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**The Social Construction of the “Enemy”
In a Post 9/11 Era**

Christina Janzen

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Department of Criminology
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Abstract

Who is the enemy in the post-9/11 period? Do we as a society build the enemy's identity, and if so how? This thesis explores the types of discourse, including binary opposition, and practices, including labelling and profiling, used by the media in the building of enemy identities. Using a qualitative research approach, I analyze over ninety articles from The Province, a Canadian newspaper, to investigate how one print media presented enemies in the thirty days following the World Trade Centre bombing on September 11, 2001. After situating my analysis within two overlapping theoretical perspectives, the critical discourse and the social constructionist perspectives, I demonstrate that the label of "enemy" is applied by society and the state to an entity that appears to pose a threat—I underline that appearing "different" can qualify a person or group for arbitrary surveillance among other human rights violations. My research will show that the issue of ethnicity is crucial to understanding how enemies are constructed. Prejudicial attitudes have the potential to influence our politicians, seep into our immigration systems, and affect our policies and criminal laws.

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Introduction

On the morning of September 11, 2001¹, the world awoke to news reports that two airplanes had crashed into New York City's twin towers. Widespread feelings of insecurity coupled with uncertainty about the future catalyzed the American government to seek out and target those who orchestrated the 9/11 attacks—specifically individuals who were considered a threat to the social order. In response to this perceived crisis, governments and international communities alike mobilized to fight a “new enemy.”²

In the aftermath of 9/11, Americans and the citizens of other Western countries were forced to redefine their realities. One researcher explains that during this time, “political and religious leaders, citizens and the media struggled . . . to recapture or to create universal meanings within a symbolic system in which many traditional meanings and constants were shattered” (Ryan, 2004, p. 363). Newly-invented terms and new types of discourse emerged in an attempt to make sense of life in the post-9/11 era: terms such as “risk,” “threat,” “uncertainty,” and “unknown” rapidly came to influence the identification, targeting, and exclusion of America's new so-called enemy. An analysis of one newsprint media represents how society collectively frames its new situation in terms of binary oppositions, using such notions as “in-groups and out-groups,” “guilty and innocent,” “heroes and villains.” Binary oppositions are a vital tool to help distinguish who is the enemy and hence to differentiate “us” from “them.” According to Edward Said (1978), “each age and society re-creates its

¹ I will generally refer to the World Trade Center bombings on September 11th, 2001 as either September 11th or “9/11.”

² I will use the term “enemy” to convey not only authentic antagonists but also groups or individuals that are perceived as enemies by certain elements of government and society.

‘others,’ those we see as opposite to us and ultimately who we construct as enemies” (p. 332).

Who is the enemy in the post-9/11 period? Do we as a society build the enemy’s identity, and if so how? By analyzing one print media, The Province this thesis will explore the discourses and practices involved in how enemy identities are created. There are some researchers who might argue that the concept of the enemy is defined contextually; this would entail that the enemy’s identity emerges from a socially or historically-situated event. Logically, this identity should then change in accordance with the particular historical and political circumstances of the time (Goode, 1997, p. 423). Others argue that the human identity is largely informed by power relations³ and thus that it serves the interests of a group or social class (at the expense of another) to define an individual or a group as an “enemy” (Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 82). Still other researchers contend that contemporary ideologies and discourses determine who we identify as an enemy. Henry and Tator (2002) argue that “Discourse carries social meanings, which is usually politicized, in the sense that they carry with them concepts of power that reflect the interests of the power elite” (p. 25).

Enemies serve a function of reinforcing societal norms and values (Levi-Strauss, 1958; Ericson et. al., 1987; Kappeler, 1996). According to Kitsuse & Spector (1987), “Norms, provide the sociologist with a vantage point to define, observe and classify behaviours as deviant” (p. 587). In this way, enemy definitions, especially the language we use to describe them, are never entirely neutral or isolated and are influenced by the interests of a particular group or class. The enemy serves as a symbol and maintains “a moral order

³ When I refer to the notion of “power” I am referring to a Marxist perspective that defines power “in terms of relations between dominant and subordinate classes [and] by rooting inequality in the economic sphere” (Comack, 1999, p. 44). Similarly, when I refer to the dominant or powerful class I am referring to the political, economic, and social elite.

constructed out of the conflict of manichean, polar opposites—a struggle of good and evil, personified in the conflicts of villain, heroine and hero” (Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 83).

The importance of this research is that by deconstructing the processes by which we build enemies, we challenge the autonomic, socially-ingrained aversion towards difference. In doing this type of research, we also challenge those who hide behind an ideological framework that justifies a retaliatory attack or other government-sanctioned aggression in the name of national security against so-called threats and enemies.

After September 11th, many Western governments gained a variety of new powers; because of the collective acknowledgement in those societies of a designated enemy and consensus about the necessity of eradicating that threat, there was little protest against legislative activity to boost those powers. For example the World Trade Centre bombings spawned the passing of anti-terrorism legislation including Canada’s Anti-Terrorism Act (Bill C-36) and the USA Patriot Act which have had the potential to limit civil liberties by giving arbitrary powers to law enforcement agencies such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Security Intelligence Services (CSIS) in Canada and the various American police agencies and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States. Under the national security framework, the mere presence of an enemy could suddenly justify all sorts of human rights violations. The passing of anti-terrorism legislation expanded the authority of law enforcement and increased their ability to spy on, wire tap, search and arrest individuals or groups labelled suspicious or threatening, sometimes arbitrarily and without reason or accountability.

The practice of designating an enemy can lead to the targeting of harmless groups or individuals by the state. The label of “enemy” is applied by society and the state to someone who appears to pose a threat; appearing “different” could qualify a person or group for

surveillance or worse (Kinsman et al., 2000, p. 278). The ideologies of national security, for example, explain why the state relies on such broad social consensus when it is characterizing an element as deviant or subversive; these ideologies also make clear how particular groups are defined as threats to protect those in power (Kinsman et al., 2000).

In Chapter I, I explore how enemy identities are created using a critical discourse analysis and a social constructivist perspective. I have broken down this chapter into two main sections. In the first section, I draw upon the works of Edward Said, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Antonio Gramsci, among others, for insight into how ethnocentric and xenophobic attitudes construct⁴ individuals or groups as enemies, based upon perceived differences in physical qualities or attributes. In this section, I also consider how the concept of threat has been used in the process of constructing enemies. I then examine the practice of labelling in the building of enemy identities. Next, I discuss the process of social problem construction and whether enemies serve a purpose in society. Since this paper is written from a Canadian perspective, I also investigate the role of Canada in the process of enemy building. Finally, I explore the role of the media in building enemy identities. In the second half of this chapter, I explain my two overlapping theoretical perspectives, the critical discourse and the social constructionist perspectives, drawing upon their usefulness in elucidating how problems are constructed and how the enemy is socially constructed. I use this section to explain the role of ideology and power within the process of enemy construction. Further to this, I use critical discourse analysis, specifically binary oppositions, as an analytical framework to illuminate the role language plays in building identities. I

⁴ I use the term “construct” to mean the process of “building,” or “creating” the enemy identity. I also apply this concept according to the social constructionist perspective that suggests social problems, and in this case identities, are socially constructed concepts.

round off this chapter with a discussion on the role of power in discourse as it relates not only to constructing but also to maintaining enemies.

In Chapter II, I discuss the use of both the qualitative approach and discourse analysis (as a technique for data collection) to articulate a conceptual framework to understand the enemy building process. My research will analyze an English-language, British Columbian newspaper, The Province. I have analyzed the content of this newspaper's discourse surrounding 9/11 in the thirty days that followed the event and, drawing upon this analysis, I have created a framework to understand one media's representation of how the identity of the enemy was constructed. The literature introduced in Chapter I suggests that the process of constructing the enemy can involve two intertwining dimensions. The first of these is the construction of enemies based upon enemy characteristics and traits; the second dimension is the construction of enemies based upon the type of threat that states and societies perceive them to pose.

In Chapter III, I show how enemy discourse emerged in The Province newspaper. First, I trace the evolution of how the enemy's identity emerges over the course of the thirty days following September 11th, moving from vague notions of a threat to firm beliefs about a fundamentalist Islamic opponent. Second, I discuss how this enemy compares with enemies of the past. Third, I discuss the discourses and practices at work in the building of enemies, particularly focusing on the use of binary constructions. Last, I explore who defines our enemies, comparing American and Canadian influences and determining whether these countries share similar enemies.

Finally, in Chapter IV I discuss my findings as they relate to my original research questions, and I explore the relevance of my analytical framework together with its potential application in future research. My findings support that the issue of ethnicity is crucial to

understanding how enemies are constructed. Kealey writes, "One thing the historical record now clearly shows is that from its inception the [State] has equated dissent with the foreign-born" (2000, p. 18). As a democratic society, we Canadians must continue to challenge the exclusionary discourses and practices that designate groups or individuals as enemies because the outlook that informs them is usually grounded in fear, mistrust, and insecurity. Most importantly, these prejudiced attitudes have the potential to influence our politicians, seep into our immigration systems, and affect our policies and criminal laws.

Chapter I: **Building the Enemy Identity**

The human identity is complex and dynamic. Edward Said (1978) suggests the human identity is not born, but rather constructed and “occasionally even invented outright” (p. 332). This chapter explores the processes of how enemy identities are built and defined.

An “enemy” can be defined as a negative label assigned to an individual, group, or any entity that has been socially and morally cast in opposition to the group doing the defining. Thornham and Purvis (2005) write, “The [enemy or] villain’s function is to disturb the social and moral order and present the heroes with problems to solve. . . they simply have to personify threats to the established order” (p. 79). Jock Young (1999) says, “in order to create ‘a good enemy’ we must be able to convince ourselves: (1) that they are a cause of a large part—maybe all—of our problems; (2) that they are intrinsically different from us: that they epitomize wickedness, evil, degradation, etc.” (p. 116). It has been argued it is easier to gain public favour and support for imposing changes to policy and legislation, and legitimizing military mobilization when there is an image of an enemy in mind. The enemy label does not need to be accurate and even distortions are acceptable (Said, 1978; Lévi-Strauss (1958).

First it is important to note the concept of “enemy” is defined contextually; that is, an enemy identity emerges from a socially or historically-situated event (Goode, 1997, p. 423). Said (1978) says that each era re-creates its “others” (p. 332) so the enemy stabilizes over time and eventually might be replaced by another figure of the enemy. Enemy constructs can also appear and disappear according to a more precise socio-historical context. As Cohen argues:

Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or groups of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved (or more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible (Cohen, 1972, p. 9).

In the following section I explore how enemy identities are made. The literature review suggests the process of constructing the “enemy” can involve two intertwining dimensions. The first is the construction of enemies based upon physical and cultural characteristics or attributes (including race, ethnicity, religious and political ideologies). The second dimension is the construction of enemies based upon the nature of perceived threat they pose (including threats to the state, threats to national security, and threats to physical safety). It should be noted that this is not a discussion on whether an individual or group’s behaviour is or is not actually bad and the label warranted. Nor is this a discussion on how the individuals themselves construct their own identity in one way or another. Instead, this thesis explores how enemy identities emerge.

1.1 Defining the Enemy

1.1.1 Physical Characteristics (Real or Imagined)

Within the first dimension enemy identities are constructed according to physical and cultural characteristics that are different from those of the dominant social order. According to Kappler (1996), in building enemy identities:

Groups most vulnerable to targeting are those that are easily distinguishable from the dominant social group. Distinctions are often as crude as race, colour, or national origin, but need not be limited to visual appearance. . . Differences in religious beliefs, political views, and so on are attractive targets for [enemy construction] (p. 19).

Both Memmi (1982) and Lévi-Strauss (1958) suggest that human identities are placed into categories for the purpose of creating order for the mind. Lévi-Strauss (1958) argues that it is not uncommon for humans to want to label and assign categories, since humans have a natural propensity towards organization and classification. He says that creating categories in which to assign roles and identities to people allows a way in which to measure character. Physical characteristics, in particular skin colour, are often used to assign people to particular racial categories (Memmi, 1982). Lévi-Strauss (1958) agrees that the use of racial categories is often used to further separate those belonging to the dominant order from those classified as “other.”

In his book Orientalism, Edward Said (1978) introduces the concept of “othering” as a practice of classifying individuals and behaviours as acceptable according to dominant and subordinate hierarchies. In this sense, Said would argue Western society sees the enemy as an outsider or labels it as something that is different or “other” because the enemy’s ethnic, religious, or political identity differs from (and therefore threatens) the dominant social order. This threat can be a difference of physical appearance (i.e. colour of skin, height, hair length, cultural dress and so on) to a difference in religious following. How Orientalism works, Said proposes, is the designated “other”, in this case the “enemy,” will usually be cast as “evil,” “unjust,” and “inferior” in comparison to the subject doing the “othering.” Naturally the subject labelling the “other” is essentially self-designated as “good,” “just,” and “superior” (Mohammed, 1999, p. 305).

Said and Lévi -Strauss both point out that constructing identities can be purely arbitrary and unfounded:

This practice of designating in one's mind a familiar space which is "ours" and an unfamiliar space beyond ours which is "theirs" is a way of making geographical distinctions that can be entirely arbitrary. [Furthermore], [m]en have tended rather to regard diversity as something abnormal or outrageous" because it is easier to construct a false identity than to destroy the illusion and attempt to correct the misconception. (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p. 12)

This practice of assigning arbitrary enemy identities can be especially true of relatively uncommon things such as "foreigners, mutants, or 'abnormal behaviours'" (Said, 1978, p. 54). In other words, whether differences are real or imaginary the "other" will be constructed as not only different, but also abnormal or backwards (Memmi, 1982).

For example, Said (1978) argues that cultural hegemony operates by creating or constructing differences based upon ethnicity, religion, culture, and so on, to valorize the dominant group and denigrate the "other." Said suggests that classifying physical or cultural distinctions negatively maintains cultural hegemony over others.

Said (1978) refers to the process of cultural hegemony to explain how the political doctrine "Orientalism" operates. He shows that under this doctrine the West is juxtaposed against the Orient⁵ and the West "treats itself like a universal sovereign subject by labelling those who are different as 'other'" (Mohammad, 1999, p. 304). Said states that through Orientalist discourse, enemies are constructed in opposition to the 'dominant order' in the following way:

⁵ According to Stuart Hall (1992), "the reference of the "the West" is a historical, not a geographical concept arising with the emergence of modern industrialized, urbanized and secular societies" (Hall, 1992; as cited in Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 84). Edward Said refers to "the Orient" as "the East"—whereby the East is opposed negatively to "the West" and can include, more broadly 'non-Western' societies "(whether 'eastern Europe,' 'the far east,' or 'the middle east'))" (Said, 1978; Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 84).

By an adaptation of Orientalist discourse to the crisis, the new enemy “Other” was seen as inversely equal and opposite to “us.” Order was opposed to chaos, civilization to backwardness, dynamism and democracy to despotism and stagnation. The only possible way of talking about [the East] seemed to be this oppositional or confrontational way (as cited in Mohammed, 1999, p. 304).

In short, if we think in terms of attribution of identity we see the enemy identity beginning to take form. An enemy identity is constructed according to a perceived difference which can be viewed as a threat to the dominant order. It is socially constructed as “other” because during a certain period of time, the so-called enemy does not abide, or is perceived not to abide, by the established dominant cultural values, norms and/or standards. In turn, Said refers to a type of discourse used to talk about “others,” that is usually negative and oppositional. When a particular individual or group is identified as not belonging to the normal and natural dominant order, this identity is classified as “barbarous” or “not what we do,” which lays the ideological groundwork for the party’s designation as an “enemy” (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p. 12). Finally, Said would argue “other” identities are manufactured deliberately to separate “us” from “them,” thereby maintaining cultural hegemony and order within the dominant hierarchy. The construction of the enemy identity works in the same way.

1.1.2 Nature of “Perceived Threat”

The second dimension of enemy construction relies on classifying individuals according to the nature of perceived threat. Arguably the biggest threat to society is the disruption of the “natural order of things.” When humans encounter things classified as different they tend to react with apprehension and aggression. Furthermore, that which is unknown tends to be rejected or treated with wariness and even repugnance (Memmi, 1982).

Individuals or groups can be constructed as an enemy according to threats perceived on three levels. First enemy identities are assigned if they pose a threat to those in power, referring specifically to the state or government. Secondly, enemy identities are assigned if they pose a threat to national security by imperilling the physical or economic security of the populace. Thirdly, enemy identities are assigned if they pose a threat to broad social values or dominant ideologies already in place by appearing to endanger the accepted social order of things. It should be noted that in designating an enemy, each threat level does not operate exclusively from the other and in fact, labelling of an enemy identity often relies upon the individual or group possessing qualities that embody all three threat levels.

Over the course of history a number of individuals and groups have been designated as security risks and threats including homosexuals, bikers, soccer hooligans, communists, and so on, because they were perceived as threatening to one or all three categorizations listed above. Several authors argue the reason sometimes ordinary citizens can be constructed as a threat is to ensure social stability, in addition to maintaining “the control of people located in positions of power and privilege” (Kinsman, Buse & Steedman, 2000, p. 2). Specifically, threats to the norms provide a tool for measuring deviance; or, in this case, provide a tool for measuring the threat and then labelling that which is threatening—the enemy.

1.2 The Practice of Labelling in Building Enemies

Howard Becker’s discussion on the “deviant” in his book Outsiders (1963), is useful in conceptualizing how “deviant” or “criminal” identities are created in relation to the building of enemy identities. Becker (1963) writes, “[t]he deviant is one to whom that label

has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label” (p. 9). Similarly, the enemy label is assigned to those that threaten to disrupt the social order and equilibrium. In this way, the enemy serves as a symbol not only of what one ought not to be but also of what should be hated and feared.

A review of literature identifies labelling and discriminatory practices as necessary tools in the building of enemy identities. First, labelling creates clear divisions between “us” and “them” (Said, 1978). Practices of colonialism, racism, ethnocentrism and xenophobia facilitate the construction of the enemy. According to Said (1978), these discourses and practices rely heavily upon the creation of opposites and ‘others’ used to ostracize and deliberately separate the dominate group from the subordinate; this is done for the purpose of maintaining cultural hegemony over others. Memmi (1982) writes that racism is useful in “generating a totally negative vision of the other who is then seen grossly distorted behind mists of prejudice” (p. 32).

The second function of labelling, as a part of the process of enemy building, is that designating enemies can create solidarity within the dominant group. The social construction of enemies becomes a valorizing tactic and a strategy of domination (Memmi, 1982; Levi-Strauss, 1958) while simultaneously serving to isolate labelled groups socially and thus denying them “regular human and citizenship rights” (Kinsman et al., 2000, p. 281). Furthermore “[t]he deviant or group of deviants are then segregated or isolated and this operates to alienate them from conventional society” (Cohen, 1972, p. 18).

Third, labelling is a useful mechanism with which to legitimize the State’s actions against the so-called enemy. Classifying individuals or groups based upon perceived differences that are real or imagined often results in the party being labelled as “backward,” “different,” “abnormal,” or “inferior” both biologically and culturally. This serves, most

significantly, as a way of maintaining social control. Labels clarify “the moral boundaries of society and demonstrate that there are limits to how much diversity will be tolerated” (Kappler, 1996, p. 21).

1.3 Enemy—A Problem To Be Solved

Several authors argue society requires enemies because enemies serve a function of reinforcing societal norms and values (Levi-Strauss, 1958; Ericson et. al., 1987; Kappeler, 1996). According to Kitsuse & Spector (1987), “Norms, provide the sociologist with a vantage point to define, observe and classify behaviours as deviant” (p. 587).

As mentioned earlier, this process of constructing the enemy as “other” and opposite to the dominant order is a social control tactic used by government to manage people’s lives (Said, 1978). This is particularly effective when enemies are constructed as threats to national security and/or to political supremacy and more importantly the status quo.

Legislation can aid and legitimize the state’s construction of enemies based upon an appeal for the maintenance of “national security” and more importantly an appeal for the maintenance of the dominant social order. Constructing enemies as threats to the social order is a process that has proved to be a successful State exercise. This means that governments have a vested interest in maintaining enemies and extending this designation to others who may be perceived as a threat to the existing social order, and as a direct threat to those in power.

The process of building enemies is so important, Said points out, that enemy designation influences the direction of national and foreign policy, immigration laws, “the legislation of personal conduct, and the legitimization of violence” (Said, 1978, p.332). Said (1978) states,

Far from a static thing then, identity of self or of “other” is a much worked-over historical, social, intellectual, and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions in all societies. It should be obvious that these processes are not mental exercises but urgent social contests involving such concrete political issues as immigration laws, the legislation of personal conduct, the legitimization of violence, . . . the direction of foreign policy which very often has to do with the designation of official enemies (p. 332).

Kappeler (1996) and Kinsman et al. (2000) argue the process of defining and redefining of enemies has serious implications for society as a whole. The enemy becomes perceived, “not as a citizen, or even a person, but as a problem to be solved . . . [or to be] taken over” (Said, 1978, p. 207). Kappeler (1996) further adds:

this “problem” or moral panic generates the feeling “that evildoers pose a threat to the society and to the moral order as a consequence of their behaviour and, therefore, ‘something should be done’ about them and their behaviour” usually by way of implementing or strengthening social controls and so on (p. 21).

The consequences of using labelling or racial profiling (regardless of whether the labels assigned are correct) can have detrimental effects on those who are targeted. For example, Mohammed (1999) believes the terrorist label is the most severe because it can serve to “ostracize and dehumanize a nation or group” (p. 314). It is a process that must be deconstructed, questioned and challenged. This is especially so, when enemy identities are constructed based upon stigmas, mythologies and stereotypes that rely “on symbols that appeal to nationalistic imagery and the attribution of terrorism to ethnic, ideological and religious forces that already carry negative stereotypes” (Mohammed, 1999, p. 306-7). In this next section the role of Canada’s construction of enemies is explored.

1.4 Canada's Enemies—"Enemies within"

Canada is known the world over for its ability to "take advantage of diversity as a basis for bolstering national identity and society building" (Fleras & Elliott, 1999, p. 294). Canada's multi-cultural society does not, however, operate in the near-perfect social harmony we have been led to believe. Not only that, many critics claim that Canada's reputation for racial tolerance is deceiving. Comack (1999), for example, believes that Canada's racial history "belies a darker side," which is characterized by racial intolerance, inequality, and injustice. Comack (1999) and Henry and Tator (1999) posit that racism and notions of racial superiority may still be present in contemporary Canadian society, concealed within, for example, immigration policies and through the use of racial profiling as a border control strategy. According to Henry and Tator racial bias and discrimination "are deeply embedded in the collective belief system and in the norms and practices of Canadian society" (p. 90).

As I've already mentioned, "race" is a socially-constructed concept and one in which, according to Memmi (1982), perceived difference in cultural and physical characteristics are often used to categorize people. Memmi and others would argue that racial origin and particularly racial "purity" are emphasized and a racial hierarchy is created with the whitest-skinned people at the top and those with darker skin ranking nearer the bottom. According to (Li, 1999), "the dominant group [at the top] has the power to set the terms and conditions of racial accommodation" (Li, 1999, p. 115). As was explained by Memmi (1982) and Said (1978), the concept of "otherness" and difference is important in understanding how enemies are socially constructed and how racism is used to ostracize certain people by separating the dominant from the subordinate. Comack (1999) believes that in Canadian society, as in

many Western societies, the dominant group has, generally speaking, been selected by and for white male, Christian, English-speaking heterosexuals.

Who are the enemies of Canada? It is hard to find much literature on Canada's so-called enemies unless we look at the country's past relationship with its First Nations peoples and immigrants. Historically, these groups have tended to be regarded as threatening to the dominant order because they appeared different and acted differently—both perfect prerequisites for enemy construction.

Early forms of enemy construction in Canada appear in the practice of colonialism and treatment of First Nations aboriginal peoples. There are numerous examples in Canadian history where colonists have used colonized groups' differences from Europeans to justify labelling them as "deviants," "criminals," or "enemies." Brogden (1999) argues "criminal definitions, whether of wood-stealing, poaching, smuggling or banditry" were often used as a form of social control not only to marginalize the subordinate group but also to assimilate it into the dominant "White" culture (p.15). Monture-Angus states,

Colonialism is very easily understood. It is the belief in the superiority of certain ways, values and beliefs over the ways, values, and beliefs of other peoples. Colonialism is the legacy that the so-called discovery of the Americas has left to the people who are indigenous to these territories. Colonialism is the theory of power, while oppression is the result of the lived experience of colonialism (1999, p. 83).

Discriminatory practices were most evident in the way First Nations people were denied their heritage, language, and customs and were forced to assimilate into the "White Man's World." This was the case for many First Nations people who were subjected to the residential school system. In addition, First Nations have also experienced discriminatory treatment by the Canadian Criminal Justice System. Neugebaur's (1999) study shows how

First Nations have been criminalized in subtle ways and typically “received harsher penalties” than their white counterparts as indicated by the disproportionate overrepresentation of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian prisons (p. 249-251).

Jakubowski (1999) contends that while, “Immigration has enriched Canadian society, Canada has not always embraced the immigrant” (p. 98). Prior to the 1960s Canada’s immigration was highly influenced by racist discourse, laws and policies, whereby Canada typically constructed the identity of the immigrant as suspicious and as threatening (Simmons, 1998; Jakubowski, 1999).

Immigration during the latter part of the nineteenth century was largely from Europe and the United States. During this time, Canada’s immigration policies were shaped by evolving economic concerns. Canada, as a nation, was in a transition due to its industrialization and required experienced farmers and settlers to populate the country as well as skilled labourers to work in urban centres (Roberts & Doob, 1997). Previous to 1962, Canada’s immigration laws and practices were informed by a “White Canada” policy based on a “nationality preference system” that was ethnically selective, “racist in orientation, assimilationist in objective” (Jakubowski, 1999, p. 100). Canadians and the Canadian State, in support of the vision of a “White Canada,” preferred to populate the country with (white) European immigrants because “they [white Europeans] were considered to be of “superior stock” (Jakubowski, 1999, p. 100; Simmons, 1998).

Historically, immigrants of colour were considered as suspicious and threatening. During World War two, for example, Japanese immigrants and Canadian born Japanese were forced to leave their homes and live in internment camps because they were perceived to pose a security threat to a nation at war over seas (Oikawa, 2000).

Racist attitudes, fear, and insecurity were further legitimized by law to exclude “undesirable groups”—immigrants of colour. Three such restrictive measures that were written into the Canadian immigration policy included the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1885 imposing a head tax on Chinese immigrants; the Gentleman’s Agreement— limiting the amount of Japanese immigrants into the country; and lastly the Continuous Journey stipulation of 1908—making it nearly impossible for people from India to immigrate to Canada on a boat from India to Canada) (Jakubowski, 1999). At the time, several arguments were made by government and state officials attempting to justify ethnocentric attitudes and practices. One such argument was that coloured immigrants were less desirable, because they were deemed less capable of assimilating (Simmons, 1998). As explained in a report by Canada’s prime minister at the time Mackenzie King:

It is the policy of the Department to do all in its power to keep out of the country . . . those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building up of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals. (In Jakubowski, 1999, p. 105)

Even today, Canada’s vision for immigration remains focused on the “management of immigration.” Jakubowski (1999) illustrates just how legal discourse can be subtly manipulated and disguised in racist policy and practice. The term “management” implies benevolence on the part of the Canadian state in “taking care of” Canadians and immigrants. In reality, Jakubowski (1999) calls this term “private coding or sanitary coding” (p. 114). She says “catch phrases” and “purposely vague and misleading terms” are useful in “communicating privately racist [and discriminatory] ideas with a discourse that is publicly defensible as non-racist” (Jakubowski, 1999, p. 114). The term “controlling immigration” has often been associated negatively with and understood as “cutting down on colour immigration.” While this may certainly be the idea, the use of such neutral and passive

language, like “management” in place of “controlling” demonstrates how “racism and racialized discourse is manifested in the articulation of State policies” (Henry & Tator, 1999, p. 88). Further, Fleras and Elliot (1999) state that in contemporary society, systemic discriminatory practices cause minorities to be “compartmentalized into ethnic ghettos while attention is diverted away from the real issues . . . such as racism, unemployment, recession, free trade, and cutbacks to social services” (p. 306).

Comack (1999) writes, “[s]ensitivity to this feature of the Canadian historical record is imperative if we want to understand race relations in Canada and appreciate the law’s location in the perpetuation of racial inequalities” (p. 71). Racist ideology legitimized through law can produce and reinforce the building of enemy identities.

Comack and Jakubowski, among others, discussed how racist attitudes and practices within early immigration policies and national security campaigns operated to create an “enemy within” (Kinsman, 2000, p. 281). It seems that prior to September 11th, Canada’s enemies have been internal and in a Post-9/11 era, Canada seems to be facing a new “external” enemy.

1.5 Role of the Media in Building the Enemy

The following is a discussion on how the media play a role in building the enemy identity. While I acknowledge that there are various media organizations that disseminate information to the masses; the focus of my research is not to conduct a comparative analysis of the various types of media, including television, radio, advertising, newspapers, and so on. Instead, this section employs a constructive critique of the media and discusses how various key-players with particular interests and dominant ideologies can play a role in influencing

the media in enemy building. My own research examines one aspect of media, a newspaper, from one source The Province and through a critical discourse analysis perspective explores how enemies are produced through the language, representations, and public discourse emerging and presented by this one newspaper. As I will note later on, I make no assumptions that the perspective from this one newspaper fully represents the views of all Canadian newspapers, and the Canadian public for that matter. However, it is certainly an interesting site to begin to understand how social reality is produced and maintained.

The media is a critical site for producing and disseminating ideas ultimately absorbed by the public consciousness (Kappler, 1996; Ericson et al., 1991). Altheide (1996) agrees the media are constantly in social life influencing the public's perceptions and understanding of social problems and issues. Media discourse plays a large part in "reproducing the collective belief system of the dominant society and the core values of society" (in Hall et al. 1975; van Dijk, 1988; p. 4). The media helps to produce, rather than simply represent, social reality. Henry and Tator's (2002) study asserts the media "operates within discursive spaces [including a system of structures, practices and discourses] that transcend them" (p. 6). In this way the media contribute whether consciously or not to the construction of realities and human identities. They facilitate the construction of reality and shape our identities, through:

[r]adio, television, the print media, and other systems of representation . . . [that] are the elements out of which we form our identities. These vehicles of cultural production help shape our sense of self, our understanding of what it means to be male/female, and our sense of ethnicity, class, race, and national identity. They help us understand who is *us* who is *them*. This often has the effect of organizing Canadians into sharply opposed camps (Henry and Tator, 2002, p. 4-5).

According to Henry and Tator (2002), “media images and stories carry powerful but coded meanings and messages” (p.5). Morality, a social value, for example is often embedded within media and is an ingredient in constructing identities.

In telling stories about where things fit, the news deals with . . . fundamental aspects of order, including moral evaluation: whether something is in or out of order is judged in terms of whether it is good or bad, healthy or unhealthy, normal or abnormal, efficient or inefficient (Ericson, Baranke & Chan, 1991, p. 5).

In the following quote, Ericson, Baranke & Chan (1991) further explain how morality is rooted in an institution’s classification scheme, “and it is this scheme that gives, and frames, a sense of justice” (p. 7). For example:

In the process of policing, law and news articulate public morality. Morality is built into the classifications that members use for conducting their routine business. The very act of classification . . . involves questions of right and wrong and is therefore loaded with moral content (p. 7). . . . The news institution focuses upon what is out of place: the deviant, equivocal, and unpredictable. . . The goal is to provide a set of classifications that are workable in that they establish the normal, reduce equivocality, and increase predictability (Ericson, Baranek & Chan, 1991, p. 4).

The media plays an important role in the presentation of social problems in several ways. First, “the information in the mass media becomes the only contact many have with politics” (McCombs and Shaw, 1991; as cited in Chermak, 1997, p. 162). Second, because the public relies heavily on the news media it seems a viable vehicle with which to gain support for implementing changes to policy and legislation. Third, “the news media are an important agent of social control . . . [and because] public perceptions are malleable,” social control agents [i.e. the government] are motivated to participate as news sources to transmit their beliefs and values, and also to legitimize themselves with the public (Chermack, 1997, p.

162). The media can then be used as a tool for transmitting the political ideologies and corporate interests of those in power.

Henry and Tator (2002) also point out that the media can also play a role in socially reconstructing realities according to their own personal ideologies, corporate interests, norms, values and so on. Herman and Chomsky (1988), suggest that “in countries where the levers of power are in the hands of state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of the dominant elite” (p. 1). For example, the media can perpetuate systems of racial inequality. The media not only comments on social reality but is an active participant in producing reality—in this sense in producing and building enemies.

It has been said that mass media influences have contributed to the fear of crime phenomenon and the creation, and perpetuation, of moral panics. Furthermore, the media helps to craft the perception that the public is at great risk and therefore the public in turn perceives themselves to be at great risk in the following ways (Kappeler, 1996). The media and government are said to play dual roles in creating moral panics by supplying the public with generalized and ambiguous information about a particular social problem, risk, or threat to their overall well-being.

When a social norm is violated or a deviant act committed, the media can serve to legitimize the moral denunciation of the enemy directly within the discourse and jargon. In this way, the media can participate in the process of “demonology” or the creation of so-called “folk devils”—“those who are defined as the target of moral outrage due to their evil activities that threaten core values of society” (Ungar, 2001, p. 281). Here the media becomes the mythmaker and creator of moral panics. After all, Cohen (1972) insists, “[t]he devil has to be given a particular shape to know what virtues are being asserted” (p. 75).

Stereotyping and labelling, in particular, are types of discourse embedded within media that can perpetuate intolerance of diversity and therefore facilitate the building of enemies. Henry and Tator (2002) state further:

Discourse thus carries social meanings, which usually are politicized in the sense that they carry with them concepts of power that reflect the interests of the power elite. Opinion leaders, including politicians, senior-level bureaucrats, lawyers and judges, editors and journalists, academics, and decision makers in the private sector, play a critical role in shaping issues and in identifying the boundaries of 'legitimate' discourse (p. 25).

1.6 Defining Social Problems—Two Overlapping Perspectives

The enemy and its identity are forever evolving. Several authors have argued that the human identity changes with time and with context (Said, 1978; Memmi, 1982; Comack, 1999). Similarly, the enemy's identity emerges from a process of enemy building that is flexible, can change, and is influenced by particular social, historical, cultural, political, and economic contexts (Memmi, 1982; Henry & Tator, 2002; Van Dijk, 1985). Comack (1999) further explains, "race is not a homogenous or one dimensional category . . . it is a social construct with changing meanings that are historically specific" (p. 60). For example, in Albert Memmi's book Racism (1982), the book's premise is that "race" is a socially constructed concept.

This thesis supports the position that the concept of the enemy is a product of social interactions that include language, speeches, and constructed social realities. In this section, the constructionist perspective provides a basis to explore how enemy identities are influenced by ideologies and represented further through discourses within one Canadian newspaper. I also use a critical discourse analysis approach as my analytical framework to

discuss the dynamics of power and their emerging discourses, as presented by The Province in not only building but also maintaining enemies.

1.6.1 Social Constructionist Perspective

According to Fuller & Myers (1941) and Gusfield (1989), a social problem (such as terrorism, poverty, homelessness, and so on) becomes a problem when it is perceived, by many people, as a threat to some social norm. The constructionist perspective argues that social problems are socially constructed. Joel Best (1995) says, “our sense of what is or is not a social problem is a product, something that has been produced or constructed through social activities” (p. 6). Spector and Kitsuse (1977) argue, a “[s]ocial problem is not a quality that inheres in social conditions; rather, it is an emergent product of definitional processes in which people perceive, define, and assert conditions to be social problems” (p. 586). In this sense, the constructivist perspective would argue that the identity of the enemy is socially constructed.

Joel Best (1987) states that constructionism is a useful perspective with which to understand the world around us. Social construction as a theoretical framework, has challenged society’s perception of how reality is arranged and has “stirred enormous controversy concerning such long-revered concepts as truth, objectivity, knowledge, reason, authority and progress”--particularly when confronted with the assertion that even human identities are socially constructed (Gergen, 2001, p.1). Gergen comments further that “constructionist inquiry has demonstrated how claims to the true and the good are born of historical traditions, fortified by social networks, sewn together by literary tropes, legitimated through rhetorical devices and operate in the service of particular ideologies to fashion structures of power and privilege” (p. 171).

Kappeler's (1996) perspective on social problem construction sees various key players with vested interests, such as claims-makers, moral entrepreneurs, political activists, as ensuring certain problems are brought to the public's attention. Kappeler contends that these individuals or groups usually advocate for formal social policy to address the new "problem" (p.1). Gusfield (1989) agrees that in determining what constitutes a social problem and in order for a social problem to gain credence "[it has to] channel policies in a particular direction" (p. 435).

Social constructionists are particularly interested in "the discursive processes in which a shared world of experience is constructed . . . and only the investigation of the dynamics of social practices can open the door to understanding the individual self" (Hermans, 2002, p. 24). In particular discourse analysis is a useful analytical tool to study social experiences and "[c]onstructionists have been particularly engaged in the study of discourse, [in] the ways in which meanings are generated, sustained, or disrupted in relationships" (Hermans, 2002, p. 12).

In my own research I take a more general approach, informed by a combined social constructionist and critical theoretical framework to conceptualize the ways in which one newspaper comments on the 9/11 event and, subsequently, how the enemy identity becomes defined and maintained through power relations, dominant ideology, and discourse as a social problem.

1.6.2 Critical Discourse Perspective

The critical discourse perspective provides a basis and framework with which to explore how enemies are defined and represented through language within one newsprint media. Critical discourse experts would say that strategies of domination are constituted, imposed

and maintained through discourse (Van Dijk, 1985 and 1996). Furthermore, in discussing the role of power and control imbalances between dominant and subordinate groups those belonging to the powerful class, can marginalize their opponents by defining them as “radicals,” “deviants,” “criminals,” or “enemies.”

The critical discourse perspective is a useful analytical tool to understand how social problems (such as enemies) are defined by those in power. First, Henry and Tator (2002) state that “[p]ower is at the centre of cultural politics. Cultural practices and systems of representation involve relations of power, and ‘social power’ manifests itself in competing discourses” (p. 8). “Those who successfully define the terms of political debate set the agenda for the community, whether the community is conventionally conceived as the nation-state or, less typically, as the community of inquiries in a particular academic discipline” (Mohammad, 1999, p. 313).

While the media reproduces our reality and in doing so facilitates the construction of enemies; the media is also informed and influenced by public interests, special interest groups, and claims-makers, and the literature suggests that those in positions of power designate who will be enemies and who will not (Kinsman, Buse, & Steedman, 2000; Kappeler, 1996). Kappeler (1996) suggests, “Since the government can control, direct, and mould messages, it is one of the most powerful” claims-makers and constructor of enemies (p. 8). For example, “[t]he highest offices in government have been used as stages for constructing [enemies]” (p. 9). The “war on drugs” campaign in the 1970s is an excellent illustration of the government’s role in enemy construction. Under the Nixon administration, in the United States, drug abuse was constructed as “public enemy number one” and characterized as the “worst threat the country ever faced” (Kappeler, 1996, p. 9). The current “war on terror” campaign seems to also be a good platform for building enemies.

Second, with respect to building enemy identities, Kinsman, Buse & Steedman (2002) would argue the government has the final say. While social policy can certainly be shaped by the whims of the media and the public, policy cannot be developed and implemented by these groups because it is the governmental body who decide how policy will be developed, definitions assigned, and enemies created. Through discourse, the state transmits its own attitudes and opinions: it denounces, accepts, creates, constructs, and manipulates definitions of social problems—such as an enemy (Kinsman, Buse, & Steedman, 2000).

Third, as mentioned previously, a significant body of literature, particularly within critical discourse discipline, posits that the existence of enemies augments the government or state's capacity for social control and management of particular individuals and groups if they are defined a certain way. Kinsman et al.(2000) believe fear tactics used in discourse are institutional practices employed by the state to gain social control and are used in the creation of myths and state-sponsored “government terror” and moral panics. Gearty (1997) believes “that government have cleverly manipulated the identity of the enemy for their own ends, particularly when certain behaviours or acts threaten the state's political supremacy” (p.3). He argues, “the West is not content only to control our world, it wants to define our times” (p. 15), and he further believes that assigning enemies has “degenerated into little more than a . . . state sponsored labelling exercise” (p. 49).

1.7 Role of Ideologies in Building Enemies

The term “ideology,” as described by Thornham and Purvis (2005) “is the shared set of meanings and values through which a society makes sense of its own structures and

processes and their relationship to the material world” (p. 74). Henry and Tator (2002) state that “[i]deology is shared; it operates at a collective level, rather than flowing out of individual cognition” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 20). Just as social problems are situated contextually in time and space; ideologies are also influenced by historical, political, cultural, and institutional contexts and change over time (Goode, 1997). Social problems (in this case, enemies) depend upon particular ideologies for their framing of social realities (Henry & Tator, 2002). Ideologies and their emerging discourses and practices influence the process of enemy building. For this reason, it is important to address the role of ideology as it affects the enemy because the identity of the enemy also changes according to different social and political contexts.

Thornham and Purvis (2005) also argue that there can be power struggles and competing ideologies, as is often the case between dominant and subordinate class groups. Ideology makes sense of the world by providing classification labels for unfamiliar groups (Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 76). Said (1978) notes that within every society certain attitudes and ideologies predominate over others. Furthermore, Henry and Tator (2002) state:

Ideology does not simply make sense of society; it also regulates social practices. . .[and] ideology constitutes a baseline that various groups . . . apply when framing their attitudes and organizing means and strategies to further their own ideals, goals and interests (p. 20).

This form of cultural leadership is what Antonio Gramsci has identified as “hegemony,” an indispensable concept for understanding the origin of feelings of superiority and dominance of one culture over another (Said, 1978, p. 3). Said discusses the concept further in this quote:

Hegemony is the process of securing and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears to be legitimate and natural; . . . a means by which a system of attitudes and beliefs, permeating both popular consciousness and the ideology of elites, reinforce existing social arrangements and convince the dominated classes that the existing order is inevitable. (Said, 1978, p. 316)

The works of Edward Said, Albert Memmi, and Lévi-Strauss, previously introduced, provide insight into how ethnocentric attitudes of superiority and elitism influence the enemy's construction. Henry & Tator (2002) believe racist ideology provides the conceptual framework for understanding structures of inequality within society and for understanding systems of dominance based on race. Racist ideology is said to further organize, preserve, and perpetuate a society's power structure and "is communicated and reproduced through agencies of socialization and cultural transmission" such as through mass media (Henry & Tator, 2002, 21-22).

Henry and Tator (2002) argue further, "in everyday ideological constructs, ideas about difference—race, ethnicity, gender, and class, among other classifications—are produced, preserved and promoted" (p.21). Examples of how racist ideological structures promote differences are exemplified in Eurocentrism and Orientalism. Eurocentrism represents the "supremacy of Europe's values, ideas, and peoples as a core and shared belief system" (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 21). Orientalism, already introduced in Chapter One, is Edward Said's (1978) notion of the European construction of the Orient as an intolerable "other" entity that cannot be "trusted." He explains Orientalism as a branch of Eurocentrism—an attitude that acts as a vehicle for "expressing Eurocentric values, assumptions, and norms" (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 21). This ideology is based upon assumptions of linking "difference" with "inferiority" (Tew, 2002, p. 53).

Political ideologies, specifically national security ideologies, as presented in Kinsman et al. (2000), are said to be campaigns that “stir up and maintain a climate of fear directed against those defined as ‘different’ or ‘other’ and thereby also help to maintain the control of people located in positions of power and privilege” (Kinsman et al., 2000, p. 2). Kinsman et al. (2000) write further, “the members of the political, economic, and social elite who defined Canadian national security were interested in perpetuating social regulation in ensuring a social stability that would, in the end, be to their own benefit and the benefit of others like them” (p.2). In this sense, political ideologies participate in enemy building and often reinforce enemy identities. According to Said (1978):

It should be obvious in all cases that these processes are not mental exercises but urgent social contests involving such concrete political issues as immigration laws, the legislation of personal conduct the legitimization of violence . . . the direction of foreign policy which very often has to do with the designation of enemies. (p. 332)

As discussed earlier in section 1.1. Defining the Enemy, Edward Said’s work is useful in highlighting the historical circumstances surrounding the origin of the “other” and of the strained relations between the East and the West. Said reports there continues to be a reinforcement of stereotypes including a “demonology” of the “mysterious Orient” supported by feelings of contempt and fear towards the Orient. The “other” has been represented as the ultimate evil and threat to Western ideology, which has helped to mobilize the populace against an enemy (Said, 1978, p. 26). Ideologies inform social constructions of the enemy. The study of racist ideology is significant because the use of dehumanizing political doctrines and racist ideologies can all be used to explain how the enemy identity is socially constructed. Kress (1985) states, “a powerful way of examining ideological structure is

through the examination of language...and that there is a connection between language and ideology that exists at many levels” (As cited in Van Dijk, 1985, p. 30).

1.8 Role of Discourse in the Building of Enemies

The previous section examined how the enemy identity is socially constructed by dominant ideology. It is not enough to only acknowledge the role of ideology within the process of building enemies, without also acknowledging the role of discourse as the vehicle for ideology. While ideology is defined as those beliefs, values, and so on that create our view of the world, discourse can be defined as the language, text, or assigned meaning we use to explain our shared experiences. Many writers acknowledge the term discourse can be difficult to define. Henry and Tator (2002) conceptualize discourse to mean “the way in which language is used socially to convey broad historical meanings. It is language identified by the social conditions of its use, by who is using it and under what conditions” (p. 25). In that sense power, class, and gender inequalities, are examples of social conditions under which certain kinds of discourses would be created and used.

This process of building enemies is not neutral and is influenced not only by varying ideologies but also by competing discourses. According to Thornham & Purvis (2005), “discourse, or ‘discursive formations,’ can be said to operate in a very similar way to ideology, but discourse can not be aligned with a single axis of power” (p. 82). The relationship between discourse and ideology is explained in the following way:

Discourses are not ‘ideologically innocent:’ through the stories they tell and the ‘knowledges’ they produce they will seek to organise and regulate relations of power in ways which serve the interests of dominant groups. But the axes of power on

which they operate will not be identical or unified, and they may interact in ways which can be complex and sometimes contradictory. (Thornham & Purvis, 2000, p. 83)

The relationship between ideology and discourse is further illustrated in the ways that discourse “carries social meanings which usually are politicized in the sense that they carry with them concepts of power that reflect the interest of the power elite” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 25). There are power dynamics constructed around ideas about difference and discourse is a practice that contributes to inequality and is used to enforce and exploit existing positions of authority and privilege. The belief system (or ideology) of the dominant culture is reflected in the types of discourse (for example racist discourse) that operate in schools, the media, the Courts, the work-place, and so on (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 37). Power relations operate within discourse whereby the social elite, including “politicians, senior-level bureaucrats, lawyers and judges, editors and journalists, academics [and so on] play a critical role in shaping issues and in identifying the boundaries of legitimate discourse” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 25). This explains further how those who hold a dominant position in the social hierarchy establish subordinates to maintain their place on the hierarchy since their top position grants them power and privilege. The social elite than can marginalize their opponents by defining them as “radicals,” “deviants,” and even as “enemies.”

It has been argued the enemy identity is malleable and influenced by politically, emotionally, and morally-charged dominant ideologies and discourses used by those in power to further their own means. Since discourse is a focus of my research analysis, it will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Chapter II: **Research Methodology**

In the following chapter, I describe my general approach to the research and the data collection methods I employ, including my source and my data sample, and the strengths and limitations of such methods. Next I discuss the data analysis procedures and techniques and operationalize my concepts to be used for methodological consideration. As previously mentioned, this paper employs a critical discourse analysis perspective to explore further how enemies are produced through language, representations, and public discourse in one Canadian newspaper, The Province.

2.1 Research Approach (Qualitative Analysis)

I have analyzed how enemies are presented in newsprint media after September 11th, 2001 and collected data using a “qualitative” research approach. Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman (1993) describe qualitative research as “a systematic, empirical strategy for answering questions about people in a bounded social context . . . and is a means for describing and attempting to understand the observed regularities in what people do, and say” and so on (p. 99). I am aware that the qualitative approach involves latent and subjective interpretations of the data, which requires that the researcher create and develop themes from the data in order to understand the “observed regularities” of how enemies are presented in newsprint (Altheide, 1987, p. 68). In this sense, “[q]ualitative inquiry is also analytic or interpretative in that the investigator must discern and then articulate often subtle regularities within those data” (Locke et al., 1993, p. 100).

Qualitative studies are non-numerical and focus on the meanings behind social experiences rather than using standard indicators and restrictive guidelines (Alasuutari, 1995). Instead of recording and tabulating the frequency with which the word “enemy” was used in articles, I was more interested in exploring how the enemy was described, in what context, and the process of enemy building. Alasuutari (1995) states that in trying to make sense of a social phenomenon, qualitative research bases its analysis on “reasoning and argumentation” rather than on “statistical relations between ‘variables’” (p. 7). Furthermore, qualitative research is said to be “a distinct field of inquiry that encompasses both micro- and macroanalyses drawing on historical, comparative, structural, observational, and interactional ways of knowing” (Nagy Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 1).

Using qualitative methods for analysis was particularly valuable in its allowing me to contextualize my research in a meaningful way while permitting me to articulate details of the data that might otherwise have been missed by a quantitative approach of counting and coding.

2.2 Data Selection and Gathering Methods

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In my research I used a critical discourse analysis approach to conceptualize the ways in which the enemy identity was discussed and symbolized in the media. Phillips and Hardy (2002) point out that there are many approaches to discourse analysis, and they have broken discourse analysis down into two parts: first, “the degree to which the emphasis is on individual texts or on the surrounding context and [second], the degree to which the research focuses on power and ideology as opposed to process of social construction” (p. 18). My

approach focuses both on the individual texts and their context. This analysis focuses on how enemy identities have been created, “while keeping in mind that good constructivist studies are sensitive to the dynamics of power, knowledge, and ideology that surround discursive processes as in critical discourse analysis” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.20).

According to Van Dijk, “critical discourse analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimated by the talk and text of dominant groups and institutions” (As cited in Phillips & Hardy, 2000, p. 25). For this reason, I have adopted a critical discourse approach in my analysis to facilitate an understanding on” how dominance, inequality, and social power abuse enacted by ‘text’ and ‘talk’” can influence the creation of enemies (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 35).

My reasoning for conducting a discourse analysis is that this allows me to deconstruct the process of building the enemy through language and representations. In examining this process of enemy building, a critical discourse analysis in conjunction with a social constructionist theoretical perspective allowed me to examine further “what [people] say about conditions, not the conditions themselves” (Joel Best, 1995, p. 6-7), keeping in mind that what people say is not neutral and can be influenced by power relations. Conducting a discourse analysis therefore made sense because I wanted not only to draw attention to the type of language used to identify or construct enemies, but also to be able to challenge these processes in a relevant manner. For this reason, I combined critical and constructivist approaches in order to explore “who benefits or is disadvantaged by a socially constructed reality” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 21). Furthermore, this dual approach was useful in understanding the ways in which discourses “ensure that certain phenomena [in this case enemy identities] “are created, reified, and . . . come to constitute that ‘reality’” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 21).

In the following excerpt, Van Dijk (1985) emphasizes the social relevance for conducting discourse analysis:

Discourse analysis provides rather powerful, while subtle and precise, insights to pinpoint the everyday manifestations and displays of social problems in communication and interaction . . . Certainly, discourse features may only be symptoms or fragmentary enactments of larger problems: inequality, class differences, sexism, racism, power, and dominance of course involve more than text and talk. Yet discourse plays a crucial role in their ideological formulation, in their communicative reproduction, in the social and political decision procedures, and in the institutional management and representation of such issues (e.g. in laws, meetings, media coverage, informal daily talk about them, their reformulation in documents). As soon as we know more about the discursive representation and management of such problems and conflicts, we have the design for the key that can disrupt, disclose, and challenge the mechanisms involved. (Van Dijk, 1985, p. 7)

2.2.2 Strengths and limitations of Discourse Analysis

One of the strengths of discourse analysis is that it allows researchers to ask a variety of questions “relating to constructive effects of language—exploring the way in which the socially-produced ideas and objects that constitute our “reality” are actually created and maintained” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 63). In addition, using discourse analysis within the study of problems and conflicts within social contexts, according to Van Dijk (1985) encourages researchers:

To disrupt, disclose, and challenge the mechanisms involved in, for example, indirect forms of ethnocentrism and racism that still exhibit themselves in our newspapers and may lead journalists to at least change their selection of topics, to pay attention to the representation of actors in news events, . . . [and ultimately] to adopt a special code for reporting about ethnic minorities and ethnic relations (p. 8).

The first common criticism of this type of analysis is that researchers may have a predisposition to apply their own frameworks and only view data or select information that fits into a set of preconceived views of what the findings should be. In this process, the researcher may ignore the majority of the data that point in a direction that is not anticipated (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

Van Dijk (1985) warns that the researcher should always be mindful of his or her point of reference as this will influence the study of discourse. He points out, “the choice of our research goals, our methods of inquiry, our theories, and the objects of analysis cannot be independent of our own socio-political positions—and interests—and of the wider social context of research” (p. 3).

Third, discourse analysis has been criticized for its “lack of rigor.” Phillips and Hardy (2002), for example, dismiss this argument and state that an approach that is “too systematic, too mechanical undermines the very basis of discourse analysis, inducing the reification of concepts and objects that it seeks to avoid” (p. 74). In actuality, “[t]he aim of discourse analysis is to identify (some of) the multiple meanings assigned to texts,” (p. 74). When analyzing text, for example, it is important to note that “any particular text may not be limited to one type of discourse but “may be the result of the expression of a number of discourses, differing, and often contradictory” (Kress, 1985; in Van Dijk, 1985, p. 27)

Finally, there is always the question of data saturation and finding out whether that endpoint of data collection has been reached. Regarding the notion of saturation within qualitative analyses:

Discourses are not neatly packaged in a particular text or even in a particular cluster of texts...Similarly, the interpretive nature of the analysis means that the researcher does not seek to exhaust categories, but to generate them by way of identifying how people use language. Consequently, the

notion of saturation in discourse analysis is “elastic.” The endpoint comes not because the researcher stops finding anything new, but because the researcher judges that the data are sufficient to make and justify an interesting argument. (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 74)

2.2.3 Sample

In this thesis, the building of the “enemy” identity is conceptualized according to its depiction by The Province, an English speaking, British Columbian (Vancouver-based) newspaper. I analyzed the discourse used to identify the “enemy” in The Province in its coverage of the September 11th, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre,⁶ and I collected and examined ninety articles from September 11, 2001 to October 11, 2001. I chose to focus my research on 9/11 because this was a recent event significant enough to allow me to trace the process of identifying, targeting, and designating “enemies.” I decided to use this thirty-day time frame because it presented a snapshot of events that unfolded immediately in the wake of 9/11 when the Canadian public’s interest in the matter was most acute.

2.2.4 Choice of Newspaper

I chose The Province newspaper as my medium of analysis not only because it is one of the most popular newspapers on the West Coast, but also because it was convenient and accessible; in addition to this, I live on the West coast and have a genuine interest in this region. This area’s demographics also played a large part in my decision to use this newspaper. The Province newspaper caters to a diverse cross-section of people and is read mainly by working-class western Canadians, new immigrants, and people belonging to various minority ethnic groups. I am specifically interested in this region because the

⁶ From here on I will refer to this event as “9/11.”

demographics in the Greater Vancouver Regional District and the Fraser Valley area comprise an ethnically-diverse population with large East and South Asian communities. Given that ethnicity played an important role in political and social reactions to 9/11 around the world, I wanted to learn more about how this region reacted to the attacks.

2.2.5 Choice of Keywords

I selected articles using the on-line Canadian Newsstand database, Pro-Quest. Prior to pulling my actual data I conducted a precursory search on the Pro-Quest database pulling a random sampling of articles either leading up to or relating to 9/11; the time span I chose for this sampling was the six months leading up to the event as well as the six months that followed it. In this random sampling I identified five key words or “buzz words” that I found were reoccurring in the articles. These key words included: “enemy,” “fear and threat,” “fear and terror,” “war on terror,” and “Osama Bin Laden.”

As I highlighted in the literature review and theoretical discussion, part of the process of constructing or creating so-called enemies involves defining them as threats. I noted that 9/11 in particular precipitated a phase of risk assessment, of defining threats, and of redefining “enemies.” These key words helped to collect articles that exemplified how enemies were “qualified” as threats. The words were significant because they represented contemporary anxieties as they were reflected in the media concerning threats to order and democracy, national security, and economic and physical stability.

2.2.6 Strengths and Limitations of Data

I identified several strengths and limitations regarding my selected data sample that require an explanation. First I chose to analyze 9/11 using a Canadian newspaper rather than

an American one because I wanted not only to investigate how the Canadian media reported an American event, but also to explore further the issues that subsequently arose and were represented from a Canadian perspective. One limitation in analyzing Canadian media commenting on American events could be that because Anglophone Canada is closely linked culturally and linguistically to the United States, Anglophone Canadians can be accused of forming their opinions based upon an American bias.

Second, in choosing a newspaper I decided to use a regional newspaper, The Province, rather than a national paper, such as the Globe and Mail or the National Post, for the following reasons. It should be noted first that The Province is not strictly a regional paper and does also report on national issues. Also, as I have already noted, The Province is read mainly by working-class Canadians and people belonging to diverse minority ethnic groups. Newspapers such as the National Post and The Globe and Mail, however, are tailored to more elite, academic, middle to upper-class Canadian readers. By analyzing a national paper I may have missed the opportunity to explore the informing of opinions of the specific region and segment of the population I was attempting to assess.

Third, it is necessary to comment on newspaper style, format, and language. The Province takes a “popular based” editorial stance and is oriented towards a less educated readership. Popular-based newspapers, such as The Province, are stylistically tabloid and emphasize the emotional and entertainment-based elements of news stories. Broadsheet newspapers, however, often feature longer articles with fewer photographs and entertaining diversions (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1991, p. 35).

My choice of newspaper was deliberate in that I wanted to analyze the various descriptions and definitions of the enemy that emerged from a popular and more sensationalist newspaper and felt there would be fewer restrictions on enemy definitions

reported by The Province. Other newspapers such as the Vancouver Sun or the Globe and Mail, for example, may have offered more polished, almost sterilized versions of the event, whereas The Province offered the possibility for more emotional accounts of the event, somewhat freer of intellectual censorship and political correctness.

In selecting the Province as a newspaper for study I am not drawing conclusions about the media or even the newsprint media as a whole. I am also aware that I chose to focus on only one newspaper and while The Province may have contributed to shaping and influencing the opinions of those in the western region of Canada, I make no assumptions that the perspectives emerging from this paper represent the attitudes and opinions of all Canadian newspapers. I am also aware that biases may emerge from analyzing a regional rather than national newspaper.

One limitation in this study is that I did not conduct a comparative analysis of popular and intellectually-oriented newspapers, and I therefore cannot assess tangible differences between the two in how enemies were constructed. While I had originally intended to do a comparative analysis, I found this endeavour would have been too ambitious considering the vast number of articles both newspapers published in this time period and feel this would have fallen outside the scope of a Master's thesis. Certainly a comparative analysis would strengthen future studies of media representation of the process of enemy construction. In addition, selecting a more "national" paper, such as the Globe and Mail or the National Post for future research may also provide a broader Canadian perspective.

I end this discussion with a comment on my sample size generated from the time frame I selected. One limitation in my research is perhaps the small time period I allowed to analyze articles following 9/11. The data may have been enriched by a sample size of one year, rather than one month, comprising the six months leading up to the 9/11 and the six

months that followed. I have found, however, that my thirty-day sampling was not only within the scope of Master's thesis, but also still comprehensive enough to have produced an interesting discussion on the enemy-building process.

2.3 Epistemological Standpoint

My interests in this work stem from my past research in political science and in class, gender, and race relations as they relate to discriminatory policies and laws, including the use of racial profiling. I, therefore, see myself as belonging to the critical theory camp whereby, epistemologically speaking, I believe that all knowledge is deeply inscribed in relations of power. Furthermore I believe we are not born, but rather we are made or constructed within an unequal society. In this sense I believe our identities are moulded and manipulated in ways that further the domination of certain groups over others. I conducted a critical discourse analysis of one newspaper's account of the September 11th attack particularly because I believe ethnicity is a component within threat and risk assessment and certainly enemy identity building. In saying so, I am aware that my particular slant towards the critical perspective and my review of an American event coming from a Canadian perspective could influence and may be reflected in the data.

2.4 Data Analysis Procedures and Techniques

In this section, I operationalize the concepts for methodological consideration. But first it is relevant to discuss the types of discourse that were considered as part of the analysis process.

2.4.1 Types of Discourse

Discourse is not static but rather “is a category that belongs to and drives from the social domain” (Kress,1985; in Van Dijk, 1985, p. 27). Social institutions “produce specific ways or modes of talking about certain areas of social life” including the emergence of ‘legal discourse’ and ‘medical discourse’ and ‘racist discourse’” (Kress,1985; in Van Dijk, 1985, p. 27-28). It is necessary to recognize the various types of discourse used as they apply to the enemy.

Van Dijk (1985) and Altheide(1996) provide insight into the forms and mechanisms of human communication and verbal interaction and provide a method for inquiry in the types of discourses used in specific social contexts. A key category in most qualitative studies of documents involves meaning and emphasis. My research approach involves examining “codes of meaning” within newsprint media—that is, “the unquestioned assumptions, values, norms and practices that are rooted in the dominant culture’s ideology and in the subcultures of the media” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 6).

Altheide (1996) says frames, themes and discourses are crucial in defining social situations, and contexts, and provide much of the rationale for the analysis of documents (p. 28). In addition, these forms of analysis (frames, themes, and discourses) are the social representations and manifestations of what we assume to be true within our realities. Goffman (1974) “referred to frames as schematic of interpretation . . . which enables people to locate, perceive, identify, and label ‘occurrences of information’” (As cited in Altheide, 1996, p. 30). Altheide (1996) explains,

Whereas themes are the recurring typical thesis that runs through a lot of reports. . . Frames are the focuses, a parameter or boundary for discussing a particular event (p. 31). This is why the topic of discourse—or the kinds of framing, inclusion and exclusion of certain points of views—are important (p. 69).

Henry & Tator (2002) explain how new discourses emerge and evolve. They explain “as new terms emerge, historical context affects how ‘old’ words are used and understood. Concepts arise repeatedly . . . such as race, culture, truth, liberal values, tolerance, freedom of expression, [and so on]” (p. 9). After 9/11, Canadians redefined their existence and new terms and discourses emerged to describe a post 9/11 era—including an era of risk, threat, uncertainty, and unknown enemies.

In one study, Dobkin (1992) explains how terrorist identities emerge by identifying an event, or person as terrorist using key terms. Dobkin argues that specifically “terms of deviance legitimate the power of the state by serving the dual function of both reasserting shared assumptions and values and of creating consensus by denigrating dissenters” (Dobkin, 1992, p. 6). According to Dobkin (1992) discourse evolves further using “key terms” in the following ways:

Key terms also move in and out of word clusters; the context in which key terms appear can be determined by charting the patterns or word clusters in which the terms appear. . . (i.e.) what kinds of acts and images and personalities and situations go with notions of heroism, villainy, consolation, despair etc. (Burke, 1984, p. 232; in Dobkin, 1992, p. 6)

Key terms not only define events, but they also signal the ideology of the actor and intended audience. When terms serve to identify the social relationships and ideological commitment of a community, they can be called ideographs. (Dobkin, 1992, p. 6)

We cannot ignore social contexts such as “gender, status, power, ethnicity, . . . or institutional settings” and the roles these play on text and talk (Van Dijk, 1985, p. 4).

Reviewing another type of discourse, racist discourse, is necessary in order to analyze and understand racism and other forms of bias and discrimination. Van Dijk (1985) adds:

And the analysis becomes really interesting when they expose the cognitive and social strategies used by people both to express their negative experiences and opinions and to present themselves as kind, tolerant, non-racist citizens. Arriving at such insights, we learn more about the formation, the change, and the spread of ethnic prejudice through everyday interaction, and thus about some of the underlying mechanisms of social attitudes and discrimination practices (p. 5).

For instance, “in discourses of power and authority, social agency will be assigned in particular ways, and this will be expressed through . . . relations of power. In this way a given discourse, say sexist discourse, will display certain quite characteristic linguistic features, expressive of causality or agency, power, gender” (Van Dijk, 1985, p. 28).

Prejudice is socially reproduced through discourse (Van Dijk, 1987, p. 30). In regards to enemy discourse, the “terrorist” label, in particular, is extremely negative and connotes that “any activity described as terrorist [whether real or imagined] is necessarily morally wrong” (Gearty, 1997, p. 24). Constructing and defining the enemy as terrorist has a powerful impact on the so-called individual or group being defined and serves to further politicize and criminalize that individual or group. Mohammed (1999) believes;

the words of “terror” and “terrorism” have become semantic tools of the powerful in the Western world. . . . The term terrorism unleashes powerful imagery with clear societal and intellectual consequences. Current Western usage has restructured the sense, on purely ideological grounds, to the retail violence of those who oppose the established order (p. 312).

Fearful and threatening language is often used by those constructing enemies. When the enemy is not clearly defined and ambiguous language is used to describe the individual, this serves to make the threat anonymous and ubiquitous and in this way adds to the mythical character's strength (Cohen, 1972; Kappeler, 1996). By constructing the identity of the enemy as, not only a threat, but also as an ambiguous, face-less menace, the identity of the enemy grows to such proportions that he or she becomes a "social evil" and a legendary character (Cohen, 1972). The use of language of risk and "danger" surrounding the enemy identity allows the state to create fear, to feed continually upon this fear, and to raise public anxiety about a potential threat (Loś, 2002).

Dobkin (1992) explains that further breaking down further reveals yet another form of discourse, which is the use of "ideographs," employed in the construction of identities. Ideographs function in two ways: first, "they define what is acceptable and what is to be condemned; [second] they function as guides, warrants, reasons, or excuses for behaviours and beliefs" (Dobkin, 1992, p. 39). In this way "ideographs may function not only within a fixed text but also as a conceptual orientation, or lens, through which events can be viewed" (Dobkin, 1992, p. 40). Therefore, in this way, the ideograph can serve as the frame, the building blocks of racist and political discourse, through which enemy identities are assigned, and the way in which these frames (views of the world and of people) become accepted and institutionalized as truths, becoming a part of ideology.

2.4.2 Binary Oppositions within Discourse

The binary communication framework within discourse is also useful in understanding the ways in which enemy identities are constructed as opposite or different from the dominant order. Thornam & Purvis (2005) suggest that social contexts are

somewhat romanticized or draw upon a “melodramatic” framework consisting of “a moral order constructed out of the conflict of Manichean, polar opposites—a struggle of good and evil, personified in the conflicts of villain, heroine, and hero” (Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 83). Furthermore, they believe binary oppositions function in regulating and classifying our knowledge of these “others” “whilst affirming the natural superiority of the West”

(Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 84). Coe et. al (2004) observe:

The tendency in Western thought to construct reality in binary terms has been studied under a variety of headings, including binary, dichotomy, dualism dialectic and polarization (p. 235). [Furthermore, Western language is seen to represent the world] as dichotomized absolutes consisting of antithetical terms and ideas, with no alternative ground (p. 235).

Binary communication also serves the function of reinforcing the inequality that is often inherent in the relationship between two opposing sides whereby there is always a struggle for dominance, suggesting that “if one position is right, then the other must be wrong” (Coe, et al., 2004, p. 235). Second, binary concepts carry “moral power [especially in assigning designations of good and evil, or right and wrong] which gives them both a resonance with the mass public and a sustaining news value” (Coe, et al., 2004, p. 237). Third, it serves to praise and exonerate one group, while it dehumanizes the “other”, and in this manner it can serve to unify various parties against a common enemy. An example of this is labelling America as “good” and “terrorists” or Osama Bin Laden as “evil” (Coe, et al., 2004, p. 236). Binary discourse serves most particularly to highlight differences between opposing sides; within the enemy construction paradigm, this serves to perpetuate the “ongoing division of the world into “us” and “them” (Tew, 2002, p. 58).

Binary oppositions such as good and evil within discourse can be used to identify and classify deplorable behaviours and based upon assigned identities can

hold “bad people” responsible for evil—hence constructing good identities as “friends” and bad identities as “enemies.” The polarity of Americans, as right and good, versus America’s enemies as wrong and evil “has confined America’s conflicts to ones of ‘us’ against ‘them’” (Dobkin, 1992, p. 53). An example of “good versus evil” and “security versus peril” can also be seen as employed during the Cold war to socially construct the identity of the “Communist as a Soviet ‘threat’ and a ‘demonic force’ unalterably opposed to all that was good” (Coe et al., 2004, p. 236).

2.5 Enemy Construction Paradigm Operationalized

In analyzing my data, I developed a conceptual framework to explain how I saw the enemy’s identity emerging. As I mentioned in an earlier chapter, the literature on constructing the enemy as a social problem suggests that the process of building enemies can involve two intertwining dimensions. The first dimension is building enemy identities based upon physical and cultural characteristics. The second dimension is the construction of enemies based upon the nature of threat they are perceived to pose (according to three threat levels: to state, to national security, and to value system).⁷ It should be noted that within these two dimensions the construction of the enemy operates on both sides. In other words, both dimensions seem to be interconnected and neither one works exclusively or is separate from the other. Similarly, the two dimensions work in a dialectical way whereby each informs the other in a process that is ongoing and cyclical in nature. Lastly, one dimension does not necessarily come before or after in this construction process. That is, that one does not necessarily perceive a threat and then start constructing an enemy without also being

⁷ See Enemy Construction Diagram in Appendix A.

informed by the second dimension involved in the construction process and the reverse is also true.

I have prepared a grid based on this enemy construction paradigm to organize the data I pulled from each article.⁸ To establish a certain continuity, I have organized each article by date published, the page and section in which it was found in the newspaper, and lastly the key word that was used to pull the article. The key words were recorded to keep track of the themes and how articles were generated.

Articles were then analyzed according to the language used within articles and whether they mentioned or described people within the context of my grid. Category (A) includes enemies as perceived threats (T1, T2 and T3); Category (B) includes enemy characteristics (physical or biological attributes); and Category (C) includes whether a binary discourse was used to describe the enemy in an opposing relationship to the dominant order and in terms of its qualities, such as “good or bad”, “evil versus friendly”, and or “us versus them.” Most importantly, I looked for themes and patterns of redundancy and repetitiveness that was used to discuss the enemy in relation to the two dimensions: the nature of the threat, and physical characteristics.

2.5.1 Category A: Nature of Perceived Threat

First, to explain the analysis in more detail, concerning my analysis of the nature of the threat perceived (A—in the Data Table) I explore whether a particular enemy discourse emerges concerning threats to the three dimensions: state, national security, and value system. I examined how the enemy identity is conceptually framed and how enemy identities are described and assigned in relation to a level of perceived threat or risk. I

⁷ See Data Table in Appendix B.

reviewed each article searching for the presence of qualifiers/adjectives describing how or what kind of threat the enemy poses and how the enemy is described in terms of what the enemy looks like. The enemy construction model of threat perceived was used to gauge the process of constructing the enemy occurs. Thornham & Purvis (2005) example perfectly explains enemies as threats. “The villain’s [enemy’s] function is to disturb the social and moral order and present the heroes with problems to solve. . . They simply have to personify threats to the established order (Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 79).

T1=Threat to State. The “State” or “Government” can include a number of social authorities and agencies including political figures and criminal justice officials that are said to “govern” the masses. Enemies of the state would include any individual or group perceived (by those doing the defining) as threatening to conspire against the political power of the “state” and could include individuals or groups committing crimes against the state, including crimes of treason, and terrorism. I classified articles in the T1 category if they made any mention of governments or military powers being threatened. Other indicators included mention of threats to dominant political doctrines and ideologies, specifically under the national security framework including regimes that are communist, fascist, Nazi and totalitarian. I classified any mention of political dissidents and terrorism, or the act of terrorist bombings, a threat to the state. Similar indicators including “government,” “politics,” “military-power,” and “foreign threat” were also included in this category. I also classified the following phrases as belonging to this category (threatening to the stability of the state): “America Put on High Alert Status”, “Powerful US Symbols Were Chosen as Targets.”, “Nation Under Siege” or “Nation at War.”

T2=Threat to Physical/National Security. Security, in this sense of the word means the overall feeling of safeness and secureness (including the physical well-being of the populace)—indicators included terms such as “risk”, “threat”, “safety” and “security,” “vulnerability,” and “uncertainty.” I have included any discussion on threats to land, air, sea, or economy (including discussions on financial markets) as belonging to this threat category.

T3=Threats to Value System. In explaining threats to value system, I recorded any discussion about the enemy’s disruption to the “social norms”, “status quo,” and “moral order.” Indicators included discussions on “threats to freedom and democracy” and the active framing of American values as “good and just.”

2.5.2 Category B: Enemy Attributes

Concerning the construction of enemies based upon physical differences (column B in the data table), I searched for all the ways in which the media discussed the notion of the so-called “enemy of 9/11” and whether particular people, are isolated, identified, or described as one thing or another. I posed the following questions: Are enemies, in general, discussed as good or bad, evil or different? What are the major qualities, characteristics, or dimensions that make up the enemy? Finally, do these qualities contribute to the composition of the enemy identity?

I used several indicators to answer these questions including the presence of descriptors about physical characteristics such as ethnicity and colour of skin. Along with obvious physical descriptions, I noticed that enemy attributes also included broad classifications such as behaviours and actions as descriptors. These terms included “menacing,” “cowardly,” “suspicious,” “depraved,” “barbaric,” and so on. Enemies were

also described using ethnic and religious descriptors such as “Arab,” “Islam,” “Muslim,” and “Foreigners,” “Immigrants.” Lastly, people and places were used as indicators, including names of actual suspects: “Osama bin Laden,” “Islamic Extremists,” “Muslim Fanatics,” “Taliban,” “Arab,” “Japanese,” “Communist Chinese,” “Middle East,” “Afghanistan,” “Iraq,” “Iran,” “Syria,” “Yemen.”

2.5.3 Category C: Binary Oppositions

Third, (under column C in the data table) I examined the presence of binary oppositions in building enemies. Binary oppositions involves “the placement of one thought or thing in terms of its opposite” (Coe, Domke, Graham, John & Victor, 2004, p. 235) such as right versus wrong, good versus evil, terrorist versus freedom-fighter, and so on. In terms of my analysis, a binary classification depends for its meaning on a set of oppositions, in which the positive qualities of the dominant are placed in opposition to the negative qualities of the subordinate (in this case the enemy) (Thornham & Purvis, 2005, p. 84). Specifically, articles were analyzed according to the presence of three binary categories borrowed from Coe et al. (2004) including “good vs. evil”, “security vs. peril”, “us versus them”. Those will be further elaborated on here:

Us vs Them. The “us versus them” binary category was considered present if I found the term “us,” “them,” and “others” as well as references to “in and out” groups or similar terms juxtaposing “the West” with “the Rest.” I also referred to the works of Said (1978) and Mohammad (1999) and used Thornham and Purvis’s (2005) table as an indicator for this binary.

Table. 2.1 The West and the Rest (Us versus Them)

The West	The Rest
civilized	primitive
urbanized	rural
industrialized	'underdeveloped'
capitalist	pre-Capitalist
modern	'backward'
secular	superstitious/'fundamentalist'
Free/democratic/liberal	rigid/undemocratic/despotic

Good vs Evil. In borrowing from Coe et al. (2004):

This binary was considered present if the term “good,” or similar terms characterizing a moral goodness such as “right,” “righteous,” “light,” “best,” “just,” “great,” or “honourable,” were set in opposition to the term “evil,” or other similarly connotative terms such as “wrong,” “dark,” “worst,” “unjust,” “cruel,” “sadistic,” “wicked,” “ruthless,” or “barbaric” (p. 239).

Security vs Peril (Threats to Value System). In borrowing from Coe et al. (2004):

This binary was considered present if the term “security” or similar terms such as “safety,” “protection,” and “safeguard,” were set in opposition to the term “peril” or similar terms such as “threat,” “risk,” “danger,” and “hazard.” References to potential future attacks were also coded as perilous because of the inherent peril that existed with such a possibility. [Threats to traditional “American values,” such as freedom, life, liberty, democracy, justice, were also coded as a threat to security or value system], because, President Bush’s usage of these values was often placed in opposition to the term fear (p. 239).

In conclusion, my analysis explored several key terms including terrorist, enemy, risk, threat, and many binary indicators to unravel how enemy identities are built, managed, and produced within one newspaper.

Chapter III:

Data Analysis and Findings

In the following chapter I will discuss my analysis of ninety newspaper articles from The Province between September 11, 2001 and October 11, 2001. I have used a critical discourse analysis approach overlapped by a social constructivism perspective to provide a basis with which to discuss the processes and practices that I saw emerging within the building of enemies in the media. As previously mentioned, I have developed an enemy construction paradigm that provides a useful organizational strategy to explain my findings.

I broke down my findings into various themes as they emerged from the newspaper articles and as I formulated my research questions. First I explain the evolution of the enemy identity, as I see the face of the enemy taking shape. Second, I discuss how articles seemed to compare enemies of the past with the so-called “new enemy” of 9/11. I also address the extent to which the enemy’s perceived identity has changed. In the third section I discuss the use of various types of discourses, with a particular focus on the presence of binary oppositions, that I identified in the newsprint that were used by various actors to construct the enemy. Finally, in the last section I address who does the defining within the enemy building process, and I assess whether the enemy’s identity changes according to who defines it.

3.1 Evolution of Building the Enemy Identity

Over the course of the thirty-day time frame, starting on September 11th, 2001, the day of the World Trade Center bombings, the data shows the prevailing theme in newsprint media was the seemingly desperate global manhunt to search and destroy “those responsible” for the attacks which many governments and media outlets around the world pronounced as horrendous and unimaginable. I noticed the enemy identity was initially described in broad, vague terms, but the identity soon came to be described in more specific terms. An analysis of the data shows that immediately after the 9/11 attacks, the face of the enemy had not yet materialized though within the first two weeks of the attack there was naturally a lot of discussion surrounding potential suspects. For the most part, however, the enemy of 9/11 was described in broad, over-generalized terms.

The world must fight a shadow⁹. There is no nation to invade—there is an elusive enemy to chase.¹⁰

There was no clear picture of who the enemy was: several articles, in fact, described this enemy as “faceless” and “invisible”—as exemplified by this headline, “Unknown enemy found reason to terrorize U.S.” (Lindsay, September 13, 2001, p. A43). As Lévi-Strauss (1958) argues, there is a natural propensity for humans to want to assign a face to a name, and it is not uncommon for humans to want to label and categorize. Categories, for which humans can assign people, places, and things, first, offer a way in which to measure character and identity and, second, allow humans to organize their reality (Lévi-Strauss, 1958; Memmi, 1982).

⁹ I have underlined specific key-terms for emphasis.

¹⁰ (Signed and Unsigned articles will be referenced both in footnote and in the reference section for clarification). Mair, September 13, 2001, p. A42

In an effort to make the enemy identity more tangible, I noted the enemy identity was not described as a person but rather its identity was described as a behaviour or action. This is evident in several early articles, especially those that came out either on September 11th (the day of the attacks) or the days immediately after (between September 12th-15th). Around this time, articles started to classify enemy behaviours and actions as “menacing,” “cowardly,” and “depraved.” The “perpetrators of this atrocity” were also described as meticulous, bold, organized, cold and calculated; some articles even referred to them as barbarous; constructing them as savage beasts or cave men.

There is a desire by the American people to not seek only revenge but to win a war against barbaric behaviour.¹¹

The use of ambiguous language and generalizations was common when describing the perpetrators of 9/11 in the early days, immediately following the attack. Cohen (1972) argues this ambiguity in language serves the purpose of merely adding to the mythical character’s strength, making the threat seem anonymous and ubiquitous. In this way, the enemy’s identity seemed to take on super-human proportions, assuming a character that was larger than life. Several articles described the enemy as “non-human,” “powerful,” “terrible,” and “evil”. In his book, Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers, (1972) Stanley Cohen offers insight into the processes of demonology as a way of constructing the so-called deviant, in this case enemy, thereby equating the enemy with social evil. This process of demonology was evident in the majority of articles that ran from approximately September 11th through September 16th. Most of these articles described the enemy as “evil” and likened the 9/11 enemy identity to the Devil including this article:

¹¹ Unsigned. (2001, September 16). Bush warns of sacrifices: War against terrorists ‘will not be short,’ president tells his nation. *The Province*, p. A3.

We're there to collaborate with the authorities of the United States and do our best so that we can collectively fight this horrible devil that is terrorism.¹²

In his first address since the terrorist attacks, the president of the United States, George W. Bush, says "Today our nation saw evil." Canada's Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, responded in agreement;

It is impossible to fully comprehend the evil that would have conjured up such cowardly and depraved assault upon thousands of innocent people.¹³

I noted the use of figurative language including metaphors and personification was quite popular as further efforts were made to transition from merely describing the enemy's behaviour to describing its identity as a person. For example, terrorism was personified in this quote as an evil menace:

The world now knows the full evil and capability of international terrorism which menaces the whole of the democratic world.¹⁴

In another example, terrorism was personified as a boxer in a fight winning a victory against America. Bush used the "hunting" analogy metaphorically, constructing the enemy as a wild animal to be hunted down. The hunting and eradication analogies were very predominant themes carried throughout the thirty-day time frame. I noted that in almost

¹² (Unsigned articles will be referenced both in footnote and in the reference section for clarification). Unsigned. (2001, September 13). Fighting the terror: PM pledges support but urges caution: Chrétien calls attack 'an act of war.' *The Province*, p. A12.

¹³ Unsigned. (2001, September 12). Thousands perish in terror from the skies: Carnage as hijacked jets plunge into world trade center, pentagon. *The Province*, p. A2.

¹⁴ Unsigned. (2001, September 13). Fighting the terror: PM pledges support, but urges caution: Chrétien calls attack 'an act of war.' *The Province*, p. A12.

every media account of Bush's speeches the enemy was described as a disease or plague to be eradicated.

President George W. Bush vowed yesterday U.S. troops will hunt down terrorist and "smoke them out of their holes" in a long, unrelenting war.¹⁵

In comparing earlier and later articles, I noticed that earlier articles started to mention "suspects" but were reluctant to set static enemy labels. In articles written in the weeks that followed, however, while the enemy identity started to take shape those political actors or public figures who discussed media were careful to nuance who the enemies were without setting concrete definitions. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the enemy's identity is never static and changes according to both whoever does the defining and the political context (Memmi, 1982; Henry & Tator, 2002; Van Dijk, 1985; Comack, 1999).

It took approximately one week after the 9/11 event (between the dates of September 11th to 16th, 2001) for the identity of the enemy to become defined in the media more specifically. In a September 16th article, Osama bin Laden was identified as "prime suspect" and "enemy #1."¹⁶ Ryan (2004) explains around this time the face of enemy had finally taken shape; "[t]he enemy is terrorism in general, and Osama Bin Laden specifically" (p. 376). Other suspects were identified as "Islamic Extremists", "Muslim Fanatics", the Taliban, and those who support terrorism in various ways, especially financially, in addition to countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Yemen. All of these countries were

¹⁵ Unsigned. (2001, September 16). Bush warns of sacrifices: War against terrorists 'will not be short,' president tells his nation. *The Province*, p. A3.

¹⁶ Unsigned. (2001, September 16). Bush warns of sacrifices: War against terrorists 'will not be short,' president tells his nation. *The Province*, p. A3.

accused of being brutal dictatorships with fanatical Islamic objectives and bent on initiating a holy war through “jihad.”¹⁷

In analyzing my articles I applied my enemy construction paradigm¹⁸ and found ample evidence to suggest that this model works and can be applied to an analysis of the enemy’s construction. I noted that a number of articles described those individuals or group, considered “suspects,” “targets,” and “enemies,” in terms of their physical traits, that is their ethnic or “racial” characteristics. The first dimension of the enemy construction framework¹⁹ is considered here, regarding the presence of enemy attributes. I noted that a number of articles described those individuals or group, considered “suspects,” “targets,” and “enemies,” in terms of their physical traits, that is their ethnic or “racial” characteristics. There were several examples of articles that attempted to construct a relationship between ethnicity and the enemy’s identity. For example, of those listed foreigners, immigrants, and people originating from virtually any Middle Eastern country topped the list as targets and were labelled as “suspicious.” Several articles referred to these groups as “the world’s fanatical enemies in the Middle East.”²⁰ Still other articles did not directly label Middle Easterners, or Arabs, or people of Muslim faith, as enemies, but rather put a greater emphasis on discussing particular ethnic groups, if only to mention that these groups were the targets of hate crimes.

¹⁷ The term “Jihad” does not just mean “holy war.” It actually implies a struggle in everyone’s daily life to fight for what is right and what is good in a number of ways (Mohammad, 1999).

¹⁸ See Enemy Construction Diagram (Appendix A)

¹⁹ Enemy constructions were also analyzed according to the article’s discussion on the nature of their perceived threat; however this second dimension will be discussed further in a later section in this chapter.

²⁰ Unsigned. (2001, September 19). PM way too slow to act after terrorists attacks: Asper. *The Province*, p. A3.

Significantly, after 9/11 the press swiftly associated the enemy with a particular ethnic group. No other ethnic groups, except for Sikhs²¹, were identified as potential targets or suspects during this period. I argue that this strongly suggests that the media was constructing Arabs, Muslims, and people of Middle Eastern origin (Israelis excluded) as the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks. It appears that the process of construction operates subversively through messages of what is or is not an enemy. In this sense, the enemy of this era, a Post 9/11 era, is an Arab. Furthermore, the articles that discussed Arabs, Muslims, and so on, inferred their culpability while indicating that not all were responsible for the attacks, as indicated in this article. In these articles, the Arab people are created as targets and defined as enemies:

World leaders—Jean Chrétien and George Bush asked their neighbours not to judge an entire faith based on a handful of fanatics; [and] One Timothy McVeigh doesn't mean all Americans are terrorists. Likely, one Osama Bin Laden doesn't mean all Muslims are terrorists.²²

In anger over the events in New York and Washington last week, some individuals have been lashing out at innocent people of Arab descent.²³

Another article clearly indicates how enemy identities rely on physical and cultural characteristics, including ethnicity and religion, as necessary components in the building of their identity.

Let us not become terrorists ourselves by treating our own citizens as criminals because of their skin colour or religion.²⁴

²¹ A Sikh man explains his perception of racial profiling after 9/11 by Customs/border personnel, in the course of his work as long haul trucker, "Before they were friendly. Now they see the colour of our skin and think we are one of them—the enemy" ("Scared Sikh long-haul driver facing tough road ahead", *The Province*, Oct 7, 2001, p. A14).

²² Proctor, J. (2001, September 14). BC Muslim leaders condemn terrorism. *The Province*, p. A23.

²³ Cole, J. (2001, September 17). These are ways to cultivate peace in the world. *The Province*, p. A24.

While initially the enemy identity emerged ambiguously on the scene as a dark shadow and an invisible, unknown; by the end of the thirty-day time frame the face of the enemy became more identifiable. This first section brought the face of the enemy into focus. The enemy construction paradigm was applied and demonstrated that enemies can be identified primarily according to their physical appearance, particularly skin colour, followed by their religion. Similarly, individuals or groups were created as enemies according to their personalities or behaviours and often labelled as elusive, cold, calculating, and evil. According to my analysis enemies, in a Post 9/11 era, were identified as “Muslim extremists” as well as individuals or groups of Middle Eastern origin, specifically Arabic-speaking countries. While the media tended to target one “enemy” there is no one definitive enemy. There are only concepts of the enemy, and these conceptualizations are forever evolving, especially in a socially-constructed reality (Kappeler, 1996; Gergen, 2001). There are several other enemy identities and themes that emerged from the data to follow.

3.2 Comparison of Old and New Enemies

This section discusses how the media compared the enemy of 9/11 to enemies of the past. First it is worth repeating that the concept of the “enemy” appears to be defined contextually. That is to say, the enemy’s identity is shaped by the social and political circumstances of the time (Goode, 1997, p. 423). Said agrees, “each age and society re-creates its ‘others’” (1978, p. 332). Gearty (1997), points out that the enemy of today is very different from any enemy of the past. “It is neither as powerful nor as explicit in its

²⁴ McGill, R. (2001, September 19). Conventional forces can’t fight invisible enemy. *The Province*, p. A23.

ambitions as either of its marauding predecessors, though its obscurity and anonymity are said merely to add to its strength” (Gearty, 1997, p.1).

Historically, enemies of the past have been constructed as “‘foreign threats’ and presented as both economic and cultural threats to the Western world. At first, it was the Native Americans, then the “red peril” of the former Soviet Union, the “yellow peril” of Chinese communism, and now there is an attempt to create the “green peril” of Islam” (Mohammed, 1999, p. 307).

The enemy that emerges from 9/11 not only looks different, (in reference to its physical appearance) but plays by different rules, holds different religious and ideological values, all of which make it appear more threatening because it has been constructed in stark opposition to what western societies understood of enemies in the past. To add to society’s sense of peril is that the enemy is unknown, which is exemplified by an excerpt from The Province on the day of the catastrophe:

In many respects this [referencing 9/11] is significantly worse than Pearl Harbour, and we don’t know who the enemy is.²⁵

In making comparisons between old and new enemies, Bush described the actions of the terrorists behind the 9/11 attacks to the evil forces of the last century, saying that:

by sacrificing the lives of their victims to achieve their ends they [new enemies] were following the path of Nazism and Fascism and totalitarianism [old enemies].²⁶

Similarly, several articles frequently made comparisons between the 9/11 attack and the Japanese bombings at Pearl Harbor because the surprise attacks and feeling of vulnerability that both events produced, were quite similar and continued to resonate long

²⁵ Unsigned. (2001, September 11). I just saw my two towers fall. *The Province*, p. A9.

²⁶ Unsigned. (2001, September 21). You are with us or you are with terrorists. *The Province*, A2.

after the initial event.²⁷ In this article, a U.S. Senator, Chuck Hagel, said, “This is the second Pearl Harbor, I don’t think that I overstate it.”

Not long after the attacks, the media began to compare the old and new enemies and advance the possibility of 9/11 as being a “new war.” In this “new war,” the enemies are seen as unconventional and unpredictable because they don’t play by same rules as old Cold War, communist enemies. Ultimately, the emergence of the new war rhetoric is further setting up the comparison between the old and new enemy:

This is war, 21st century style-- . . . it’s not even the more modern version where one nation, without warning, strikes at another [referencing the Japanese bombings of Pearl Harbour].²⁸

Several articles also compared the enemy of today with the enemies of the Cold War since both enemies were perceived to be threats to Western ideology and the social infrastructure. Most often, however, these comparisons served to exemplify further the differences between the enemies of the past and of today, by emphasizing the “new” unpredictable enemy with a deeply complicated religious and political past marred by centuries of conflict and struggle.

3.3 Discourse and Practices at Work Within Enemy Building

It is necessary to refer back to a discussion in Chapter Two on the relationship of ideology and discourse in the building of enemy identities and the social construction of

²⁷ Unsigned. (2001, September 17). Painful memories for Japanese-Canadians. *The Province*, p. A6.

²⁸ Mair, Rafe. (2001, September 13). Terrorist tragedy a wake-up call for the ‘sleeping giant.’ *The Province*, p. A42.

realities. In the following quote, Achugar (2004) explains the function of ideology in the building of enemies:

Ideologies are inscribed in discourse; as a result we can try to describe and explain how different social groups represent and orient themselves to reality in order to advance their own group's interests (p. 293). . . The identities constructed in these texts are part of ideologies of solidarity and power. This solidarity is created through forms of discourse that blur 'differences, antagonisms, [and] conflicts of interest. The power function of this ideology is expressed in the exacerbation of 'difference, hostility, [and] superiority (p. 293).

This section explores how discourses and practices were used to create enemy identities. The second dimension of the enemy construction paradigm²⁹ is also discussed as the enemy is created according to the nature of their perceived threat. There were three binary themes (as borrowed from Coe et al., 2004) in particular that emerged from the media analysis to explain enemy construction including the “us” versus “them” binary, the “good” versus “evil” binary and the “security” versus “peril” binary.

3.3.1 Us versus Them Binary

The binary opposition of “us” and “another group” is useful in highlighting what Achugar (2004) calls the “discourse of difference.” Achugar (2004) explains further,

The construction of identity is a process of differentiation, a description of one's own group and a differentiation from others. This means that the identities of social actors in the texts are mostly constructed and defined as members of groups when the emphasis is placed on representing the “Other” as different, deviant or as a threat (p. 295).

²⁹ Appendix A: Enemy Construction diagram.

The use of “us” versus “them” binaries can be used by individuals or groups, (primarily by the dominant group), to create a clear division between the in-group and the out-group and to advance the in-group’s agenda or ideology (Achugar, 2004, p. 295). This excerpt provides a clear example of the “us” versus “them” division; in this case we can also see a clear “West” versus “East” dichotomy at play.

They train their populations from the earliest ages to hate us for what we stand for and to be willing to heave themselves in deathly attacks upon us. . . They’ve demonized North America and Western Europe (to their followers), the Jews, Israel, capitalism, democracy, and frankly anything else that suits any given moment that strikes at the heart of what we believe in.³⁰

It was made very clear in many articles that the building of identities was very much a part of constructing America and its allies (such as the countries of Western Europe, Israel, and Jews) as the in-group. According to Achugar (2004), belonging to the in-group (the West) meant its members accepted and embodied Western values and virtues of freedom, liberty, and democracy.

In contrast, several articles made a distinction when it came to the construction of the East as “them.” They characterize this out-group as holding non-Western beliefs as well as geographic, ethnic, religious, and moral characteristics that conflict with the in-group (Achugar, 2004, p. 295). Achugar (2004) further explains, “The Other [or “out-group”] is portrayed as the unknown, the incomprehensible, the primitive or barbaric which does not support life in an open society” (p. 295). This group is comprised of such figures as Osama bin Laden, Islamic terrorist groups and their sympathizers, and other anti-American entities.

³⁰ Unsigned. (2001, September 19). PM way too slow to act after terrorists attacks: Asper. The Province, p. A3.

There are numerous examples in The Province where in and out group divisions take place. On September 21, 2001, for instance, Bush presented a more detailed outline of his plan for the war against terrorism. In this outline, he emphatically states, “you’re with us, or you are with the terrorists.”³¹ Binary divisions of us versus them are further illustrated in the kinds of language used to validate one group and denigrate the other. In another example, Mohammad (1999) posits, “[t]he West treats itself like a universal sovereign subject by labelling those who are different as ‘the other.’ This worldview, as it is manifested in the Western media, inscribes its own essentialist rules and regulations on [the East]” (Mohammad, 1999, p. 304). The media described the United States positively by using words such as “hero, innocent, victim, protector” and so on. The words “Islam, Muslim, and Arab” rapidly became synonymous with the qualifiers “extremist, militant, fanatic and enemy.”

I give more examples of us versus them binaries used in identity construction later. In an earlier section, I explained that the purpose of binary discourse and the “us versus them” division is that it serves as an ideological strategy of domination where one group is set up in opposition to another, perceived differences are denounced, and the dominant group is valorized while the subordinate group is denigrated. It is a way to further segregate the other group. I explore this further when I examine the binary constructions of good versus evil in the next section.

3.3.2 Good Versus Evil Binary

According to Henry and Tator (2002), “media images and stories carry powerful but coded meanings and messages” (p.5). Morality as a social value, for example, is often embedded in

³¹ Unsigned. (2001, September 21). You are with us or you are with terrorists. *The Province*, p. A2.

media and plays a role in constructing identities. As I mentioned, the type of discourse used to describe the United States, constructed America's identity as the antithesis to terrorism in a battle between "good and evil." This is clearly stated in Bush's first presidential address after 9/11: "Today our nation saw evil."³²

Mohammad (1999) explains the good versus evil binary opposition in that the subject doing the "othering" is "self-designated as essentially good, just and superior, while the 'other' is cast as essentially evil, unjust, and inferior" (p. 305). Furthermore he points out that those binaries such as good and evil work because they pit one group over another using morality descriptions of rightness and wrongness, good and evil. When we start to equate and conceptualize America as good, than anything else is considered evil and automatically pinned as America's antithesis. Similarly, Dobkin (1992) explains when America is constructed as good; it also dramatically becomes the antithesis of terrorism:

Americans are treated as both the actual and symbolic targets of terrorism; terrorism exists primarily to fight America and all for which it stands—one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all. Not surprisingly then, these concepts—Judeo-Christian religions, freedom, and justice—form the basis of the cluster of terms that surround "American" (p. 40).

Furthermore, binary oppositions such as good versus evil operate within power relations, in the sense that the one defined as "good" can always justify its actions, even when these actions violate norms. That is to say, at some level the ends always justify the means because when "we" triumph, goodness triumphs. For example, "the United States' foreign policy and its deviations from international norms do not diminish the U.S.'s inherent 'goodness,' because they are allegedly done so that goodness will ultimately triumph"

³² Unsigned. (2001, September 12). Thousands perish in terror from the skies: Carnage as hijacked jets plunge into world trade center, pentagon. *The Province*, p. A2.

(Mohammed, 1999, p. 306). This double standard is acceptable especially if we are considered to belong to the in-group and nothing can reduce the in-group's moral right against the out-group.

Other articles used the process of demonology to remind readers who the enemy or target was—as enemies are “demonized” as “evil” forces. In a September 20th article called “*Turning on our neighbors only helps spread the evil*”³³ the discussion in the media is on the demonization of the ethnic and religious groups as part of building enemy identities.

The choice to demonize ethnic and religious groups gives in to the basic instance to respond to evil with evil. But when we turn to attacking our own neighbours and citizens, evil wins and terrorism is given another victory.

Traditional American values are implied in discourse to be morally good and right, contrasting with the immorality of savage, barbaric men. By constructing the enemy as evil and barbaric and America as good and righteous, this serves to justify any retaliatory action by America in fighting a war against the ‘evil-doers.’

There is a desire by the American people to not seek only revenge but to win a war against barbaric behaviour.³⁴

Likewise, Bush is quoted in several articles from September 12, 2001 as saying that his government would “hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts.”³⁵ What is happening in this quotation is first President Bush is using the imagery of “hunt down” to describe how he intends to treat the suspect or suspects and he is establishing

³³ Martinuk, S. (2001, September 20). Turning on our neighbors only helps spread the evil. *The Province*, A36.

³⁴ Unsigned. (2001, September 16). Bush warns of sacrifices: War against terrorists ‘will not be short,’ president tells his nation. *The Province*, p. A3.

³⁵ Unsigned. (2001, September 12). Thousands perish in terror from the skies: Carnage as hijacked jets plunge into world trade center, pentagon. *The Province*, p. A2.

America as the punisher. In contrast, America becomes the saviour who protects innocent people from evil (Cohen, 1972).

In one article, Bush is reported as justifying his retaliatory actions and declaring that his government will do whatever it takes to “hunt down and punish those responsible.” In the same speech, Bush lambasts “suicide bombers so convinced in the rightness of their cause they were prepared to blow themselves up and anyone else in their way who claim their own causes are righteous.” Bush is arguably promoting a double standard: while America is morally justified if it wants to fight its enemies, these enemies are immoral to want to fight back in the same way.

3.3.3 Security vs. Peril

Immediately after the 9/11 attacks, I noticed that many articles emphasized the general, overwhelming feeling of fear and insecurity, and early articles framed the future as bleak, dark, and uncertain. This binary specifically demonstrates how enemies are defined according to the nature of threat they perceived to the state, to national security, and to the status quo, or value system. My analysis of the security versus peril binary and presence of “threat” rhetoric is borrowed from Coe et al, (2004):

This binary is said to be present if the term *security*, or similar terms such as safety, protection, and safeguard, were set in opposition to the term *peril*, or similar terms such as threat, risk, danger, and hazard. References to potential future attacks were also [classified] as peril that existed with such a possibility (Coe et al., 2004, p. 239).

Referring to the enemy construction paradigm, I discuss the first two types of threats as political threats to the state or government (T1)³⁶ and to national security (military threats), as emphasized in these quotes:

“U.S is under attack,”³⁷ and “Nation under siege,” and
“America Put on High alert status.”³⁸

Articles in the first few weeks seemed to focus almost obsessively on a nation-wide feeling of vulnerability in light of perceived impending threats to physical security, including to border and air security (T2), as emphasized in these quotes:

It does make you frightened because you’d think they have tight security in airports and that this can’t happen in a country that is so much like ours.³⁹

Bush found himself at the helm of a superpower with its military nerve centre in flames, its financial centre in shambles and its horrified citizens wondering what more devastation might rain down on them from the skies.⁴⁰

The words “fear and threat” were used in nearly every article that came out immediately following the attacks. Dobkin (1992) explains that the construction of enemies and “terrorist ideographs become more and more terrifying” (p. 50) The language of uncertainty and perceived threats to the state’s security (not to mention the “hunt” for an “unknown” and

³⁶ (T=Threat): See T1-T3 breakdown of Enemy Construction Diagram, Appendix B.

³⁷ Fournier, S. (2001, September 12). Students react to sombre scenes: Images stir fear, shock. *The Province*, p. A35.

³⁸ Unsigned. (2001, September 12). Thousands perish in terror from the skies: Carnage as hijacked jets plunge into world trade center, pentagon. *The Province*, p. A2.

³⁹ Fournier, S. (2001, September 12). Students react to sombre scenes: Images stir fear, shock. *The Province*, p. A35.

⁴⁰ Unsigned. (2001, September 12). Thousands perish in terror from the skies: Carnage as hijacked jets plunge into world trade center, pentagon. *The Province*, p. A2.

faceless enemy), made the enemy seem imminently menacing, thus heightening the level of public anxiety.

In reference to the enemy construction framework, I noticed enemies were also described in articles as threatening to the status quo and the value system of the dominant order (T3). I recognized articles defined enemies according to how they embodied a direct threat to the values and beliefs of Americans, as seen in this quote by NATO alliance, “International terrorism is a menace to the whole of the democratic world.”⁴¹

Ideology has played a large role in influencing, and in many ways, justifying enemy constructions. Enemies are depicted as endangering the value system. Particular groups are considered threats to American values and beliefs, specifically threats to freedom, democracy, and capitalism. In addition, Coe et al., (2004) add, traditional “American values include freedom, life, liberty, democracy, justice, and innovation” (p. 239). Contrasts to “American values,” such as the phrase “enemies of freedom” thus represented evil (Coe et al, 2004, p. 239). Enemies threaten the social and political ideology of the dominant order. In this case, many articles identified how enemies were threatening to the virtues of capitalism, democracy, and freedom, seen by many Americans as the staple values of their society. President Bush often emphasized American values in his speeches, as demonstrated in this quote:

America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day, yet we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in the world.⁴²

⁴¹ Unsigned. (2001, September 13). Fighting the terror: PM pledges support, but urges caution: Chrétien calls attack ‘an act of war.’ *The Province*, p. A12.

⁴² Unsigned. (2001, September 12). Thousands perish in terror from the skies: Carnage as hijacked jets plunge into world trade center, pentagon. *The Province*, p. A2.

In this example, Bush describes America as the protector and defender of “freedom” and “all that is good and just in the world” whereas the enemies are constructed as a threat to American values of freedom, democracy and capitalism, for that matter. In one article titled *We must defend the virtues of capitalism*, enemies are defined as “anti-capitalist zealots” and further described the 9/11 attack as “an attack against the American-driven forces of globalization.”

Furthermore, this article states:

Those who benefit from capitalism can no longer assume it's safe to go about one's business to avoid defending capitalism—intellectually, morally, financially—against its countless enemies.⁴³

Dobkin (1992) writes, “[a]s champions of the ‘free world,’ Americans are proud of their liberty and the opportunity to exercise their will” (p. 52). American ideology incorporates various versions of distributive, procedural, and retributive justice and with freedom came the expectation of justice, which took many forms. For example, in early discussions about America's enemies, Dobkin (1992) explains, “terrorists ‘must be dealt justice’ or ‘brought to justice’” and this form of retaliatory justice is defended by American people as “the right thing to do” (p. 53). While it seems American defines its enemies according to its own political ideologies and how it can benefit from these constructions, my analysis noted that the identity of the enemy was influenced by and depended upon whoever was doing the defining. This will be elaborated further in the last section of this chapter.

⁴³ Wolceshyn, G. (2001, September 17). We must defend the virtues of capitalism. The Province, p. A25.

3.4 Who does the Defining?

The last section of my analysis discusses how the enemy identity emerged in the media. I was surprised to see that there is no one definitive enemy identity, as I had expected, but rather my analysis demonstrated there were several different constructions of enemy, and the enemy identity varied according to who was doing the defining. The following themes were useful in exploring this further.

3.4.1 **America's Definition of the Enemy**

We know from the news articles that Americans and the Bush Administration⁴⁴ considered Osama bin Laden its prime suspect and “enemy number one.” The Bush Administration made it clear that anyone who supported and sympathized with Osama bin Laden was also labelled an enemy. It is remarkable, however, how quickly Americans identified their enemy. Almost immediately after the attacks, several articles from The Province argued that the American public had created clear divisions of who constituted an ally and who would be defined as an enemy.

In my analysis, I saw America participate in the process of building of enemies by designating “in-groups and out-groups.” This process involved the construction of two identities; first, the construction of its own “American” identity, as the in-group (us) and the construction of the “enemy” identity as the out-group (them). America's identity within the news articles was presented as “the victim, the hero, the saviour, and the righteous” as

⁴⁴ When I refer to “America” or “the U.S.,” I mean the United States of America. With regards to the building of enemy identities I am referring to how the American state, primarily the Bush administration, participated in this process and am aware that not all American people supported the Bush Administration and its enemy building enterprise at this time. It should also be noted that my analysis of America's participation in enemy building is a discussion solely based upon The Province newspaper's account of this event.

opposed to how America constructed the identity of the enemy as “Other,” “different,” “terrorist,” and “evil.” Further, Dobkin (1992) shows that just as in the past America has always constructed itself in a way as to be “simultaneously celebrated, glorified, and eulogized as opposed to their enemies, who were defined as destructors of Americans values and the American way” (p. 50). It appears individuals or groups who demonstrated solidarity and appeared to support America and its causes were identified as friends and allies.

Groups or individuals that opposed the U.S. and appeared to threaten or not support “the American way of life” were constructed as “enemies.” In one article, Bush is reported to declare, “Those who do not support America in this ‘new war’ are terrorist sympathizers.” In addition Bush also said,

The U.S. will not differentiate between those who commit acts of terror and those who harbour [support, and subsidize] them . . . People who crash airliners into office towers are mass murders, and countries that fund, train, and shelter them are the enemy.⁴⁵

In many of his speeches, Bush participated in the building of enemy identities and in creating distinctions between “us” and “them.” In the statement above he urged that those who did not support America after 9/11, and those who did not support the “war against terror” campaign, would be constructed as either terrorist sympathizers or as Anti-American. In this sense, one article argued that,

It seems that we’re building up this extremism, this sense that everything is black and white, you’re either for or against Americans.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Jonas, G. (2001, September 14). Decisive moves needed against terrorists and countries that aid them. *The Province*, p. A.38.

⁴⁶ McLellan, W. (2001, October 3). Anti-U.S. speech blasted: Campbell, Day and Manley denounce UBC professor’s ‘soaked in blood tirade.’ *The Province*, p. A4.

In fact, some articles discussed how Canada had earned an “Anti-American” label for questioning American foreign policy and for not immediately showing solidarity and support to the United States. Several articles defended America and viewed anti-American sentiments, recognized as inherent in Canadian attitudes and social rhetoric, as “juvenile at best, often ill-formed, and akin to racism at worst.”⁴⁷ Further to this, “the almost-gloating of the anti-Americans among us is morally repugnant” and America-bashing was described as crude and pathetic, and stemming from “envy and anti-capitalist sentiment based on economic illiteracy.”⁴⁸

To defend its foreign policy and legitimize its retaliatory actions while justifying many perceived violations of human rights, America worked hard to construct its identity in a positive light. In the following excerpt, America’s identity is further constructed as hero, protector, and defender:

Whether it was the post-Second World War Marshall Plan that reconstructed Europe, the rebuilding of Japan, or the constant defence of the West against the ideological and military threats of the Soviet Union and her minions, the U.S. has been a better friend to civilization in general, allies in particular, and even enemies, than anyone could rightfully demand.⁴⁹

3.4.2 America constructed as the Enemy

Several articles expressed that the identity of the enemy changes according to who does the defining. It is no surprise that when the Bush administration was not doing the defining America became constructed as an enemy, within the media. And others have also

⁴⁷ Milke, M. (2001, September 16). Please stop dissing our U.S. friends. *The Province*, A37.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

used the “us” versus “them” binary framework to set-apart America as the enemy. In this sense, the binary discussions of in-and out-groups and us-versus-them discourses have been accepted and are utilized by both sides; not just by America in its definition of enemies, but also in the construction of America as the enemy. In one article, Palestinian gunmen and demonstrators describe the American enemy using the “West” versus “East” dichotomy:

America is the head of the snake. America always stands by Israel in its war against us.⁵⁰

America’s relationship with the East has a long history of political turmoil, and several articles attempted to put into context why America has so often been a target for terrorism:

The U.S. was a constant target for desperate acts of terrorism because the United States is an imperialist power that dominates the world economy and world politics. Further, the attacks were a wake-up call to Americans to re-examine their foreign policy.⁵¹

In light of American’s track record with regards to its foreign policy several articles justified their construction of America as the bully and enemy by statements such as “America deserves this outrage,” “What did you expect?”⁵² “The fact is, Americans have had it coming for a long time.”⁵³ Sunera Thobani, a professor at the University of British Columbia (UBC), constructed both America and Bush as enemies in the following feminist-inspired speech:

Today in the world, the United States is the most dangerous and the most powerful global force unleashing horrific levels of violence . . . American foreign policy is “soaked in blood” and September 11th has created a blank slate for global

⁵⁰ Unsigned. (2001, September 12). Palestinians rejoice as U.S. mourns. *The Province*, p. A27.

⁵¹ Milke, M. (2001, September 16). Please stop dissing our U.S. friends. *The Province*, A37.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Milke, M. (2001, September 16). Please stop dissing our U.S. friends. *The Province*, A37.

domination of the Bush agenda of militarism and global capitalism . . . He's [President George Bush] no longer the Texas hangman. He appears to have become the global hangman.⁵⁴ [She further added in another article] The American nations....is bloodthirsty, vengeful and calling for blood. They don't care whose blood it is, they want blood.⁵⁵

In an effort to construct the United States' identity as the enemy as opposed to America's constructed enemies, demonstrators said this:

We have the world's richest, most powerful country waging war on the poorest country in the world. It is literally, truly appalling . . . Islam is not the enemy, war is not the answer.⁵⁶

In the following excerpt, America is constructed again as the dominant "bully" imposing its will on the subordinate "other." America is "an imperialist power that dominates the world economy and world politics."⁵⁷

The Americans are out there throwing their weight around all over the world. They are trying to impose their culture on everyone. . . In the world after the collapse of the Soviet empire, the U.S. is the imperious villain and Washington has dark designs not only in Afghanistan and Africa, but on Canada. Not only does it want our water, it wants to "harmonize" Canada into a state of servitude in which we lose our dollar, our culture and our self-respect as a nation.⁵⁸

Significantly, the same discourses and practices that America used to construct its enemies were used in the previous quotes to construct America as an enemy.

⁵⁴ Unsigned. (2001, October 2). MPs upset by view of leading feminist. *The Province*, p. A14.

⁵⁵ Unsigned. (2001, October 3). A spate of hate. *The Province*, p. A28.

⁵⁶ Austin, I., & Spencer, K. (2001, October 8). Demonstrators decry bombing. *The Province*, p. A10.

⁵⁷ Mike, M. (2001, September 16). Please stop dissing our U.S. friends. *The Province*, A37.

⁵⁸ Unsigned. (2001, September 19). America: its achievements far outweigh its misjudgements. *The Province*, p. A 22.

3.4.3 Canada's Construction of the Enemy versus America's Construction of the Enemy

It is interesting to note how Canada defined its so-called enemies. Canada seems to have been on the whole more apprehensive about specifying an enemy and was consequently criticized as "Anti-American" for its perceived fence-sitting. I noted several articles chastised Canadian governments for being "too slow to react to the terrorist threat"⁵⁹ and accused Canada of "producing a latent stream of anti-Americanism that has become part of Canadian culture."⁶⁰ The Chrétien government, however, "was cautious, warning that before any retaliation, it's important to be sure who was behind the attacks."⁶¹ In a special debate, Chrétien said:

We will not be stampeded into taking hasty action that would undermine the country's democratic values in the 'vain hope' of making Canada a 'fortress against the world. . .it's a murky business, dealing with terrorism, and rushing in with military muscle could create dozens more Osama bin Ladens.⁶²

Despite being condemned for the large amount of anti-American rhetoric being spouted by many Canadians, the Chrétien government worked hard to build a solid picture of Canada as a supportive friend and ally to America. More importantly, Chrétien worked to create the Canadian identity as belonging to the "in-group" designate in order to avoid being identified as an enemy itself; as exemplified in this quote by Chrétien: "We must contribute

⁵⁹ Unsigned. (2001, September 19). PM way too slow to act after terrorists attacks: Asper. *The Province*, p. A3.

⁶⁰ Milke, M. (2001, September 16). Please stop dissing our U.S. friends. *The Province*, A37.

⁶¹ Unsigned. (2001, September 13). Fighting the terror: PM pledges support, but urges caution: Chrétien calls attack 'an act of war.' *The Province*, p. A12.

⁶² McNully, J. (2001, September 18). Special debate doesn't get us much further. *The Province*, p. A6.

to this fight against an unknown enemy. We are a part of the civilized world, and the US is our best friend.”⁶³ Other articles recognized that Canada is closely tied to the United States:

Canadians are tied by an umbilical chord to Uncle Sam, which is our neighbour, protector and chief wealth provider. While that relationship has seemed to deteriorate of late into one of mutual sniping over everything from B.C. lumber to P.E.I. potatoes, the U.S. remains our closest ally—whether we like it or not.⁶⁴

In this article, the Canadian prime minister focused on three themes that served not only to firmly establish the Canadian identity as belonging to the “in-group” but also served to frame how Canadians shall not participate in certain social construct of the enemy: “First the need to recognize Canadian solidarity with the Americans, who are family as much as neighbours, second the need to act wisely and ensure long-term solutions and third the need to reject racism and ethnic targeting at home in the wake of terrorism linked to Muslim fundamentalists.”⁶⁵

Canada and the Canadian government was presented in the media as careful not to immediately designate an enemy and as working to avoid the targeting of any one individual or ethnic group. In contrast America and the Bush administration made very clear and bold enemy designations. In several speeches, the Bush administration used a hunting analogy by alluding to the enemy metaphorically as a wild animal, such as a fox or some other sneaky prey to be hunted down. At the same time, Chrétien urged Canadians to be cautious when building enemies using racially profiling. He spoke of how Canada is a highly diverse society and declared, “This war, this fight, is against terrorism. It isn’t against any one

⁶³ McGill, R. (2001, September 19). Conventional forces can’t fight invisible enemy. *The Province*, p. A23.

⁶⁴ Ferry, J. (2001, October 9). ‘We can’t free-ride on the Americans’ coat-tails.’ *The Province*, p. A28.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

community.”⁶⁶ Chrétien stated that the enemy is terrorism and not any one ethnic or religious identity: “Canadian Arabs and Muslims must not be held responsible simply because of their ancestry and religion.”⁶⁷

It is interesting to note the similar ways Canada and the United States construct their enemies. First, one of the major similarities in the enemy construction process is Canada also designates “in and out-groups” and classifies enemies using the enemy frameworks including “nature of perceived threats” and “enemy traits.” Secondly, Canadian constructions of the enemy also justify enemy constructions in the same way, including criminalizing and politicizing individuals and groups to serve their own purpose and implementing policies that further protect State interests.

To conclude this section, the majority of the articles focused on the fact the Canadian media indicated there is still no clear “enemy.” Despite the fact that Canadians may be fairly vague in their constructions of the so-called “enemy,” they are certain about how they define themselves in relation to America and they utilize the same enemy building processes as Americans, in terms of creating in and out groups divisions. While the process of the enemy’s construction does not appear to change, the identity of the enemy does change depending upon who does the defining.

⁶⁶ Unsigned. (2001, September 17). PM to call for wisdom, calm as House sits. *The Province*, p. A8.

⁶⁷ McNully, J. (2001, September 18). Special debate doesn’t get us much further. *The Province*, p. A6.

Chapter IV:

Conclusion and Implications

The events surrounding September 11th, 2001 have triggered an unprecedented change in the Western world with increased levels of insecurity not only socially, and politically, but also economically and this has strongly affected how we define enemies in a Post 9/11 era. The purpose of this research was to shed some light on how one Canadian newspaper, The Province, commented on the problematization of particular groups in a Post 9/11 era. This research also explored how identities are constructed either as “friend” or “enemy,” as “us” or “them,” as “in-group” or “out-group.”

According to the critical perspective, enemies are a necessary feature of an unequal society based upon power relations. Racialized attitudes and discourse is an integral feature within the discourse relating to the enemy and is articulated by the dominant culture. It often serves the purpose of perpetuating the discrimination of the “other.” Monture-Angus (1999) posits that having enemies serves a purpose and whether driven by fear or mistrust, insecurity or economic vulnerability, the state has always operated to exclude, exploit, and deny difference or otherness. Furthermore, the preservation of stratified inequalities through national security ideologies plays an important role in preserving racism and ultimately perpetuating the social, economic, and political criminalization, and destruction of the “other.” Under the national security framework, entire “[w]ars can be fought in the name of securing resources and markets to enhance the welfare and security of the population” (Simon, 1987, p. 80).

My own research explored how one newspaper, The Province, discussed how enemy identities were assigned in a post 9/11 era and how pressing ethnic issues, such as increased immigration, terrorist threats, and criminal policies and laws were presented to the public. To this end I conducted an analysis of over ninety articles, in The Province newspaper, within a thirty-day time frame following the September 11th attacks. I investigated four research themes regarding the process of enemy construction. First, I sought to identify who is the enemy? How does the face of the enemy evolve over the course of thirty days after the 9/11 attacks? Second I analyzed how today's enemy was compared, by one Canadian newspaper, with enemies of the past. Third, I explored the discourses and practices involved in the building of enemy identities; specifically I discussed how binary oppositional terms were applied within articles to draw obvious divisions between "us" and "them." Lastly, I investigated who does the defining of our enemies and compared American and Canadian versions of "enemies", as emerging from one media, to see if these enemies shared similar qualities. I've elaborated my conclusions from this analysis in the section which follows.

4.1 Examination/Summary of Findings

Concerning the first theme, defining the enemy in a post 9/11 era, I analyzed my findings by applying my enemy construction paradigm. First, the enemy construction paradigm demonstrated the building of the enemy identity was often based upon physical or cultural characteristics. Despite obvious attempts made by both media and political figures not to single out one particular ethnic group, there were several examples connecting ethnicity with the "enemy" identity. For example, of those listed, foreigners, immigrants, and people originating specifically from Middle Eastern countries topped the list as targets

and labelled “suspicious.” Arabs and Muslims were primarily constructed as national security threats, “enemies living amongst us” (Kashmeri, 2000, p. 256). The most commonly identified enemy of 9/11 as presented by The Province, emerged as Osama bin Laden (specifically) and terrorism (in general).

I concluded that enemies can be identified according to appearance and religious conviction. Similarly, enemies are socially constructed according to negative traits in their personalities and behaviours; the enemies of 9/11 were characterized as either “elusive, cold, calculating, or evil.” With further digging, I found that there was no one single enemy, there were several enemies and their social constructions depended upon who did the defining.

In the second research theme, I conducted a brief analysis on how one Canadian print media attempted to discuss the “new” enemy of 9/11 with enemies of the past. Said (1978) argues that each society recreates its “others.” While I focused my research on one single typified event (9/11), it was useful to briefly compare how the face of the enemy had changed overtime, as highlighted by the media comparisons. The findings showed that the “new” enemy was described in contradicting ways, either as calculating and extremely complicated or unpredictable. And unlike past enemies this ambiguous quality made the new enemy more threatening to many people. This was true of the Muslim enemy and especially the Arab enemy, who had already been vilified in the first Gulf War and whose political stance was considered backwards (Mohammad, 1999; Kashmeri, 2000).

I discovered further that the scope of this thesis and the limited data did not allow for a full comparative analysis of “old” and “new” enemies and that this would be an appropriate place from which to depart when conducting future research. For future analysis, I would further explore the following questions: Is the enemy considered a perceived threat to the state, to national security, and to the dominant order? And does the enemy possess physical

or cultural characteristics that differ from the dominant social order? I would expect to find that the enemy profile varies according to the political context but that the process of building enemies has not changed dramatically between eras and may in fact be a process that is reproduced many times.

The third research question addressed the discourses and practices involved in the building of enemies. The data and previous literature indicated that enemy identities are products of social discourse and particular dominant ideologies of the time. Social constructions of enemies often rely “on symbols that appeal to nationalistic imagery and the attribution of terrorism to ethnic, ideological and religious forces that already carry negative stereotypes” (Mohammed, 1999, p. 306-7). I found that sentiments of cultural and racial superiority are deeply embedded in the West’s popular culture and these have played an important role in the development and maintenance of enemy identities. These identities are then perpetuated through discourses and practices; including demonology, racialized discourses, and the use of binary oppositions to further segregate “us” from “them.” Memmi (1982) would argue that fear of difference perpetuates racist attitudes. Those who hold a dominant position in the social hierarchy discriminate and establish “otherness” in order to maintain their place since this position grants them power and economic advantage.

Kinsman et al. (2000), state,

Nearly all dominant and state groups operate by making a distinction between the centre and the periphery, the “normal” and the “deviant.” The concepts of centre versus periphery, of mainstream versus the outside, [of us versus them] are commonplace dichotomies in this schema. . . The notion of a “natural” order depends upon the maintenance of firm boundaries separating the “normal” from “the deviant” [or enemy] (p. 279).

Advantaged groups, such as the State and primarily those in power, strive to protect their own interests (Memmi, 1982). I noticed the media regarded individuals or groups who perceived to threaten core “American” values, such as freedom, democracy, and capitalism, with suspicion. Mohammad (1999) writes, “[h]istorically, “foreign threats” have been presented as both economic and cultural challenges to the Western world” (p. 307). The state generally tends to view threats to economic stability as threats to freedom. This is how the infringement of civil liberties, in the name of national security, was made palatable in the passing of the Bush administration’s enactment of the U.S. Patriot Act and the Chrétien government’s, Anti-terrorism legislation (Bill C-36). In this way, the state’s actions appear to be restoring the natural order of things against an enemy who is seeking to destroy that order (Kealey, 2000).

The final research theme I explored was the question of who does the defining of the enemy. I’ve found that generally those in positions of power do the defining in order to maintain a cultural, political, and economic hegemony. It is important to note that my analysis was of one Canadian newspaper’s representation of 9/11⁶⁸, commenting on an American event and quoting American leaders, especially referencing the Bush administration. It should be noted that this analysis recognized that the Bush administration, among other American political figureheads, heavily influenced the social constructions of the enemy. It was interesting to see that while there was some apprehension from Canadian leaders about following the American example, for the most part enemy constructions (or at least the process in which enemies were constructed) were replicated in Canada.

⁶⁸ It is worth keeping in mind this analysis was merely of one newspaper’s representation of the 9/11 reality.

From my analysis I could conclude that there is no one enemy identity. The identity of the enemy is a socially-constructed concept that changes according to the social and political context and depends upon who does the defining.

4.2 Limitations and Future Research

It is important to address the limitations that exist in this research and to acknowledge my own value system couched within a critical discourse perspective and social constructivist approach.

Because I conducted a qualitative analysis, my perception of the results could be influenced by my own frames of reference, especially by my Canadian perspective. My own interests in this work stem from past research in the field of race relations as they relate to discriminatory policies and laws, particularly the ethical grounds of using racial profiling. Future research is needed in the area of social control tactics employed by Western governments with an emphasis on racialized discourse and ideology used as a technique and strategy. This is an appropriate bridge to the social implications of such research.

4.3 Social Implications

The intent of this thesis is to gain an understanding of how we, as a society, label groups and individuals using various discourses and practices, including binary oppositions to construct “in and out-groups” which serves to further segregate certain groups. This type of research and my findings contribute to a larger understanding of race relations in terms of building partnerships, challenging racialized discourse, foreign policies and laws, and re-thinking discriminatory ideologies.

The process of defining and redefining enemies has serious implications for Canadian society. This is a process that must be deconstructed, questioned, and challenged. Kappeler (1996) argues that “society becomes intellectually blinded by the mythology of crime and justice. The established framework may not enable us to define issues accurately, to explore new solutions, or to find alternatives to existing socially constructed labels and crime control practices” (p.4).

The consequences for social constructing enemies means there is the possibility that new legislation and law enforcement could target anyone based on mere suspicion. As Kinsman et al. (2000) point out, “The state’s diffuse notion of [threat] makes many people likely targets for surveillance” (p. 279). Many ethnic groups have already expressed that they felt scrutinized and placed under a magnifying glass. As a result of 9/11, law enforcement authorities, both in Canada and in the US, can now investigate anyone perceived, even remotely, as a threat, regardless if a link to terrorist activity has been established or not.

Kinsman et al. (2000) argue that “national security” campaigns and subsequent security policy, for example, Bill C-36 (Canadian anti-terrorism legislation), allows the state to expand or contract security at will in response to various perceived threats and to take whatever measures necessary to control or combat these threats” (p. 280). Mohammed (1999) notes, “once the label is official, the term counter-terrorism may be used to legitimate extraordinary sanctions directed toward offending parties [including severe infringements of civil liberties] –sanctions that would otherwise be rejected by many” (Mohammed, 1999, p. 313).

The implications for such legislation is that once we start making allowances for such wide-sweeping expansions of power in the name of “national security,” Kinsman et al (2000)

warn, it is quite possible that “the state could expand or contract ‘security’ at will according to various perceived threats” (p. 280). Furthermore, “once the hegemony of ‘national security’ was established, the concept and the resulting practice [construction of enemies] can become very powerful” particularly when the concept of national security is informed by capitalist, racist, patriarchal relations (Kinsman et al., 2000, p. 281).

I leave it to future research to challenge our discourse and practices in enemy building campaigns that serve to marginalize groups and individuals. It is imperative that Canadian governments and media build upon our reputation for cultural tolerance to bridge the divide between “us and them” and “East and West.”

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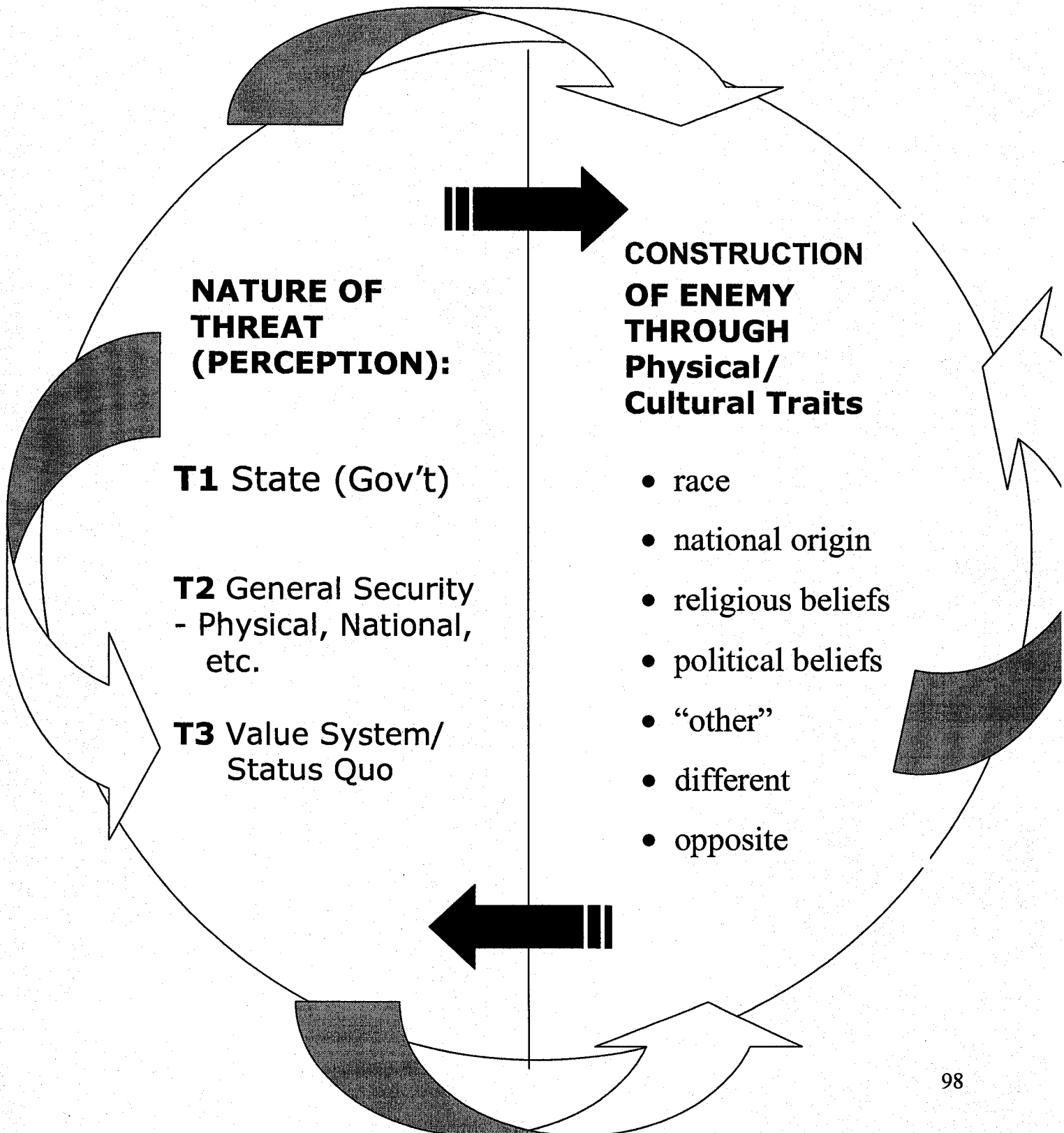
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Appendices

Appendix A

PROCESS OF ENEMY CONSTRUCTION



Appendix B

DATA ANALYSIS TABLE

Date	Page/Sect	Key Word	Headlines (HL)/ <u>A: Themes</u> (T1,T2,T3)	Article Themes <u>B: Enemy Attributes</u> <u>C: Dichotomy Discourse</u>
			HL: A:*	B:** C:***

A: * (Threats to State (T1); Threats to General/National Security (T2); Threats to Value System/Status Quo (T3)):

B: ** Enemy Attributes:

C: *Dichotomy/Binary Discourse:**