jihadism**. (*The Independent*, J. Hari, 15.7.2005)

24) Why these men follow the **music of a distant drum**. (*The Independent*, C. Bellamy, 15.7.2005)

25) And finally, the least subject to analysis, there is the **brave music of a distant drum. A call from afar, resonating** from other, less identifiable ambitions or objectives, which outweighs the usual human needs and aspirations. (*The Independent*, C. Bellamy, 15.7.2005)

In example (23) the religion of the extremists presents a time-bomb that can explode at any moment and create chaos. The explosion represents the change from the allowed practice of a religion to an illegal action, that is, terrorism. The west is the person who must *defuse* the bomb before it gets the chance to explode. To *defuse* refers to the actions that must be taken to stop the British Muslims from being radicalised and from turning to extremism.

The other two examples (24), (25) describe terrorism as music that calls people to it and tells them what they need to do. It is as if these men cannot resist the music, and are drawn to it because it is tempting them. The drum can also refer to the drum of an army, that calls upon its soldiers to come to war.

Metaphors found only in Open Democracy

The metaphors found only in *Open Democracy* presented **terrorism as war**, **terrorism as poison** and **terrorism as ghost**. The **terrorism as poison** – metaphors were the most frequent, the **terrorism as war** –metaphors were also numerous. There were much less of the **terrorism as ghost** –metaphors, and only a couple of examples of that metaphor were found.

Terrorism as war

Terrorism as war –metaphors were found only in the articles from *Open Democracy*. There were altogether eight examples of this metaphor found, five of which are examined here:

- 26) They are attacking London. But, for years after New York, sixteen months after Madrid, this is no longer a **war** against a particular **enemy** – the United States, or global capitalism. Nor is it a **war** with defined **combatants**: east against west, Islam against everybody else, even “them” against “us”. Rather, it is a **war** on the world. (*Open Democracy*, F. Grillo, 12.7.2005)
- 27) What is distinctive today is that the current manifestation of this reality is small in “logistical” terms yet has potentially huge political consequences: **the enemy can hit at any time**, anywhere and its favoured **targets** are the symbols the empire choose to celebrate its strength, its values, and its vision. (*Open Democracy*, F. Grillo, 12.7.2005)
- 28) London, this wounded city, is the latest **frontline of a battle** that can and must be won. (*Open Democracy*, F. Grillo, 12.7.2005)
- 29) When such extremism has emerged within **Muslim ranks** in the past, Muslim scholars were foremost in condemning it, and

ejecting it from the mainstream of Islam. (*Open Democracy*, A. Malik, 15.8.2005)

30) In this light, the London attacks [...] provide a strong rejoinder to the idea of **a movement in retreat**. (*Open Democracy*, P. Rogers, 28.7.2005)

The *war* metaphor is another widely used metaphor in many aspects of life. According to Smith and Sparkes (2004), the *war* metaphor, and metaphors that refer to the military, “invoke masculine ideals and a sense of heroic struggle” (Smith and Sparkes 2004: 6). The *war* metaphors are particularly common in Western cultures and they are often used to strengthen patriarchal values that help maintain and construct ‘the hegemonic and heroic forms of masculinity’ (Smith and Sparkes 2004: 6).

Political discourse and rhetoric is particularly rich in war metaphors these days. As Billig and Macmillan state in their study of the use of the metaphor ‘smoking gun’ in political rhetoric across time, politicians can declare wars to things that literally cannot be ‘fought’ against, such as drugs, crime and so on (Billig and Macmillan 2005: 478). People do understand that and actual war is not possible, but the metaphor makes the ‘battle’ sound more serious.

Examples (26-30) all describe terrorism as a kind of war. There are two sides that fight in the war, terrorism and the western countries that have been under attacks from the terrorists. In example (26) the *enemies* of the terrorists are listed; The United States, the western world in general, and the entire world. In this example, the war is fought on an ideological level rather than concretely between soldiers of war. The soldiers of this war are the ideology that the terrorists represent and the ideologies that the United States of global capitalism represent.

In example (27) terrorism is the enemy that threatens Britain and the west in general, but the attacks come from the enemy’s side only. When in a traditional war the targets are usually the places that are key to the success of the enemy, in this war the targets are the places that again represent the ideology and pride of the western countries.

In (28) London is the place where the war takes place. A *frontline* means a place where two armies are fighting each other, and also, whoever is in the *frontline* has a very important role in defending or achieving something. This gives the image of the terrorists as soldiers that have an important task in fighting their cause in this frontline, or on the other hand, it could be the frontline where the terrorists are beaten and therefore the important task of defending the western ideologies that are being attacked is achieved.

In the example (29) Islam is presented as a sort of an army, where the Muslims represent the soldiers defending the Islamic countries. The word *ranks* is used of members of organisations, especially the armed forces. In the example, an image is created of the terrorists found in the *Muslim ranks* are undesired, and must be ejected from the *ranks*.

In the last example (30), it is suggested that there has been a war going on between terrorism and the west all along, and that there has been indication that the terrorists are *retreating*. To *retreat* literally means to move away from the enemy forces in order to avoid battle with them. This attack in London proves that presumption to be false, and that the terrorists are in fact participating in the war. This metaphor is interesting because in a traditional war there are troops and big battles that people can see, and although this ‘war on terror’ is fought more on an ideological level, it is spoken of using the terminology of actual war.

These metaphors define the events in London as an act of war. The phrase “war on terror” has been used very much since the terrorist attacks in New York in 2001, so it is not surprising that the war metaphor has come up in connection to the attacks in London. War is something that people are very familiar with, and because the situation today between the east and the west is very complex, comparing the conflict with a war might make it easier to understand, although the war is mostly fought on an ideological level.

Terrorism as poison

The metaphor describing terrorism as something poisonous and toxic was quite frequent in the articles of *Open Democracy*. A total of ten examples were found, and here six of them are presented:

- 31) Some visualise it as a string snapping, others as a **chemical experiment: Islamism plus modernism equals bin Ladenism**. (*Open Democracy*, T. Munthe, 21.7.2005)
- 32) Muslim rhetoric and political grievances only become terrorism when western individualism is **added to the mix**. (*Open Democracy*, T. Munthe, 21.7.2005)
- 33) Then the bombers struck, as if in an attempt to **poison** and derail this evolving mood. (*Open Democracy*, M. Kaldor, 8.7.2005)
- 34) What could be more sensible, rational citizens of all persuasions want, than a balance between “our” tolerance of religion – notably “moderate Islam” – and the need for security from what Blair called its “perverted and **poisonous**” forms? (*Open Democracy*, A. Sajoo, 19.7.2005)
- 35) Yet the post-7 July political chorus in London would have no truck with anything other than the self-congratulatory narrative of liberal values under siege from a **toxic**, alien ideology. (*Open Democracy*, A. Sajoo, 19.7.2005)
- 36) It may not entirely dissolve but it certainly modifies them ... spiritual **pollution** squirts in faster and faster over satellites and cables, like a long term **toxic attack**. (*Open Democracy*, S. Elworthy, 20.7.2005)

The examples (31-36) give the picture of terrorism as something toxic that will poison the west, and also the minds of people. In the first example (31), there is even a formula for terrorism provided. It suggests that the mixing of certain ideologies creates a poisonous combination that poisons the minds of people and makes them commit terrible crimes like the bombings in London. The example (32) is quite similar; it describes terrorism as a mixture of western individualism, religion and unfair political decisions that have affected them.

In example (33) the attacks themselves are poison that has destroyed the good mood of the people. The rest of the examples (34-36), describe terrorism as a phenomenon that has resulted from poisonous forms of the Islamic religion. In (35) there is a sort of a war going on between the ideologies that the two sides (the terrorists and the west) represent, and the ideology of the west is 'innocent' and the ideology of the terrorists is *toxic*. The writer in this example gives the impression, though that this is not her view; rather it is the view of the politicians that have responded to the attacks. In the last example, the writer is talking about how people are exposed to the views of the terrorists through the media, and are convinced to accept the ideology that the terrorist organizations represent, and ultimately end up committing terrorist attacks as has happened in London. This ideology is described as *pollution*, which gives the image of a phenomenon that is unavoidable and hard to get rid of, and also something that people have themselves created.

These metaphors create a somewhat similar picture as those describing terrorism as a disease. There are no positive aspects. Poison, as well as disease, can only cause harm, and again, the west is the non-toxic one. The ideologies of the western people are in danger of being poisoned by the ideologies of outsiders, and therefore getting familiar with those ideologies can be considered dangerous, due to their pollutive nature. Interpreted further, one interesting point to be made of these metaphors is that the unfamiliarity with the Islamic values that these terrorists represent is considered a positive thing.

Terrorism as a ghost

From the articles of *Open Democracy*, there were two instances where terrorism was described as a ghost:

37) After 1989 an alternative, benign spectre had begun to **haunt** the world; and it wasn't from Heaven or outer space. (*Open Democracy*, T. Nairn, 11.7.2005)

38) **A phantom enemy.** (*Open Democracy*, P. Rogers, 28.7.2005)

The metaphors describing terrorism as a ghost gives the image of terrorism as something that exists but that nobody can actually see, as if it was invisible. It only becomes visible when attacks like the ones in London take place. In the first example (37), the ghost is haunting the entire world, not just certain parts of it. This gives the impression of terrorism as something that is not actually a part of this world, rather a separate phenomenon haunting the people in the world. The second example (38) again gives the impression of a war that is going on between terrorism and the rest of the world, and in this case the enemy is invisible, a ghost that is very difficult to fight.

These metaphors highlight the people's fear of the unknown. Terrorism in these examples is something supernatural, and they in fact reveal that the culture and the world where terrorism develops are very foreign to western people. In fact, very few people would probably prefer to know nothing of the world of ghosts and phantoms.

7.2 Metaphors describing the terrorists

The most common metaphor describing a terrorist involved in the attacks described **a terrorist as animal**. Other metaphors included the basic metaphors of **the terrorists as soldiers in a war**, **terrorists as inhuman** and **terrorists as plants with roots**. In this category, the examples found in the data were present in both papers; therefore no separate section for the two sources is necessary.

Terrorists as animals

The metaphors describing terrorists as animals were more frequent in the articles of *the Independent* than in the articles of *Open Democracy*. There were a total of six metaphors in this category found from *the Independent*, and six metaphors found in the articles of *Open Democracy*. Four examples from *the*

Independent are looked at more closely here, and four examples from *Open Democracy*:

- 39) No matter how many steaks we feed this **tiger**, it will not become a vegetarian. (*The Independent*, J. Hari, 13.7.2005)
- 40) The **rats** will be squeezed out to face justice. (*The Independent*, Y. Alibhai-Brown, 11.7.2005)
- 41) The best thing the Islamic community, worldwide and in the UK, can do is to condemn, isolate, re-educate and, if that fails, ensure they hand over the knaves who make **a trap for fools** by twisting the truths Mohammed spoke. (*The Independent*, C. Bellamy, 15.7.2005)
- 42) To be effective it must address the physical, the political and the psychological security of people **trapped in violence**; all are equally important, and one without the other is insufficiently strong to break the cycle. (*Open Democracy*, S. Elworthy, 20.7.2005)
- 43) London went to bed on Thursday night knowing that there were four desperate killers **loose** in the city. (*The Independent*, K. Falkner, 23.7.2005)
- 44) Those conversations are the enemy of the sort of alienation that **incubates** young terrorists – and of the sort of detachment that **feeds** state terrorism. (*Open Democracy*, A. Sajoo, 19.7.2005)
- 45) This is an Islam both real and traditional; it is the deepest hope of those young, lost figures who are otherwise **prey** to the lures of a violence and extremism that is far from Islam as love is from hatred. (*Open Democracy*, A. Malik, 15.8.2005)
- 46) He argues that Islam, as a communitarian religion, could never **breed** highly individualist terrorists on its own. (*Open Democracy*, T. Munthe, 21.7.2005)

The connotations of the *animal* metaphor are discussed by Santa Ana (1999) in his study of the representations of immigrants discussed above. He states that the *animal* metaphor has to do with the age old ‘natural’ hierarchy among the living creatures. Other living beings are considered subordinate to human beings, and human beings also have more noble characteristics than other living beings. Santa Ana (1999: 202) adds that human and civil rights belong only to humans, and therefore when people are referred to as animals they can

be excluded from the rights that normally people possess. Also, animals are wild in a way that humans are not, and in the context of this study this explains the erratic behaviour of the terrorists.

In the example (39) the terrorist is described very clearly as an animal, more specifically as a tiger. A tiger, as everyone is aware, is an animal that hunts other animals in order to survive. In this metaphor the writer is referring to the terrorist organization al-Qa'ida and Osama bin Laden, and wondering whether withdrawing the western troops from Iraq would make a difference in the attitudes of the terrorists towards the west, and whether it would prevent future terrorist attacks like the ones in London from taking place. In this metaphor, the terrorist (in this case, Osama bin Laden) is depicted as a carnivore, and the metaphor suggests that the steaks are the concessions performed by the west, and no matter how many concessions are granted, the carnivore will still remain a carnivore and not change its 'lifestyle' in a sense. Being a vegetarian would be against the very being of a tiger, and it cannot get bored of steaks and become something it's not.

In the example (40) the terrorists are described as vermin. Here the writer is referring to the terrorists that attempted to detonate a second batch of bombs in London but failed, and escaped from the police. They are presented as rats that are hiding 'underground' and must be 'squeezed out' to face justice. In this metaphor the terrorists are compared to an animal that is considered by people to be one of the dirtiest and unwanted animals in the world. Vermin are commonly detested because they cause problems for people by carrying diseases and damaging people's stocks of food or crops. This also gives the image of the terrorists as outsiders from the public, and actually as something inhuman and filthy.

The examples (41) and (42) give the image of terrorists as animals, as they are caught in a trap as animals. These metaphors also belong to the category **terrorism as a trap**, but because they also very clearly suggest that terrorists are the hunted animals, it is important to bring them up also in this category. The terrorist organizations are the ones that lay the traps, and the people who

committed the attacks are the animals that got caught in their traps. In (42) violence itself is described as a trap, and the terrorists are depicted as the victims of it. These metaphors create the image of the terrorists as people who have become terrorists unwillingly, as innocent animals caught in traps and forced to commit these acts of crime. An impression is given in example (42) that the terrorists should be helped to get out of the trap, and that if they would get out of it they would actually no longer be terrorists.

The example (43) also gives the impression of the terrorists as dangerous animals that are able to harm people and should be locked up. They have somehow broken out and are wondering loose in the city. They are unpredictable and dangerous, and the impression of animals that are preying upon people is given through the metaphor. The image is also created that the terrorists loose in the city do not belong to it, that they are not in their natural dwelling place.

Young terrorists are described as eggs in example (44). When birds *incubate* their eggs, they keep them warm until they are ready to hatch as baby birds. In the metaphor of this example, the alienation that the young British Muslims experience in the 'mother bird' that incubates them into birds, that is, terrorists. This gives the impression of the young – not yet – terrorists as being in some sort of waiting state, or that they are evolving into something entirely new. In the same example, terrorism is something that needs to be fed in order to stay alive, which also gives the picture of an animal that is dependent on people to feed it.

Terrorists are described as *prey* in the metaphor of example (45). Prey literally means something that a creature hunts and eats in order to live. Therefore in this metaphor terrorists are not depicted as a certain kind of animal, just that it is in a weak position and is preyed upon by 'violence and extremism'. Again, terrorists are portrayed as victims of something larger that controls them and forces them to "be terrorists". They are hunted and when they are caught, they are at the mercy of those who have caught them.

In the last example (47) of metaphors that portray terrorists as animals, the Islamist religion is personified as someone who breeds terrorists. To *breed* in essence means to keep animals for the purpose of producing more animals with particular qualities, in a controlled way. This gives the impression of the terrorists as a product of a breeding process, where they are moulded to be a certain way and have certain qualities. This again takes the blame of the terrorists themselves; rather it is the thing (in this case, religion) that has created them that is to blame.

All of the metaphors that compare terrorists to animals carry the basic ideology that the people committing these attacks are not on the same level with other people in the world, and especially the people they are attacking. One general belief is also that animals do not possess a soul as humans do and do not live by the same morals and knowledge of right and wrong as humans. This way, the mental superiority of the western people is highlighted. Basically, the terrorists are lower in the food chain than the people they are targeting.

Terrorists as plants

The metaphors that gave the image of terrorists as plants with roots that need a medium to grow were present in both papers. There were in total six metaphors in *the Independent* that described terrorists as having roots in a specific place, or that they had to be rooted out of the country, and from the whole world for that matter. In *Open Democracy*, there were four metaphors of this kind.

47) Community leaders will also be under pressure to expose and **root out** extremists even if the term is loosely defined. (*The Independent*, S. Richards, 14.7.2005)

48) It also matters that Britain is not now faced with a foreign enemy – but a **homegrown** one. (*The Independent*, K. Falkner, 23.7.2005)

49) Radicalisation in Europe follows particular lines, in which predominantly educated people [...] are caught between two identity groups, and resort to violence out of desperation to re-

establish their **cultural roots on new ground**. (*Open Democracy*, T. Munthe, 21.7.2005)

50) In societies where people themselves determine their futures, terrorists lack the **growth medium** of resentment and fear **on which they thrive**. (*Open Democracy*, P. Neumann, 28.7.2005)

The metaphors describing terrorists as plants were rather similar in all the examples. All of them suggest that the terrorists have roots and if they are taken from their roots they become violent. The first example (47) suggests that the terrorists are unwanted plants, like weeds that need to be rooted out from among the good plants. Example (48) gives the image of plants that belong to the ground they are in, but have turned bad after being planted. This suggests that even though the terrorists that committed the attacks had their roots in Britain, it did not stop them from committing the attacks. *Homegrown* refers to plants and vegetables that have been grown in one's own country, rather than abroad.

The roots of the terrorists (plants) have been taken from their original ground in example (49) and that has made them violent. In this metaphor the plant itself is personified, when it is given human abilities, as if the plant is wondering around trying to find a new place to grow. Until the plant finds new ground to settle in and grow new roots, it will remain violent and unpredictable. This gives the impression that the people that have come from foreign countries are not able to settle in properly in the new cultural environment, or are not able to express their own cultural identity, which causes problems among them.

In the last example (50) terrorists are plants that need something special in order to grow, like nutrients, which in this metaphor are resentment and fear. This suggests that in cultures that have some form of democracy, terrorists can't grow. There has to be some factor that nourishes the plants so that they can survive. This suggests an idea that the soil of western countries is pure and no terrorists can grow from it, but other countries have 'bad soil' and terrorists can thrive there. In other words, the superiority of the western democracies is highlighted.

Terrorists as soldiers in a war

There were three metaphors that depicted the **terrorists as soldiers in a war** in the articles of both *the Independent* and *Open Democracy*. One example from each paper is discussed here.

51) Leeds **footsoldiers** and London bombs. (*Open Democracy*, M. Farrah, 22.7.2005)

52) With one leap of faith, the London bombers were no longer stuck working part-time in a chippie in Leeds; they were **soldiers** in the International Jihad, doing the work of Allah himself to liberate Muslim peoples across the world. (*The Independent*, J. Hari, 15.7.2005)

Example (51) describes the terrorists as *footsoldiers* that have come from Leeds to London to fight a war. Describing the terrorists as soldiers gives the image that there is in fact a war going on between the terrorists and their target countries. The terrorists are soldiers that are fighting for something, more on an ideological level, than for, for example, land ownership etc. that are more traditional causes of war.

The example (52) is somewhat similar to the first one, but in this metaphor the religion that the terrorists belong to represents the army that the soldiers are fighting for. Describing the terrorist organization as an army and the terrorists as soldiers makes it easier to grasp the meaning that these acts has for the terrorists. It gives a sense of why these kinds of acts are committed; fighting in a war is much more serious than just doing them to cause destruction in a country that has different ideologies.

These metaphors describe the terrorists in a slightly more positive way, because soldiers are generally respected and admired by people, and they also are often called heroes due to the fact that they protect the people and their country. In these examples the writer is considering the point of view of the terrorists rather than that of their victims.

Metaphors found only in the Independent

In *the Independent*, there was only one category of metaphors that were not found in *Open Democracy*. That category was metaphors that described **terrorists as inhuman**.

Terrorists as inhuman

In the articles of the Independent, there were some metaphors that give the image of the terrorists as being something inhuman, not belonging to the human race. These kinds of metaphors were not found in the articles of Open Democracy.

53) Blair has called on Muslims to confront the **demons** in their midst, to interrogate the ideologies which **propagate terrorists**. (*The Independent*, Y. Alibhai-Brown, 18.7.2005)

54) In truth, the nearest London has experienced to this sensation – the feeling that **death could be about to strike** without warning – was when V2 rockets began landing on the capital in towards the end of the Second World War. (*The Independent*, K. Falkner, 23.7.2005)

In example (53) terrorists are described as evil spirits, who are living among the innocent people in a Muslim community. The terrorists are not considered human in this metaphor; rather they are something out of this world, which torments the others. In this example there is also another metaphor present that does not have to do with demons, but again describes terrorists as plants. An ideology that the terrorists have adopted is personified, and it acts as a person who *propagates* terrorists. To propagate means to grow more plants out of the original ones. This suggests that the ideologies that the terrorists have adopted are spread from plant to plant creating more of these plants that spread violence. Ideology is such an inconcrete thing that it is not easy to understand if not personified and made simpler. In this metaphor the ideologies are people spreading the word of the terrorists.

In example (54) terrorists are described as death. This is also something that is not human and cannot be seen. Also, death is here personified as something that has the ability to strike, which is a human ability. Therefore, there is an inconsistency in this metaphor, because although a terrorist is death, which is not human, death itself is human and has human abilities. This kind of metaphor exhibits very well the kind of images that metaphors can create, and people understand them, although they do not necessarily even make sense.

Another aspect of this kind of metaphor is that if the terrorists are inhuman, it is impossible to negotiate or reason with them, which makes them even more mysterious and unbeatable. In addition, demons are considered supernatural, and death also has supernatural aspects which again creates mystical and daunting connotations. The fear of the unknown is a part of the human character, and that is the way the writer wants to present the terrorists, as unknown and beyond human understanding.

7.3 Metaphors describing the events and parties of 7/7

This category contains several different kinds of metaphors. In addition to metaphors describing the events surrounding the terrorist attacks there are also metaphors that refer to the consequences of the attack on a governmental level, on the level of the state, and also globally, considering how the attacks affect the relations between Islamic and western countries. The *parties of 7/7* refer to these larger entities.

When the writers of the articles talk about the actual events of July 7 2005 in London (which were also referred to as 7/7 by the media) the metaphor **terrorists acts as entertainment** comes up several times. Also, the place where the acts took place is personified, the whole state, the city of London as well as the government that have the task to deal with the attacks. These metaphors also represent metonymy, because in almost all cases the entity stands for the small parts within it. The last category of metaphors deals with

‘the big picture’, that is, the metaphors that refer to the global consequences that the attacks had in the Muslim world as well as in the western democracies. These metaphors personify religions, countries and politics.

Terrorist acts as entertainment

The **terrorist acts as entertainment** -metaphors characterise the events surrounding the terrorist attacks as a drama, or a movie or a story that is being told. The **terrorism as entertainment** –metaphors were more common in the articles of *the Independent* than in the articles of *Open Democracy*. There were five examples of this metaphor found in *the Independent*, and only one in *Open Democracy*.

- 55) This **story** is filled with clichéd picture-postcard images of Britain: cricket lovers, a fish-and-chip shop where one of the bombers worked, a friend who describes them as “sound as a pound” – and an **ending set** on a double-decker. Nobody expected the **story of the London bombs** to turn into a wholly **British production** – *Four Weddings and a Jihad* – and it is bewildering. (*The Independent*, J. Hari, 15.7.2005)
- 56) The furious brigade has broken into hysteria because the Metropolitan Police [...] and the BBC have decided to use the labels with care – good for them, can’t be easy in these volatile times with such an **unfolding drama**. (*The Independent*, Y.A. Brown, 18.7.2005)
- 57) Every day for a fortnight seems to have been a **global drama**. (*Open Democracy*, M. Kaldor, 8.7.2005)
- 58) Those implicated in these **plots** must be put on trial. (*The Independent*, 23.7.2005)
- 59) It turns your life from being a random, dull **sequence of events** into a central part of a **huge and heroic story**. (*The Independent*, J. Hari, 15.7.2005)

A writer that uses metaphorical expressions in their texts often draw upon information that they expect the reader is familiar with and knowledge that they assume the reader possesses. This is done by referring to objects whose

existence people take for granted and deal with in their everyday lives (Wee 2005: 365). In today's world, entertainment is an everyday aspect of life, and it is easy to identify with and understand, because people are exposed to it constantly.

The events surrounding the terrorist attacks are described as a sort of a movie in example (55). There is a *story* that unfolds the background of the events, and an *ending set* that is a kind of a climax of the 'movie'. In the end of the example, the events are compared to a popular British film, and they are referred to as a *British production*. This gives the image that the terrorists who were British are the makers of this 'movie' about the London bombings. By using this kind of metaphor the events are dealt with rather lightly, and with humour. It gives the image that the terrorists have been treated better in the media than they deserve, because they are described as 'movie-makers', who are usually liked by the public, instead of hated as terrorists obviously are.

In (56) the events are also describes as a sort of a dramatical story that *unfolds* before the eyes of the audience. The story is being told through the media and the people who follow the news are the audience of the drama. The theatre-metaphors give the picture that the events are so unbelievable, that they can be characterised as fiction, rather than actual events. The example (57) is quite similar to the previous one, but there the drama is seen by the whole world. It is as if there is a theatrical show going on in Britain and the whole world is the audience. The terrorist attacks are described as *plots* in the example (58). A *plot* literally means a connected series of events that make up a story. The terrorists are characterised as authors of a story that is acted out through the attacks. This gives the impression of the terrorists as sort of artists that carefully design their story and then carry it out in real life.

In example (59) the lives of the terrorists before the bombings is described as a dull story, but in participating in the terrorist attacks they get the lead role in the *huge and heroic story*. In this metaphor, the attacks present an opportunity for the bombers to be involved in something which will be respected and admired. It gives the picture of a popular show that gets a big applause at the end, and the

bombers want to be a part of it so that they can escape their dull lives. They become heroes, people who are looked up to and admired.

What is interesting in these metaphors is that something very serious and factual is spoken in terms of something that is always fictional. A movie might be based on actual events but it is fiction nevertheless. This gives the impression of the events as something that only happens in movies or theatrical performances, not in real life. These metaphors give the impression that the events were merely a dramatic show performed by the terrorists, and the whole world was watching.

The events as natural phenomenon

There were a total of six metaphors found in *the Independent* that referred to the attacks as a natural phenomenon. In *Open Democracy* there were five of metaphors belonging to this category.

- 60) After the **deluge** we are being asked to condemn one form of terrorism, and in effect, support another. (*The Independent*, Y.A. Brown, 18.7.2005)
- 61) And the attempted second **wave of bombings** two days ago has cranked up the tension even more. (*The Independent*, 23.7.2005)
- 62) It is estimated that the second **wave of bomb attacks** has already reduced the number of shoppers in central London [...] (*The Independent*, 23.7.2005)
- 63) In the month since the **wave of coordinated bombs** on 7 July, every British Muslim leader [...] (*Open Democracy*, L. Sandys, 8.8.2005)
- 64) My own personal response to 7 July 2005 is shaped by proximity to the equally devastating, if accidental, fire in King's cross – the **London bombings' epicentre** – [...] (*Open Democracy*, F. Halliday, 15.7.2005)

The events are also described as a natural phenomenon, as in examples (60), (61), (62), (63). In example (60) the act the terrorists carried out is described as a *deluge*, which means a flood or a heavy rain that soaks everything. This refers to the fact that there were many simultaneous attacks, not just one. Also, the fact that the attacks took place around the city gives the impression of something that covers the entire city, in this case a flood. The *deluge* can also be interpreted as something else than water, it can also be a flood of blood, because it caused so much injuries and so many people got hurt.

The examples (61-63) describe the act as *waves* in dry land. A *wave* can be defined as a dangerous body of water, which gives it negative connotations. If a *wave* is strong enough, it can cause a lot of damage and kill a lot of people. The references to natural phenomena is interesting in the sense that they cannot be prevented precisely due to the fact that they are natural phenomena, which gives the images that the terrorist acts are such in nature that they cannot be prevented by people, that they just happen.

The example (64) describes the events as an earthquake. An *epicentre* means the place on the earth's surface directly above the point where the earthquake starts, and where it is felt most strongly. An earthquake is a suitable metaphor because it is a phenomenon that can have far-reaching effects, although it actually takes place in a certain point where the pressure gets too high and the tension between the two continental plates brakes. The place where the bombs were detonated are the epicentre, but the whole country, and probably the whole world, felt the quaking.

The fact that terrorist acts are presented as a natural phenomena, as a flood or a big wave, gives the impression that the terrorists have the upper hand and the targeted country is the underdog. There is nothing that a country can do to stop a flood, a big wave or an earthquake, and there is no way of predicting in from happening beforehand. This gives a rather weak image of the targeted country, and gives the terrorists almost god-like powers to cause a lot of destruction.

The state, the city and the government as person

These metaphors deal with the wider effects of the attacks and the reactions to them rather than with the actual events, which were focused on in the previous categories. The place where the events took place, that is, the city of London and Britain in general are personified quite extensively in the texts. Also the countries that have had similar attacks committed in them are personified, as well as the government that is trying to deal with the attacks and prevent them from happening again. Therefore, there were three categories of personification metaphors: **state as person**, **city as person** and **government as person**. There were in total of fourteen metaphors of this kind found in *Open Democracy*, and fifteen in *the Independent*. This was the most common metaphor found in the articles. Many of these metaphors also represent metonymy, where the whole stands for all its parts. First, the **state as person** –metaphors are examined, next the **city as person** –metaphors and finally the **government as person** –metaphors are looked at. There are three examples of the **state as person** –metaphor from *the Independent*, and one from *Open Democracy*:

- 65) Politically at least, Britain is coming together to **proclaim its tolerance**. (*The Independent*, S. Richards, 14.7.2005)
- 66) The UK has moved the bomb investigations beyond our shores to Muslim countries, and **the state now assumes** that whatever it does is justifiable after this provocation. (*The Independent*, Y. Alibhai-Brown, 18.7.2005)
- 67) In the crazed new world, **Western democracies argue** that they are entitled to violate human rights and intimidate harmless people. (*The Independent*, Y. Alibhai-Brown, 18.7.2005)
- 68) Today, an empire can be symbolically **brought to its knees** while at its point of highest glory. (*Open Democracy*, F. Grillo, 12.7.2005)

This first set of examples personify the state as a person with human characteristics. These metaphors belong to the category of ontological metaphors, because a person here serves as a sort of a container, where all the people the state stands for are in. The states as person metaphors also stress the fact that states act as units. Personification is a very common metaphor because

it “exploits the common tendency to ascribe (mythological) personality or agentive power to animate or inanimate entities” (Kitis and Milapides 1997: 567)

In his study to find metaphors justifying the war in the Gulf, Lakoff also found a category where the state was described as a person. He states that when a state is referred to as a person, it engages in “social relations with a world community” (Lakoff 1991), and they have *inherent dispositions*, such as aggressiveness or peacefulness and so on. In addition, referring to a state as a single unit, in this case a person, hides the possible power discrepancies that might exist between different groups that take part in making decisions, and maintains the illusion of power equality and unity of opinions and aspirations between the groups.

In example (65) Britain has *tolerance*, which of course only humans have. In this metaphor, Britain is a person who has to convince others that it has tolerance, who has to ‘save face’ in a sense. Also, this metaphor is an example of metonymy, where Britain stands for all the people in it, the government as well as the people. The tolerance of Britain concerns all the people living in it, so this metaphor suggests that all British people have tolerance.

The next example (66) is also an example of both personification and metonymy. The state is a person, who *assumes* that it has the right to do anything it wants, and there is another person, in this case terrorism, who is provoking the state. This also gives the image of the state as a very confident and headstrong. The metonymy in this metaphor can be found as the state stands for the people in the government who make the decisions on how to deal with terrorism and how to respond to the attacks. The responsibility of the consequences of the people who make the decisions is transferred to the state, which is a much larger entity, and therefore it creates the image that the ‘state’ makes the decisions, not individuals.

The next example (67) is very similar to the previous one, and also in this metaphor the *Western democracies* are people arguing about what to do about

terrorism. Referring to the politicians and people making important decisions as *democracies* is another example of metonymy and in using this metaphor enables the writer to talk about the politicians in the way that he/she does not have to mention anyone by name, the *democracy* again stands for all the people in the governments. This kind of metaphor is very common probably because it is very difficult to pinpoint who is doing what in the enormous arena of politics, and it is much easier to refer to them as one entity. In addition, when the entity is personified, it is easier for people to identify with it and understand it.

In (68) the state is depicted a bit differently, in this example the state is a person with a body and physical form of existence. When a person is *brought to his knees*, it usually means submission and humiliation, and in this metaphor the state is made to look very human and weak. This is also an example of an orientational metaphor, because it has a spatial dimension. When the state is *brought to its knees*, it goes downward, which, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1981) has negative connotations. People often conceptualise good as being up and bad being down.

The next set of examples describes the **city of London as a person**. There are four examples from *the Independent* and one from *Open Democracy*:

- 69) **As London contemplates** what looks disturbingly like a sustained suicide bombing campaign by Islamic terrorists, the question of morale in the city takes on profound significance. (*The Independent*, K. Falkner, 23.7.2005)
- 70) But the common assertion that **London is not afraid** is simply untrue. (*The Independent*, K. Falkner, 23.7.2005)
- 71) In truth, the nearest **London has experienced to this sensation** [...] was when V2 rockets began landing on the capital in towards the end of the Second World War. (*The Independent*, K. Falkner, 23.7.2005)
- 72) Nor will it salve the **wounds even of London**, a city celebrated **for its stoic determination** in the face of adversity. (*The Independent*, R. Cornwell, 9.7.2005)

73) London, **this wounded city**, is the latest frontline of a battle that can and must be won. (*Open Democracy*, F. Grillo, 12.7.2005)

The examples (69-73) all give the image of the city of London as a person who has been attacked and who has been injured in the attacks, and has reacted to the attacks emotionally. All of these are human characteristics, and by using them it is easier to sympathise with what has happened. This kind of metaphor is very often used exactly for that purpose; to evoke feelings of sympathy, when an entity (in this case the city of London) is identified as the weaker of the two parties of the events (Kitis and Milapides 1997: 568).

Examples (69-71) imply that the city is a person with feelings. In all of the three examples, there is a metonymy, where the city of London represents the people who live in it. These are examples of ontological metaphors, as the city of London serves as a container for the people living there. When London is described as being *afraid* in example (70), it creates feelings of sympathy and identification with the city and with the overall situation. It creates a picture of terrorism as a terrifying thing that looms over the city causing fear in the city. The city is very strongly portrayed as a victim. The example (71) is quite similar, but it does not create the image of the city as a victim so strongly. In this example, the attacks caused *a sensation* for the city, again giving it human characteristics.

In the examples (72) and (73) the city is a person who has been wounded by the terrorists. It creates an image of weakness - the city can be hurt by the terrorists quite easily - and a position of a victim. Also, in example (70), London has *determinism*, which gives the idea that a city that is usually very strong has now been weakened by the terrorists.

The third set of examples in this category depicts the **government as a person**. There are two examples from *the Independent* and two from *Open Democracy*:

74) It took over a decade for the **British government to learn better**. (*The Independent*, P. Cockburn, 11.7.2005)

75) For once, **the government did not fall into their trap**. (*The Independent*, P. Cockburn, 11.7.2005)

76) The United States clearly won't, but **Britain's government should be brave and confident** enough to publish the numbers of those who have died on Britain's watch. (*Open Democracy*, L. Sandys, 8.8.2005)

77) If the **British government started telling the truth** on these matters and met the Muslim community halfway, it could have an enormous psychological benefit. (*Open Democracy*, L. Sandys, 8.8.2005)

All of the examples (74-77) again represent both personification and metonymy. The government is a person with brains who makes the decisions concerning the country in example (74). The ability to learn is obviously possessed only by humans and animals, which makes this an example of personification. This metaphor gives an image of the government as almost a child who makes mistakes because it has not yet learned better. This is an example of metonymy because the government stands for all the people in it, the government makes the decisions, not individuals.

In example (75) an image is created of the government as an animal who has fallen into the trap set up by the terrorists in the past, but this time has managed to avoid falling to the trap. The government is in a way ushered by the terrorists to do certain things, which creates the impression that the terrorists are smarter than the government, and the only thing the government can do is avoid falling into the terrorist's traps.

The examples (76) and (77) suggest that the government is a dishonest person who is hiding something and not telling the whole truth about issues going on. Personification makes it easier for people to identify to the government; it gives the government characteristics that bring it closer to the people, rather than remaining a vague, political organization. Again metonymy is used; it is probably easier to refer to the entity as dishonest rather than point the finger at individual politicians. Also, the government is a group of people making decisions together, which makes it more difficult to take one person out to face criticism.

Metaphors found only in Open Democracy

In addition to metaphors that referred to terrorism and the terrorists, there were also metaphors found from the articles of *Open Democracy* that had more to do with what lead these men to commit the attacks and what are the possible consequences of the attacks. These are included in the study to gain some perspective on how the writers see the ‘big picture’, meaning the worldwide effects of an attack like this. The metaphors found described different entities, such as countries or communities, as person. Metaphors of this kind were not found from the articles of *the Independent*.

The parties connected to or affected by the events as person

In the articles of *Open Democracy*, there was a lot of discussion about how these attacks affect the countries and the religion the perpetrators are linked to, as well as the political moves made in effect of the attacks. The effects in Western countries that sympathise with Britain are also discussed. When these issues are talked about, the metaphor that is used most often is personification and metonymy.

78) If all three are combined, another policy conclusion follows: only when the **middle east has resolved both its political and its identity crisis** will it achieve stability. (Open Democracy, T. Munthe, 21.7.2005)

In the above example (78) the Middle East is portrayed as a person. It suggests that the Middle East as an area is an unstable person with an identity crisis, which makes it an ontological metaphor, the person being the container of the entity that is Middle East as well as the identity crisis that it is suffering from. It creates an image that it is this instability of the Middle East that is causing terrorism and that if the Middle East was stable, the people in it would also be more stable. In addition to personification, this metaphor is also an example of metonymy, because there is no reference to one particular state in the Middle

East, rather it is referred to as a whole, where all the states are in the same situation.

79) Literally speaking, **Islam is incompatible with modernity**. (Open Democracy, T. Munthe, 21.7.2005)

80) The **wrath of this tribal Islam** towards its enemies is indiscriminate [...] (Open Democracy, A. Malik, 15.8.2005)

81) In many English cities [...] the intensity of **Muslim anger** is palpable. (Open Democracy, A. Malik, 15.8.2005)

These three examples (79), (80) and (81) have to do with the Muslim religion. The first two examples describe Islam as a person. In example (79) abstract concepts are referred to by using human terms, Islam and modernity are two people who just do not get along with each other in spite of their efforts. This is an experience that is very familiar to people from the everyday social interactions, so it makes the issue easier to conceptualise. People are aware that it is completely normal that two different personalities can have severe clashes, and the metaphor creates the image that it is this clash of personalities that causes conflicts between the West and the Islamic countries.

The two other examples (80-81) create an image of the Islam religion as an angry person who has endured wrongdoing against its principles and has nothing but animosity towards the entity that attacks it. Metonymy can also be identified; Islam stands for all of the people who belong to that religion, which gives the impression that all Muslims consider Western people their enemies, which is quite a strong view.

82) In any case, it would be naïve to think that **Iraq had no impact** on what happened in London. (Open Democracy, L. Sandys, 8.8.2005)

In (82) metonymy is used, and in this metaphor the word *Iraq* stands for everything that has been going on there in the recent years. Although it is not

said in so many words, you understand from the choice of words that it is not the country of Iraq that had an impact on the events, but it is the actions that the Western countries, including Britain, have taken in Iraq that has had an impact of the events in London. This kind of metaphor requires some knowledge on the background and events in Iraq, and the writer presumes that the reader is familiar with the actions taken in Iraq. Otherwise the metaphor can not be understood by the reader.

83) Fifth, the **west itself [...] is not immune** to apocalyptic hysteria. (Open Democracy, T. Munthe, 21.7.2005)

84) Demagogues in the Muslim world, and its diaspora, have long inveighed the **Western material and political virus that corrupts a pristine culture**, [...] (Open Democracy, A.B. Sajoo, 19.7.2005)

The last examples (83-84) have to do with the Western countries, but these examples are quite different from each other. The first example (84) depicts the west as a person with an immune system, and terrorism is the cause of hysteria attacking that immune system. This gives the image of the west as a vulnerable person and a victim of the terrorists. The west as a person stands for all the people living in Western countries, and when the terrorists cause hysteria among the people, that person becomes ill and does not have its full strength to oppose the dangers that attack it.

Example (84) on the other hand describes the ideologies and politics that the west represents as a virus that attacks the Muslim culture that is here imaged as a person, a victim of the corruptive, Western lifestyle. It suggests that the Muslim culture is a person that has lived a healthy life until it has become exposed to the virus of the Western culture. This metaphor is very different from the previous examples because it suggests that the west has brought these troubles on themselves, which has not been suggested in any other metaphors found in the data. This suggests that the writer sees things more from the terrorist point of view than the other writers do, and has the courage to articulate her criticism towards the actions of the Western countries.

8 DISCUSSION

This section is dedicated to the comparison between the two papers; the differences between the two papers must be articulated in order to answer the questions posed at the beginning of the study. Also, the overall picture of issues concerning terrorism that is given through the use of metaphors is also discussed. I will first look at the metaphors used in both papers separately, and then look into the differences between them.

8.1 Metaphors describing terrorism

The metaphors used when the writers were referring to terrorism were examined first. In the articles of *the Independent*, terrorism was most often described as a *game*. A total of seven *terrorism as game* metaphors were identified. As stated above, game metaphors are often used to refer to events to make them seem more vivid and dramatic. Game metaphors are also very common in discussions about political issues. The game metaphors create the image that the West and the terrorists are playing a game where both parties make moves by turns, and the terrorist's attacks constitute a turn, and now it is Britain's turn to react to the attacks. You get the image that sending troops to Iraq constituted a turn which lead to the turn taken by the terrorists, in the form of a deadly attack.

The game metaphor was much more common in *the Independent*, and there were only two game metaphors found in the articles of *Open Democracy*. The metaphors that were found were, however, rather similar to the ones found in *the Independent*, so that not much difference can be identified in the use of the game metaphor between the two papers.

The metaphor that was almost as common as the game metaphor in *the Independent* was the **terrorism as disease** metaphor. There were six metaphors found that described terrorism as a virus or a mental illness. There was also a metaphor that described terrorism as bad blood that contaminates a person. The

disease metaphors create the image that the west is a person that in order to function properly, needs to be healthy and strong, and terrorism is the disease that weakens and makes the person incomplete and unable to function properly in the 'world community', as Lakoff (1991) describes the relationship of the personified states.

There were four instances in the articles of *the Independent* where terrorism as a phenomenon was describes as a person. These metaphors created the image of an evil and deceitful person, trying to lure people to work for them in order to contribute to their cause. One metaphor also described this person as *hollow*, which suggests that this person does not have the characteristics normal people possess, such as feelings and the comprehension of right and wrong. There were three metaphors in *Open Democracy* that belong to this category, and hey were quite similar to the ones found from *the Independent*.

The **terrorism as trap** metaphors highlighted the nature of terrorism as something that people get caught up in unwillingly, and are not able to get out. There were two metaphors in this category from both papers. These traps are laid by the people that harbour extremist ideologies and are somehow able to get foolish individuals to fall into the trap. This is an interesting metaphor, and its presence in the texts might indicate that there exists some form of sympathy even towards the terrorists, probably due to the fact that they were British citizens and still decided to co-operate with a worldwide terrorist organization. The fault is transferred to somewhere else. These metaphors give the image that they fell into the trap of terrorism because of the lack of support from the society so that they would have been strong enough to resist turning to terrorism.

There was an equal amount of metaphors in the Independent that described terrorism as *person* and as *fire*. The fire metaphors were only found in the articles of *the Independent*. In these metaphors terrorism originated from a spark, grew to a fire and then eventually fizzled out, which symbolizes the birth, existence and disappearing of extremist organizations. *Fire* metaphors are often associated to abstract and everyday things, such as love, and is

suitable for describing also terrorism because it is something that can be born out of a small spark, and spread out of control and cause a lot of destruction, but if it is not fed, it will fizzle out eventually. Therefore it is important for the government of the target country not to *feed* terrorism with their actions.

There were no other metaphors that would have stood out as common in *the Independent* and not present in *Open Democracy*. In a few instances terrorism was describes as a time bomb of music calling men to join the cause. Next, the metaphors that were most common in the articles of *Open Democracy* will be reviewed.

The most common metaphor describing terrorism in *Open Democracy* was the **terrorism as poison** metaphor. There were ten metaphors found in this category. This is interesting because no metaphors were found from *the Independent* that would belong to this category. In these metaphors the ideologies that the terrorists represent create a poisonous combination that contaminates peoples minds, also the minds of the people that decide to follow them and become extremists. This poison spreads through the media and through the activists that ‘spread the word’ to frustrated young Muslims who take actions once their minds are successfully polluted.

The second most common metaphor in *Open Democracy* was terrorism as disease, as it was also in *the Independent*. However, there were more examples of this metaphor found from *Open Democracy*, in total of nine instances, and six in *the Independent*. The metaphors from *Open Democracy* described terrorism as mutation, mental illness or a virus. Mutation is commonly thought of as something not entirely human or somehow incomplete, and mutation is also always congenital, which suggests that terrorism is not something that is caused by the environment, rather terrorism is something that ‘runs in the family’. When terrorism is referred to as a mental illness, it suggests that these acts are something that a sane person would never do, that the cause they are fighting is not rational, which again highlights the rationality and correctness of the activities of the Western countries and the irrationality of the actions of the people opposing them.

The third most common metaphor was the **terrorism as war** metaphor. This metaphor was also only present in the articles of *Open Democracy*. In *the Independent*, not one reference to terrorism as war was found, which might suggest that the mainstream news media wants to avoid referring to terrorism as war. In these metaphors, the terrorists were the enemies of the Western states and peoples, and the terrorist group forms the army the war is fought against. London is the latest battleground, and who knows what the next place is, since the terrorist army is so mysterious you never know where they will hit next. In this war it is east against west.

A few metaphors that were only present in *Open Democracy* described **terrorism as ghost**. These metaphors highlight the mysterious character of terrorism, because people can never know what these extremists are up to and where they might be lurking because they can't be seen until they jump out and cause mayhem. People are also traditionally scared of ghosts, which makes it an appropriate metaphor.

All in all, the articles of *Open Democracy* were richer in metaphors describing terrorism, there were in total 38 metaphors identified from *Open Democracy*, and 26 from *the Independent*. Next, the metaphors describing the terrorists are reviewed.

8.2 Metaphors describing the terrorists

When the metaphors that referred to the perpetrators of the attacks were counted, there was a surprising amount of consistency between the two papers. The metaphors describing terrorists as animals or plants were the most common in both papers, and they also had the equal amount of metaphors that described terrorists as soldiers in a war.

There were six metaphors in the articles of *the Independent* and four in *Open Democracy* that described terrorists as animals. The animals the terrorists were compared to were tigers, rats, birds and other animals preyed by animals that are higher in the food chain, and animals that are bred, which gives the impression of a dog or a horse. All of these state that terrorists do not belong to the human race, that they are below humans in the hierarchy of living things in this earth. The tiger metaphor creates the image that a terrorist is a carnivore that eats everything it comes across, and the innocent people are its prey.

The rat metaphor suggests that terrorists are pests that are able to hide and disappear easily, and also breed quite rapidly. Rats are a nuisance that people just have to be able to get used to and live with, because they are so hard to get rid of. The bird metaphor creates the image of a terrorist as an egg that terrorism is incubating, and when it is hatched it will be released into the world to do what they were created to do.

The metaphors describing terrorists as animals were very similar in both papers, and therefore it can not be said if one paper used more radical language than the other. The number of metaphors found were also quite similar, which indicates that the animal metaphors did not have a highlighted position in either paper.

The metaphors describing terrorists as plants draw attention to the fact that they somehow uprooted and therefore are behaving irrationally. There were six plant metaphors in *the Independent* and four in *Open Democracy*. The term *homegrown* indicates that these terrorists were planted to the British soil with good intentions but they still turned against their host. The maltreatment, lack of opportunities and hate towards those who undermine their ideologies act as sort of fertilizer that helps these terrorists to grow. In addition, if these terrorists are not able to become completely ingrained in the soil, they will not stop acting radically. These metaphors were also quite similar in nature in both papers, and therefore no major differences can be identified.

The terrorists were also described as soldiers in both papers. Three instances of the soldier metaphor were found in both papers. The soldier metaphor also in a sense takes the blame from the terrorists themselves, because soldiers are always working for someone and are obligated to follow the orders of their superiors. The soldier metaphor also gives their acts a somewhat heroic tinge, because soldiers are traditionally seen as heroes that will sacrifice their lives for the greater cause. However it is clear that these metaphors take the viewpoint of those who sympathize with the terrorist cause.

One major difference between the papers when it came to the terrorists themselves was the fact that there were four metaphors found from the articles of *the Independent* that described the terrorists as inhuman. Metaphors belonging to this category were not found from *Open Democracy*. These metaphors compared terrorists to demons and death, something that everyone in the world would consider supernatural and mysterious. These metaphors draw attention to the unpredictable and evil nature of terrorism.

In this category there were more metaphors found from the articles of *the Independent*, in total of 19 metaphors, whereas in *Open Democracy* there were only 11 metaphors found. It was rather surprising that more metaphors were not found that would describe the terrorists themselves, considering the large amount of metaphors that described terrorism as a general phenomenon. Also, no metaphors were found from the articles of *Open Democracy* that were not present in the texts of *the Independent*, although in the category of terrorism as a phenomenon there were large categories of metaphors that were not present in *the Independent*.

8.3 Metaphors describing the events and parties of 7/7

The events of 7/7 were illustrated as natural phenomena and entertainment. The entertainment metaphors were more common in *the Independent*; there were total of five metaphors found, and only one from *Open Democracy*. The

entertainment metaphors described the events as a sort of a worldwide movie, or a theatrical performance. This is an interesting metaphor in the sense that that is exactly what the terrorists were after; that a many people as possible in the world would see the events and hear what they had to say. They are in charge of providing the entertainment and the world can do nothing but watch.

The metaphors describing the events as a natural phenomenon described it as a flood of water or an earthquake. Six metaphors belonging to this category were found from *the Independent* and five from *Open Democracy*. These metaphors highlight the helplessness of the targeted state, and the role of victim in the sense that natural phenomena is something that is unavoidable and the place it hits is random, rather than being influenced by the actions of the people in that place. In other words, Britain did not do anything that might have affected the execution of these attacks; rather it is the innocent victim of them.

There were no metaphors found belonging to this section that would have only been from one paper; the metaphors used were quite similar in both papers. The most common metaphor in this category was personification, where the different parties connected to the attacks were described as individuals. The state, the government, as well as the city were described as person, and also, this person represented all the people functioning in it, and therefore the majority of these metaphors were also examples of metonymy. In addition, these metaphors had more to do with the consequences of the attacks rather than the attacks themselves.

The state as person metaphors underlined the fact that the state has to react to these events as one unit, that whatever is done to respond to them or prevent them, it would be done as if the decisions were made by a single person. These kinds of metaphors hide the possible contrasting views that individual people inside the state might have, and creates an image of a strong, united front ready to defend the state. The government as person metaphors have the same effect, only one view is presented, and no contrasting views are brought to light. When the city is depicted as a one person, one unit, it suggests that the experience of the people living there is exactly similar for everyone. The city is

wounded and afraid; therefore every citizen is wounded and afraid. This metaphor was more common in *the Independent*.

The number of metaphors belonging to this category was almost the same in both papers; therefore no major difference can be identified between the papers. Nevertheless, there was one category of metaphors that were only found from the articles of *Open Democracy*. This category included metaphors that had to do with the global effects of the attacks. Again, the metaphors personified the different entities, such as religion, ethnic communities and the west as one entity. These metaphors give the picture that the west and the Middle East are like two people fighting with each other, both trying to prove the superiority of their lifestyle. The image that the Middle East is the underdog and is struggling with 'personal' problems that causes instability and attacks as the one in question does come up, and also that the whole community has deep hatred towards the west. On the other hand, the British state also faces criticism for its actions too, and the western superiority does not come up too strongly. Actually, some metaphors depict Britain as weak; the terrorists have *brought the empire to its knees*, which creates quite a strong image of the power of the terrorists.

This category reveals one major difference that came up between the papers. The metaphors used in *the Independent* were quite focused on the events and consequences inside Britain, whereas the writers of *Open Democracy* took a more global view and considered more the global effects of the attacks, as well as possible causes of the conflict between the parties. This supports the view that alternative news media is more globally oriented, whereas the national mainstream newspaper is more concerned with the states internal issues.

Otherwise the style of the articles and metaphors were quite similar between the papers, more similar than was expected at the beginning of the study. A critical perspective was obtained on all aspects of the events in both papers, including the western point of view, although there was a bit more criticism towards the west in the articles of *Open Democracy*. On the other hand, there was some amount of sympathy towards the terrorists expressed in the articles

of *the Independent*, probably because the perpetrators were British citizens rather than outside extremists. Some metaphors implied also that the writer was able to look at the events from the point of view of the Muslims, and in some articles it became clear that the writer himself/herself was a Muslim. This could also in part explain the occasional expression of sympathy towards the terrorists.

When all of these points are summed up, the overall picture of terrorism created by the metaphors is a very complex one. On one hand terrorism is something that people are familiar with, like a game. It is important to know how to play the game and also important to win, defeat the terrorists. On the other hand terrorism is something widely unknown and scary, even supernatural, and very difficult to fight or even see. This conflict suggests that the way people react to terrorism and the way terrorism is seen overall is far from simple.

This conflict is also present in other categories. A very common metaphor was the one where terrorism was described as a disease. The terrorists carry and spread the disease, and the extremist branches of Islam are the sources of the disease. A policy of the government allowing extremists to operate in the country is explained through infection in the policy. These kinds of expressions very clearly suggest that every aspect of the operations of the terrorists is thoroughly negative, *they* are sick and *we* are healthy. Then again, terrorism is also described as a trap that has been created by specific extremists that are like the masterminds of all terrorist activity. The people who actually commit the attacks and give their lives for the cause are victims of these masterminds, which takes some of the blame of the bombers. They have fallen into their trap and cannot get out; they can only do as they are told. This kind of conflicted view might derive from the fact that the suicide bombers were British, and it might be very difficult to accept that a British person would want to harm their fellow citizens unless they were forced to do so.

9 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was in the first place to find out the metaphorical expressions used in connection with terrorism and terrorists, as well as with a specific event, the suicide bombings that took place in London on July 7, 2005. The metaphors were examined to find out what hidden meanings and ideologies could be discovered behind them, and secondly, the possible difference in the use of metaphors between two very different representatives of the media, a mainstream newspaper and a web-based, alternative magazine that responds to everyday events in a critical manner.

Although the use of metaphors in news discourse has been studied before, I have not found a study that would include alternative news media in it. Also, the study of metaphors has before concentrated more on actual reporting news texts, whereas this study takes a closer look of a specific part of news texts; opinionated articles that focus more on the implications and consequences of the event rather than on the specific events. Otherwise this study complements earlier studies that have been conducted on metaphors in the media from the perspective of critical discourse analysis.

It was rather surprising that the differences between the two sources were so little. The major difference was that in the articles of *Open Democracy* terrorism was quite often referred to as *poison* or *war*, whereas such metaphors were completely absent from the articles of *the Independent*. The most common metaphors in *the Independent* described terrorism rather as a game or a disease.

The metaphors describing the terrorists themselves were also very similar in both papers. Terrorists were depicted as *animals*, *plants* or *soldiers* in a war, but one difference emerged. There were several instances in the articles of *the Independent* where terrorists were described as *inhuman*, as something that does not belong to the human race. These kinds of metaphors were not found from the articles of *Open Democracy*.

An important conclusion is that there was a surprisingly large amount of consistency between the two papers, and based on these results, I can't say that the alternative news media would use more radical or straightforward means to get their message through, as I anticipated in the beginning of this research process. This might be because of the similar political views of the papers. One fact did come up, that writers of *the Independent* do not connect terrorism with war, as was done in the articles of *Open Democracy*. A possible reason for this that war is a very strong word with lots of negative connotations, and the war going on in Iraq is a very controversial subject in Britain, as so many people are opposed to it. The representatives of the British mainstream media might want to avoid reminding the people that they are in fact involved in a war as we speak.

The two papers were also rather consistent in describing the events in London on July 7 2005, both papers referred to the events as if they were entertainment or a natural phenomenon that could not have been avoided. This is interesting because it in a way absolves the government from any accountability in preventing this kind of attacks. What was different between the two papers was that in the articles of *Open Democracy*, the worldwide effects and consequences as well as the possible reasons were much more strongly commented on, and the different states and overall parties connected to the events were personified and given human characteristics.

Another interesting observation was that although terrorism was considered as a severely negative phenomenon, the terrorists themselves were in some cases described as victims of their surroundings and victims of the radical ideas they are subjected to, and therefore somehow forced into these actions, as if they were not able to grasp the consequences of those actions. Especially in this case, where the perpetrators were British citizens, the general attitude was that something must be wrong with their surroundings to lead them to such desperate acts.

Based on these results it can be concluded that the fundamental difference between the sources was that *Open Democracy* looked at the events from a

more global perspective, whereas *the Independent* concentrated on the consequences more on a state level. Therefore, it can be concluded that the alternative news media is more suitable for those who are more concerned on issues on a global level. Also, the articles of *Open Democracy* also contained more metaphors that looked at the events from the point of view of Muslims and the Middle East in general and therefore provides a larger variety of views and opinions than the mainstream newspaper.

The problem that this kind of study is that the results are based on my own observations and interpretations about the metaphors, and therefore another researcher might have gotten different kinds of results from the same data. The difficulty with this kind of study is that the interpretations I as a researcher make are made of someone else's linguistic images, and I cannot be sure of the writer's true intentions. Also, I cannot be sure whether the metaphor is used consciously to push forward the writer's view, or whether the metaphor is used unconsciously.

Another difficulty came from the fact that the identification of the metaphors also depended on my own interpretation that the metaphor qualified as an example, and also, some metaphors could belong to more than one category. In addition, the results would have been more reliable if there had been more data available, that is, more articles found on the subject.

Schmitt (2005: 382) has commented on the weaknesses of metaphor analysis, and he states that metaphor analysis can only provide indirect and incomplete answers to questions about, for example, socio-economic circumstances. He stresses the fact that metaphor analysis is always subjective and it can never be objective in the sense that different researchers would always end up with similar results on the same data. Schmitt highlights this weakness very strongly when he says:

“An empirical ‘falsification’ of a metaphor analysis is possible. By making the material accessible, other researchers can also discover metaphorical relationships and further limit or extend the assumed range of previously developed interpretations”

(Schmitt 2005: 383)

Considering the present study, another limitation to the reliability of the results comes from the fact that no previous studies on the representation of terrorism or terrorists through metaphors were found, and therefore no comparison was possible. It would have been interesting to find out how the recent years of ‘war on terror’ have influenced the way terrorism is talked about, and especially the metaphorical representation of the phenomenon. There was a similarity to an earlier study found, though, as terrorists were referred to as animals also in the data of the present study, as the immigrants in Otto Santa Ana’s study were also referred to as animals. Another similarity is that the game metaphor was present also in the data, and as stated above, the game metaphor is very common when political issues are discussed.

Despite its limitations, metaphor analysis combined with critical discourse analysis provided a strong methodological basis for this study, and satisfactory answers were found for the questions posed in the beginning of the study. Nevertheless, if there had been more differences between the use of metaphors between the two sources, perhaps more differences on the basic nature of a mainstream and an alternative news media could have been revealed. This problem, considering further research, might be solved by looking at the representation of terrorism from a wider perspective, using metaphors as one object of study but also including other perspectives, for example intertextuality.

Overall, this study complements the growing field of critical metaphor analysis, which is a term developed by Jonathan Charteris-Black (2005). Although the point of departure in the present study differs somewhat from the previous studies in the field, partly due to the choice of data (editorials instead of traditional news texts and alternative news media in addition to mainstream news media) and partly due to the complexity of the examined phenomenon,

this study provides further information on the means that media representatives use to create certain images of issues and events.

Further research on this particular subject could include the point of view of the Muslims, meaning a mainstream news media with a wide circulation in the Muslim community would be an excellent source of data to compare with the Western equivalent. That kind of comparison could reveal complicated and differing power relations, and terrorism and terrorists could be described very differently. In the data of the present study some writers were in fact Muslims, also in *the Independent*, but nonetheless they are working for a British mainstream newspaper and must 'play by their rules', to use a convenient metaphor.

Another interesting possibility for further research would be to concentrate on one of the three levels examined in this study, when the reliability of the results might be higher. If a scholar interested in the subject would be able to find a large amount of data where the subject would include terrorists, it would be possible to find more metaphor categories on how terrorists are represented as a part of society and the human race.

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