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Terrorism and Its Discontents: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Chaitani, Mohamad Hussein

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doctoral thesis

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Abstract

The conflict that started in Syria and Iraq in 2011 has inspired an unprecedented surge of foreign fighters to join jihadist terrorist groups and engage in terrorist activities on a global scale. The primary focus of this research was to explore the term “terrorism” in the context of the Western worldview. This research was guided by the following primary research question: How is the term “terrorism” made meaning of when viewed from a Western worldview? This primary research question centered on how and why meaning of the term is made when viewed through the Western worldview. Sub-questions to inform the primary research question include:

1. How is the discourse of terrorism being produced through Western hegemony?
2. What are the ways in which the state becomes implicated in this discursive production of terrorism?
3. How can Western and critical sociocultural view of terrorism be reconciled through adult education. What does this mean for adult education?

This study examined recent scholarly research in the fields of terrorism studies, adult education as well as scholarly research on history and politics of the Middle East. I drew from critical discourse analysis as my research methodology to reveal the different discourses on the term “terrorism” from a Western viewpoint. Insights from the analyzed discourses for government policy documents and news media may provide relevant stakeholders—parents, communities, law enforcement agencies, rehabilitation centers, or social workers—with a deeper understanding of the discourse and meaning-making of terrorism.
Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to many people who have been supportive during my Ph.D. journey. Most of all, I am grateful for the support and faith of Dr. Colleen Kawalilak, my supervisor, and my committee, Dr. Shirley Steinberg and Dr. Marlon Simmons. Dr. Kawalilak’s tireless enthusiasm, patience, and guidance saw me complete my journey. Dr. Steinberg and Dr. Simmons were always there for me, supporting my dissertation work with stimulating feedback and the greatest of insight and guidance. Collectively their support cannot be captured in words, was truly transformational, and will be carried permanently.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Rouba Hammoud.

Thank you for always being supportive and Happy 20th anniversary, Love (Houbi).
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Definition of Terms

The terminology used throughout this research study may carry a variety of meanings for the reader. For this reason, I have chosen to identify, at the onset, definitions of the terms that are supported by scholarly voices in the literature.

**Adult Education**
Activities intentionally designed for bringing about learning of adults (Merriam & Bierema, 2014).

**Adult Learning**
Prompted or Unprompted learning in an unstructured or structured environment (Groen & Kawalilak, 2014).

**Almaniyah**
To secularize, a term adopted in the early nineteenth century in the Arab World when “modernizing” (Asad, 2003).

**Bricolage**
A flexible research process, transformative in the research context that attends to the needs of participants and to the goals of social change and part of an innovative evolving criticality (Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg, & Monzo, 2018).

**Caliphate**
The office or jurisdiction of a caliph, the chief of Muslim civil and religious ruler (RCMP, 2016).

**Cells**
Smallest unit within a guerilla warfare or terrorist group (RCMP, 2016).

**Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)**
An extremism prevention model or strategy (Selim, 2016)

**Critical Pedagogy**
Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy, a teaching method to teach the oppressed to learn the value of their humanness.

**Darura**
Necessity, in shari’a, a technical device to enable sharia’s to be flexible and adaptable (Asad, 2003).
**Da'wa**
Islamic mission throughout the modern world (Tibi, 1998).

**Decolonization**
The post-colonial period of the Middle East when its leaders sought to imitate the Western model and embraced Westernization in the hope of modernizing (Ahmed, 2004; Rahman, 1992; Sayyid, 2003).

**De-radicalization**
Process on individuals turning from a position of endorsing and using violence to abstinence from violent means (Korn, 2016).

**Din**
Religion (Asad, 2003).

**Discourse**
All the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation (Bloor & Bloor, 2007).

**Discursive Production**
The production of text rather than the reception and interpretation, (Fairclough, 2003).

**Dunya**
Temporal world (Asad, 2003).

**Epistemology**
What counts as knowledge and how knowledge claims are justified (Creswell, 2013).

**Fatwa**
A legal opinion or decree handed down by an Islamic religious leader (RCMP, 2016).

**Hegemony**
Domination based on consent rather than coercion, normalization of practices and their social relations with ideology important in achieving and maintaining relations of domination (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).
Ideology
A set of beliefs or attitudes shared by members of a particular social group (Bloor & Bloor, 2007).

Individual Mobilization
Radicalization on an individual basis; an understudied topic (Stern, 2016).

Intifada
Arabic for shaking off; civil disobedience by Palestinians which escalated into the use of terror (RCMP, 2016).

Ijtihad
Institutionalized practice of interpreting the shari’a to take into account changing historical circumstances and, therefore, different points of view; independent legal reasoning of Muslim scholars on matters of disagreement; on a layman level personal reasoning (Asad, 2003).

ISIS
Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (Salem, 2016b).

Islamophobia
Fear of Muslims or those that appear to be Muslims as a result of acts of discrimination and bigotry by media, politicians, religious leaders, and miseducation in school (Kincheloe, Steinberg, & Stonebanks, 2010).

Islamic State
A state where the political regime and the affairs of the state are based on the shari’a (RCMP, 2016).

Islamism
Political ideology with belief that Islam is a holistic socio-political system with advocacy of shari’a, the ummah, and Caliphate (RCMP, 2016).

Jihad
Literally effort or struggle while striving for a holy cause or serving Allah with fervent zeal and supreme effort on the personal,
spiritual, social (local community and global Muslim community – *ummah*), and political level on issues of justice and morality with violence only at the last resort; contrasted with the journalistic style meaning of “Islamic concept of holy war against the infidel” (Buck-Morss, 2003).

*Jihadist*  
Someone engaged in jihad (Buck-Morss, 2003).

*Kafir*  
Arabic for rejecter, in Islam, a person who does not recognize God (*Allah*) or the prophethood of Mohammed (RCMP, 2016).

*Kemalism*  
Adopting Westernization and modernization by imitation of the Western model (Ahmed, 2004).

*Lifeworld*  
The world of our lived experience (Abram, 1996).

*Lived Experience*  
Reality as it engages us before being analyzed by our theories and science (Abram, 1996).

*Maslaha*  
Public interest; in *shari’a*, a technical device to enable sharia’s to be flexible and adaptable (Asad, 2003).

*Mujahideen*  
Arabic for “fighters” in the name of Islam (RCMP, 2016).

*Neopatriarchy*  
Current hybrid Arab society, modernity fused with patriarchal structures of Arab society; patriarchy as a socioeconomic category refers to traditional, premodern society (Sharabi, 1992).

*Ontology*  
The nature of reality (Creswell, 2013).

*Orientalism*  
A myth-system whose institutions produce statements about the Orient that result in anthropological imperialism; the West’s distorted view of Islam and the Islamic world (Said, 1978).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Power</strong></th>
<th>The exercise of military occupation, economic exploitation, sexual and cultural humiliation by empires old and new (Ali, 2003).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Radical</strong></td>
<td>Anyone who is critical of prevalent hegemonic social conditions (Buck-Morss, 2003).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Radicalization</strong></td>
<td>An individual who in a Western worldview has gone through a <em>radicalization process</em> and who might resort to violent means; becoming radicalized means following a certain “radicalization process” (Cohen, 2016; Haykel, 2016; Korn, 2016; Kundnani, 2012; Selim, 2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Radicalization Researchers</strong></td>
<td>Researchers studying the radicalization phenomenon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Radicalization Process</strong></td>
<td>A defined path towards becoming a radical who might resort to violent means (Cohen, 2016; Haykel, 2016; Korn, 2016; Kundnani, 2012; Selim, 2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salafi</strong></td>
<td>Adherent of Salafism, a fundamentalist current of Islam (RCMP, 2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-radicalization</strong></td>
<td>Radicalization of the self, usually using the internet (Cohen, 2016; Selim, 2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shari’a</strong></td>
<td>A system of practical reason morally binding on each faithful Muslim individual theologically and existing independently of him or her (Asad, 2003).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shia</strong></td>
<td>Second-largest denomination of Islam, representing about 15 percent of Muslims worldwide; they claim authority of the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prophet’s descendants and leadership should pass down only through the Prophet’s descendants (RCMP, 2016).

**Sunni**

Largest denomination of Islam, representing about 85 percent of the world’s 1.5 billion Muslims; they claim that God did not specify any leaders to succeed the Prophet and leadership is to be elected (RCMP, 2016).

**Terrorism**

Unlawful use of violence to achieve political or social objectives (National Institute of Justice, 2017).

**Ulama**

Religious scholars (Mamdani, 2004).

**Ummah**

Muslim global community and collective consciousness, unlimited on sovereignty and embracing all of humanity; distinct from secular society onto which state, economy, and religion can be mapped (Sayyid, 2003).

**Urf**

Custom: in *shari’a*, a technical device to enable sharia’s to be flexible and adaptable (Asad, 2003).

**Western Discourse**

Constructions of discourse, all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation, from Western perspectives (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Bloor & Bloor, 2007).

**Western, Western World**

European culture, based on the historical key influences of the Roman Empire, Christianity, the Enlightenment, and
industrialization (Asad, 2003); present-day Western Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand.

**Western Worldview**

A worldview that evolved a comprehensive social system emanating from historical key influences of the Roman Empire, Christianity, the Enlightenment, and industrialization; religious principles encompassing law, polity, society, economy, and culture presently represented by Western Europe and North America, Australia, New Zealand (Buck-Morss, 2003).
Chapter One: Introduction

Overview

In the last two decades, terrorism and radicalization have become current topics of interest owing to the events in the Middle East, particularly to the wars in Iraq and Syria. Since the tragic events of 9/11, scholars researching terrorism in various disciplines have contributed to the discourse. Psychological, socioeconomic, identity, historical, as well as cultural aspects have, in their respective specializations, shed light on certain aspects of terrorism (Marsella, 2004; Moghaddam & Marsella, 2004).

In this study, through critical discourse analysis, I examined the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview and explored government policy documents strategizing how to deal with terrorism and news media outlets’ uptake of the term. I also drew from scholarly discourse in adult learning and adult education contexts to inform the debate from a learning point of view and to explore additional pathways that may explain the complexity inherent in the term “terrorism,” its perception, and prevalent discourse from differing perspectives.

Texts such as government policy documents and news media are sites of struggle considering that, when formulated, they often show differing discourses and bias. “When we look at the highly structured organizations that hold most power and that control the way we live and influence the way we think, we can see that language is an integral part of that control” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 5). Tensions that make text formulation a struggle include various ideologies with different underlying sociohistorical processes struggling for dominance (Cheek, 2008).

Critical discourse analysts posit that language cannot be transparent or value-free and are inherently sites of struggle for power and control (Cheek, 2008). Critical discourse analysis as a
methodology is concerned with power as a central condition in social life and analyzes the intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses. The way in which texts have been constructed, ordered, and shaped in terms of their social and historical situatedness may modify understanding and offer different views of reality (Cheek, 2008). Critical discourse analysts study the many forms of implicit or indirect meanings including implications, presuppositions, allusions, and vagueness (van Dijk, 2001).

In critical discourse analysis, the researcher must make choices and select the discourses for closer analysis that are relevant to the study of a social issue (van Dijk, 2001). “Critical” in critical discourse analysis implies “distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as [a] scholar doing research” (Wodak, 2001, p. 9). Ahmed (2004) noted that, traditionally, social scientists neutralize the self in their research. With critical discourse analysis, a stance is expected (van Dijk). For this research study, I deliberately used my lived experiences as a sociological resource to make sense of what was going on around me. I drew on the lived experiences that thematically relate to the social issue at hand.

Many insights can be gained by using critical discourse analysis and looking at discourses on the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview, with government policy documents and news media as data. Sayyid (2003) noted that through individual instances of Islamic fundamentalism “many fruitful empirical and historical insights can be gained” (p. 5). Research on terrorism in the West primarily catalogues individual instances and, through quantitative methods, tries to gain understanding and build pre-emptive processes to counter and stop terrorism. Sayyid claimed that:
To account adequately for the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism required the articulation of a ground in which the various manifestations and causes of “Islamic fundamentalism” have a coherence that has a wider logic than any Muslim community. Such coherence could only be found in a “conceptual” narrative. (p. 5)

I analyzed discourse from a Western worldview on the term “terrorism” to gain a deeper understanding of this problematic term which influences scholarly work on this current and important topic.

In this chapter, drawing from my life experiences, I describe the background and context of the dissertation, and how I locate myself as researcher. A statement of the problem, the research question, the purpose and significance of this research, and the theoretical framework then follow. I concluded with an overview of Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

**Lived Experiences**

My interest in the topic of “terrorism” took shape over four decades and while travelling to many countries. As a German-born Lebanese national (now dual national, Lebanese Canadian) who has lived most of his life in the United Arab Emirates and immigrated to Canada, I feel at home in many places. I have had to cross many borders and fences in my travels. I identify with Edward Said who, while in conversation with Tariq Ali in *Conversations with Edward Said* noted, “I really have very little time for the idea of belonging to a national community. It seems to me not very interesting. And above all not nourishing intellectually” (2006, p. 120). In my professional career, I have travelled to 45 countries. I have learned that, as humankind, we share many similarities, whether this be in Hong Kong, India, Yemen, Pakistan, Jordan, Syria, France, Germany, Canada, or the United States. I like to believe I have experienced a common humanity. For this reason, I have chosen to approach my dissertation by sharing some of my lived
experiences—powerful experiences that have shaped my interest in the topic of “terrorism” and where it supposedly has a home, in the Middle East.

The Middle East is one of the most underdeveloped regions in the world (Piggott, 2005). In terms of trade, capital goods imports, foreign direct investment, global supply networks integration, technology licensing, and globally recognized intellectual achievements, the Arab nations score poorly (Noland, 2007). Cross-border economic integration, technological knowledge, and innovation which could link the Arab nations to the global goods and services market are weak or nonexistent (Noland, 2007). I have long pondered the reasons behind such underdevelopment in the Arab world because, collectively, this region is wealthy in both human and material resources.

Looking Back

My father moved from Lebanon to Germany in the 1960s to study medicine. I was born and raised in Germany and at age 11, my family moved back to Lebanon. It was quite a change as this transition involved moving from the disciplined German cultural context where everything is done to a “set script” to Lebanese life where there are several scripts that are not set but in flux. The move from Germany and being part of so many scripts helped to shape my worldview. My personal history, cultural worldview, and some personal and professional experiences, which helped shape my worldview, formed over three decades starting at 11 and ending at 45 years old, when I decided to pursue a second doctorate. According to Preissle (2008), relating personal history, cultural worldview, and professional experience constitute a subjectivity statement, “[a] summary of what researchers are in relation to their research” (p. 844). This introduction to my lived experiences explains my interest in researching the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview.
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict began almost every morning throughout the summer of 1981, our first year after returning to Lebanon from Germany. Palestinian resistance fighters operated at night under the cover of darkness, sending Katyusha rockets south towards northern Israel. The Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) retaliated by shelling suspected Palestinian positions. The noise subsided by dawn. The call for morning prayer, *athan*, would silence the guns. I do not remember being scared, as the novelty was interesting rather than scary. The explanation given as to why the Israelis and Palestinians were trying to kill each other formed the first script in my 11-year-old mind.

In late 1981, when visiting my grandparents’ home in the south, I noticed a small truck with anti-aircraft weapons mounted on it. Clearly, they were Palestinians taking refuge under the tall trees in the courtyard. I saw two armed men sitting in the back of the truck on the Anti-Aircraft AA seats. The Israeli Air Force was very active at the time. The Palestinians were eating a roasted chicken on a loaf of bread. They invited me to share the food with them and we chatted. When I asked them why they were there, they replied that they would rather be across the hills (both pointing south) in Palestine, but they were fighting with their Lebanese brothers to go back to Palestine.

In the summer of 1981, we would occasionally pick oranges in the groves my mother owned, close to the border. We would spend the whole day climbing orange trees and collecting oranges to fill cases which would be loaded on a truck and sold wholesale. We always took a couple of cases for home consumption.

The German School in Beirut was an island that reminded me of “home” with German teachers and curriculum. Students like me were considered “half-breeds.” Others were considered “authentic” Germans. This school provided some order in the chaos of Beirut.
Schoolfriends described where they lived which is where I first learned that there were two Beiruts: East and West. I was living in West Beirut but most of the authentic Germans lived in East Beirut. Christians tended to “prefer” the Eastern half; Muslims “preferred” the Western side of Beirut. Lebanon was one nation with many sects. The dynamics of the sectarian divide in the multi-sectarian Lebanese society took shape amid the Civil War in Lebanon and formed the second script.

West Beirut was a mosaic represented by multicoloured flags. Some young men with arms flew the Palestinian tricolour while others, in a different part of the city, flew a black flag with a diamond in it with Arabic writing. At 11 years old, I could not read Arabic. I saw a green flag with different Arabic writing and a red flag with socialist insignia and no Arabic writing. I saw a white flag with a green cedar tree and another that was white with a green cedar tree and red circle around the tree. Those are the flags I can remember but others would show up and disappear. When they disappeared, a replacement flag was flown in the area taken over by the larger group. It was a microcosm of Tibi’s (1998) “Tribes with national flags” (p. 8) which, according to Huntington (1996), represented “symbols of cultural identity” (p. 20). Nations with national flags came and went. The Americans, French, and Italians were there. Crosses, crescents, cedars, the Star of David and even head coverings were present at one point or another. The young men manning their checkpoints all looked similar. The dynamics of the colourful sectarian parties that formed the civil war in Lebanon with the subsequent involvement of regional and global powers that came and went with their flags, formed the third script.

Sharabi (1992) described “a normal occurrence in the civil war” at a checkpoint, one that I had heard over and over in adult conversations in the early 1980s:
Armed young men at a barricade on a main highway; they stop cars and check identity cards. From a car they pull two men, one a youth in his early twenties, the other middle-aged, both belonging to the “wrong” religious sect. The two are pushed to the side of the road. On their knees, crying and begging for mercy, they are shot in cold blood. (p. vii)

I never witnessed such an occurrence but overheard parents, relatives, and neighbours describing them. It was an eventful first year in Lebanon and it was going to become even more eventful.

In 1982, the Israeli Army invaded Lebanon and I witnessed the Lebanese part of the conflict, script one, firsthand. Destruction, death, siege, massacre, and scarcity were all new phenomena that I encountered in a few months over the summer of 1982. Of international importance were the massacres in the Sabra–Shatila Palestinian refugee camps and, as Said and Viswanathan (2001) commented, such horrors are “systematically pushed out [or] simply forgotten because it’s got no place to go” (p. 48). Scripts two and three (the sectarian violence mixed with script one was the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) followed 1982. Christian militia fought Muslim militia for some time, followed by Christian–Christian and Muslim–Muslim intra militia fighting. Warlords would continually change alliances and allegiances. Both the Israeli and the Syrian Army would take action occasionally. Foreign powers would intervene directly or indirectly. All hell broke loose, and I did not “get it.”

A year and a half later, the Israeli Army occupied South Lebanon. Across the street from the Palestinian truck with the anti-aircraft gun mounted on the back, an Israeli armoured personnel carrier was parked under a large tree. We had moved from Beirut to live in South Lebanon having earlier travelled out of besieged Beirut through the Israeli lines and rugged terrain to my grandparents’ house in the south. The journey normally took one and a half hours. This time it took over 24 hours. The Israelis were eating chocolate and offered me some. I took
the chocolate and enjoyed it. I was glad it became available in local grocery stores later and frequently bought it. One of the soldiers said that he was from Haifa and invited me to visit. He even wrote down his address on a piece of paper. I watched them get back into their vehicles and leave. I noticed how they carefully cleaned up before they left, putting all the garbage in a plastic bag. They looked around for a garbage bin but could not find one. They dumped the bag in what I know was a small water reservoir instead. They waved goodbye and left, their vehicles roaring away. It struck me how neat and polite they were.

The day-long journey from Beirut through Israeli lines to the south started with a meeting of several families in our building. They decided to move out before all the food and water was gone. The city was besieged. There was no electricity and water had to be carried in containers from the few remaining sources. One of the neighbours said he knew a road that would take three hours since the main roads could not be used as it was too dangerous. The warring parties were using and bombing them. The families agreed to set out in a convoy of several cars. We did not take anything with us as we had what we needed at my grandparents’ home in the south. Aside from the slow-moving convoy in the rush hour and traffic going south on small side roads, a couple of memories stayed with me.

One was navigating through burned cars and charred bodies after an airstrike (or sea strike, we were not sure) had hit somewhere on the side roads between Beirut and Sidon. We had been driving for three hours and it was late morning. The bomb had created a huge crater in the middle of the road. We drove slowly around the debris and bodies. My father, a surgeon, offered to stop and help but was told to keep moving as “they might come back.”

The other memory was us not arriving that day. Driving slowly and on small bumpy side roads we eventually reached somewhere close to our destination and were stopped at an Israeli
checkpoint. It was dark and we were told we could not keep driving as there was a curfew. The Army had orders to shoot on sight. We had to stop and wait for dawn before we continued. The Israeli soldiers offered one of their M113 armoured personnel carriers for us to sleep in. My parents refused politely, preferring to sleep in the car. We kids accepted excitedly. Lying inside the vehicle with its top open and gazing at the starry sky, I fell asleep.

The village was searched occasionally. Everyone would assemble in my grandfather’s large courtyard, sitting on the ground in the hot sun while Israeli soldiers searched the village. The adults were visibly tense. The Israelis were looking for weapons and “terrorists.” Occasionally, there was an attack on the Israeli “occupiers” by armed Lebanese and Palestinian “terrorists.” Brief spurts of gunfire and exploding grenades could sometimes be heard disturbing the peace. This would be followed by searches and arrests—more attacks by Lebanese “terrorists” on Israeli occupiers, and more arrests. Prison camps were set up. In time, prison camps became bigger and more infamous. Over the next months, when travelling in the south, we saw photographs posted of the “terrorists,” also called “martyrs” by some, that had died fighting the occupation. They were mostly of young men from the villages. Later the initial resistance of a few men would evolve into a “terrorist” organization.

In conversation with Ali (2006), Edward Said confessed that he began to care enough about the region during the 1967 war to become a Palestinian spokesperson.

I [Edward Said] started to read, methodically, what was being written about the Middle East. It did not correspond to my experience. By the early seventies I began to realize that the distortions and misrepresentations were systematic, part of a much larger system of thought that was endemic to the West’s whole enterprise of dealing with the Arab world.
Fifteen years later, on a bridge going south just before the capital of South Lebanon, Sidon, I had a similar transformation. It was a small bridge, two lanes on each side but the Israeli tank parked in the middle of the bridge looked huge. This checkpoint stood between those entering and those leaving the city, Sidon. No cars were allowed. As a surgeon, my father had a special permit from the Israelis, and was able to travel between the occupied south and Beirut to treat the wounded in a government hospital in the south. On this occasion, he took me along. On the bridge, under the watchful eye of the Israeli soldiers, we had to walk along a narrow path with barbed wire on both sides. Searches of everyone coming and going were conducted at the side of the road. It was summer so it was hot and humid along the Mediterranean coastline. Up to that point, I had not really cared until I saw an elderly couple being treated just like everyone else. They must have been in their 80s, clearly villagers who worked the land. They were carrying small plastic bags. I guessed they must be potatoes or onions or oranges. They were going north, towards Beirut, probably to their sons and daughters because food was scarce in the capital. I felt sorry for them. What was happening? The elderly couple were Lebanese, I was Lebanese. Why were we treated like this in our own country? In conversation with Viswanathan (2001) and in 1967 when he became interested in politics, Said commented:

Being an Arab, I identified with the Arab losses, and I realized how much of the loss was due to the fact that we were considered an inferior people. I began to try to understand where that image that they had of us came from. (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 374)

I began to care, and I wanted to understand. Were we an inferior people? Who was a “terrorist” and who was not and why? What actions constituted terrorism and what was the legal basis of such a label? Chomsky (1989b) in his book, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the*
Palestinians, explained the reason for the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The invasion had nothing to do with Lebanon:

[But] was undertaken in part to destroy the secular nationalism of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), becoming a real nuisance with its persistent call for a peaceful diplomatic settlement, which was undermining the U.S./Israeli strategy of gradual integration of the occupied territories within Israel. (p. 19)

On December 6, 2017, U.S. President Donald Trump announced the United States’ recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and that was followed up on March 25, 2019, by the U.S. president’s recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Syrian Golan Heights. Was Chomsky right? How do such acts play out and why are they accepted in the supposedly “advanced” and “democratic” West?

In the flux of war, I missed my high school graduation in 1989. At the time, Lebanese Christian–Christian infighting made roads unsafe. The Fall term at the American University of Beirut started late in January 1990, rather than the usual September. Perhaps a university education could provide some rationale that would help me make sense of the different scripts I had experienced. I kept challenging myself to make sense of the events.

At the American University of Beirut, I enrolled in the School of Arts and Sciences to pursue a bachelor’s degree in biology. I was a huge fan of the scientific method. The sciences made sense, were visibly verifiable (lots of science labs) and a clear “truth” was identifiable. Taking pre-medical courses, my intent was to follow in my father’s footsteps and become a medical doctor. My passion for the sciences, logic, and rationality must have come through. However, my father reminded me that there is more to life than “truth” by asking: “Can all the science in the world create a mosquito? Don’t forget, humans are body, mind, and spirit, son.”
I loved the scientific method my Bachelor of Biology provided but decided early on that it was limited in explaining what was going on in Lebanon and the Arab world. Besides the quantitative explanations, I knew there had to be qualitative ways that might offer a better epistemology. As part of my undergraduate studies, I had to take four “Civilization Sequence” courses. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, Ibn Khaldoun, Descartes, Machiavelli, Bacon, Descartes, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, David Hume, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and Charles Darwin, among others, provided me with a foundation in the formative ideas of some Near Eastern (very little) but mostly Western civilization. Most of the Near and Middle Eastern concepts were learned informally. More importantly, a love of learning that kept me hungry was born.

After graduation, I got a tempting job offer to work in Dubai. I could not resist. Medicine would take too long, and I would be a “dependent” on my family for a long time. I could not bear that thought and took the job, aiming to help my family by working in the oil-rich Gulf. Always hungry for knowledge, I aimed to “academicize” my practical business experience by pursuing a master’s in business administration (I loved the practicality of business and the money part), a master’s in international business (I loved the travel and diversity of people and enjoyed learning with them and comparing notes), and a doctor of business administration (I found out that money wasn’t everything and I wanted something for later, something in the domain of teaching).

In May 2000, in Dubai, I watched on television the last Israeli tank withdraw from South Lebanon. Later in 2001, visiting Fatima Gate on the southern border with Israel with my wife, she recounted how she and her friends collected items donated by anyone in Beirut who would donate, stuffed them into her small car and drove to the “liberated” areas to give them to the freed prisoners of the Israeli-founded Ansar prison. My wife told me how excited everyone was at the liberation. In an interview in 2000 with Ari Shavit of *Ha’aretz* magazine, Professor Said
was asked about his throwing of stones at an Israeli Army post on the Lebanese border in the summer. Liberation of occupied South Lebanon had taken place. Professor Said recounts:

I was in Lebanon for a summer visit. I had two lectures and stayed with family and friends. Then I had a meeting with [Hezbollah spiritual leader] Sheikh [Hassan] Nasrallah, whom I found to be a remarkably impressive man. A very simple man, quite young, absolutely no bullshit . . . among all the political leaders I met in the Middle East, he alone was precisely on time, and there were no people around him waving Kalashinkovs . . . we agreed that the Oslo accord was a total mess. . . . And then he told me that I must go down south, and so I did, a few days later. . . . There were nine of us and a guide from the Lebanese resistance . . . first we went to Khiam prison . . . solitary confinement cells, the torture chambers, the instruments of torture were still there, the electrical probes they used . . . and the place just reeked of human excrement and abuse. Words cannot express the horror, so much so that my daughter started crying, sobbing. . . . From there we went straight to the border, to a place called Bowabit Fatima, Fatima Gate . . . there were hundreds of tourists, barbed wire, concrete, and a watchtower. (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 446)

My wife cried as well when she visited Ansar prison. At Fatima Gate, I did not throw any stones and neither did my wife. Some youth around us, though, were throwing stones and shouting abuse at the Israelis in their watchtower. The mood of most Lebanese was summed up nicely by Professor Said:

The feeling is that after twenty-two years of occupying our land, they left. And there is also a sense of dismissal. Not only are you leaving, but good riddance to you…For the
first time in my life, and in the lives of people gathering at Fatima Gate, we won. We won one. (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 446)

From Dubai, I visited my family every summer but in 2006, this was not possible. On July 12, 2006, and by launching an attack on the border and taking two Israeli soldiers captive in the hope of exchanging them for Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails, the Hezbollah “terrorists” provoked a war with Israel. For 33 days the war raged in South Lebanon and in areas in Beirut where Hezbollah had popular support, mainly the southern suburbs of Beirut. Whole buildings were razed to the ground. I remember looking the area up on Google Earth in Dubai. Entire housing blocks had disappeared. Like most buildings, our building was nine or ten stories high. Israeli air power was devastating. Yet still rockets were fired into Israel. The stated Israeli objectives of stopping the rocket fire and freeing the soldiers were not met. Unstated objectives, it later turned out, included rooting out the Lebanese “terrorist” groups.

On a visit to Beirut, then-U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice described the plight of Lebanon as a part of the “birth pangs of a new Middle East” and said Israel should ignore calls for a ceasefire. At the time of her statement on July 22, more than 300 Lebanese civilians had been killed in 11 days of Israeli air and artillery strikes mainly against the “terrorists” and their areas of popular support in Lebanon. We lost our house which was in an apartment block. We had moved into that house in 1981 when the “terrorist” organization did not exist. My mother, who had been fighting breast cancer for five years, died later that year, in December 2006.

Who was a terrorist and who was not a terrorist, and why? Why would the United States want a new Middle East? The discourse employed by both sides was confusing. Each side left out information. The label “terrorists” expanded throughout the Arab and Islamic Middle East and even affected Europe and the United States on September 11, 2001.
Through my business experience I was able to realize the importance of economic
development and thought that perhaps some cultures, such as the German or Japanese, were
better prepared for development but Arab culture was not. Economic development had taken
some countries, such as Singapore, from the Third to the First World. But Dubai and the United
Arab Emirates were rapidly developing. I was concerned with the pace of economic development
in the Middle East compared to the rest of the world and my doctorate in business administration
(DBA) dissertation sought to explore a link between culture and economic development. My
perspective was positivist. Despite an abundance of skilled labour and material wealth, the
Middle East is categorized as Third World. Initially, I thought this might be for cultural reasons.
My research, however, found that Middle Eastern culture has a limited influence on economic
development as measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the Human Development
Index (HDI) (Chaitani, 2010). A quantitative correlational study provided a snapshot but no real
answer to my query.

While living in Dubai and working for an American multinational, I had the chance to
call to most Middle Eastern countries, Africa, Europe, and the U.S. One visit was to Malta for
product training and an exchange of best practices in selling Hernia Repair products. The
Maltese have many Arabic words in their language due to Arab rule from circa 870-1091. I was
genuinely surprised. When touring the city with a tour guide nothing indicated its Islamic rule
about 1000 years before. Similarly, business visits to South Africa and India revealed Arab or
Muslim heritage. What struck me about Malta was the impression that they were “in denial”
about their history. I thought that a more nationalist discourse was at play in Malta compared to
what I had experienced in South Africa or India.
Research Interest

After 9/11, from 2002 to 2010, I travelled on average once a year to the United States for work or study. On arrival, without exception, I was targeted for selective screening when in line at arrivals and then again in the baggage claim area. Over the years and throughout my travels, I made a mental note that “terrorism,” for the average global citizen, was a nuisance at best and a tragedy at worst. Had global terrorism subsided, my interest in it might also have waned, but since 2012, terrorism has expanded globally and dramatically, which rekindled my interest. When I started my doctoral journey at the University of Calgary in 2015, the tragedy in the Middle East was three years old. The conflict in Syria and Iraq had attracted “something in the order of 25,000 to 30,000 [fighters with] 4,000-5,000 from the West” (Dawson, et al, 2016, p. 3). In 2014, at least 130-145 individuals had connections to Canada and were suspected of terrorism-related activities with 30-40 Canadians thought to be actively fighting in Syria or Iraq (Dawson et al., 2016). Numbers were estimated to have risen since 2014. The Canadian government was concerned that if its citizens were in war zones overseas, what might happen should the radicalized individuals return to Canada, together with the implications for Canada’s international relations (Dawson et al., 2016). I was familiar with the way Middle Eastern socioeconomic conditions and ideology might lead to hate and terrorism in the West. I was interested in how the term was taken up in the West by Westerners not exposed to challenging socioeconomic conditions and/or Middle Eastern ideology. How would they perceive the meaning of terrorism? My interest in this topic was fuelled further as I explored adult learning theories. I was curious to know how these theories might help explain “terrorism.” Having lived in the West, I was familiar with how the term “terrorism” was used by its citizenry. I was also
familiar with how some sections of the Islamic Arab world used the term and understood the respective social contexts.

**Background and Context**

I have organized the background and context of my exploratory dissertation in two themes: (a) terrorism seen from a Western worldview, and (b) adult education and relevant theories. Terrorism as a term may be perceived and understood differently in the West. Through critical discourse analysis, my aim was to investigate the way terrorism is viewed, made meaning of, and understood from a Western worldview.

**Terrorism from a Western Worldview**

A Western worldview, as represented in the research study by the United States and Western Europe, addresses terrorism primarily through tracking and collecting instances of terrorist acts, empirical research, and historical insights. Results of such insights—many quantitative—inform government institutions and, as a result, policy guidelines are formulated by relevant departments to address the terrorism challenge. This section will overview terrorism as perceived and addressed by a Western worldview (Dawson et al., 2016).

Different definitions of terrorism exist. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (National Institute of Justice, 2017, Terrorism section, para. 3). The U.S. Department of State defines terrorism in Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d): “[as] premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience” (National Institute of Justice, 2017, Terrorism section, para. 2). According to the Government of Canada in
subsection 83.01(1) of the Criminal Code and cited in *Building Resilience Against Terrorism* (2013):

The definition of terrorist activity includes an act or omission undertaken, inside or outside Canada, for a political, religious, or ideological purpose that is intended to intimidate the public with respect to its security, including its economic security, or to compel a person, government, or organization (whether inside or outside Canada) from doing or refraining from doing any act, and that intentionally causes one of a number of specified forms of serious harm.

The term “international terrorism” means terrorism that involves citizens from more than one country. Herman and Chomsky (2002) differentiated between retail and transitionary individual terrorist and movement as small group-based terrorism or larger, more permanent, and wholesale state terrorism. State terrorism perpetrated by states and agents of states, rather than isolated individuals or small groups were the more important terrorists. State terrorism is rooted in permanent structures that have allowed terrorism to be institutionalized and resulted in more suffering such as deprivation, hunger, malnutrition, high infant mortality rates, chronic diseases of poverty and neglect, and illiteracy. State terrorism is driven by an ideology that prioritizes the interests of several stakeholders, the military establishment, local business, the landed elite, and multinational corporations—“the joint venture partners who require terror to preserve and enlarge their privileges and the already gross levels of inequality prevalent in the Third World” (p. 85). Flores (2017) noted that America “cannot excuse the reality of government-sponsored terrorism in the future . . . that occurs when the existing sovereign powers are threatened and take drastic actions to save their regimes” (p. 78).
In terms of motive and context, the study of terrorism is multidisciplinary and complex. From a performativity and objective knowledge perspective, Marsella (2004) identified five common characteristics of terrorism prevalent in definitions: (a) involves the use of force or violence, (b) is directed toward civilian populations, (c) is intended to instil fear, (d) is a means of coercing individuals or groups, and (e) aims to change targeted populations’ political or social position.

As a result, the context of terrorism is “simultaneously criminal, political, economic, social, psychological, and moral in origin and consequence” (p. 14). Marsella noted that:

[Terrorism] springs from human discontent with and resentment of inequality and indifference and from widespread beliefs that violence is justified in the face of oppression and insult and should be countered not only with military action, but also economic, cultural, and diplomatic activities directed toward establishing hope, opportunity, and social justice. (p. 13)

Numerous motives give rise to patterns of terrorism including political, separatist, religious, and pathological. Flores (2017) defined violent extremism as a form of hate terrorism, particularly violent extremism, which “is any phenomenon that creates fear within a society using extreme violence, imagined or real, as part of its operational methodology” (p. 67).

According to Marsella (2004), some conditions that encourage terrorism include poverty, racism, oppression, unstable nations, and rogue nations. Other contexts exist as well. For the Syrian poet, Nizar Qabbani, “Terrorism is the word used by oppressors to defame a national liberation struggle” (Ali, 2003, p. 6). Context, action, and interpretation shape what we understand about the term “terrorism.”

From a non-performativity and subjective knowledge perspective, Chris Hedges, a foreign correspondent, in his book *War is a Force That Gives us Meaning*, gave a more lived
experience perspective and spoke about war having its “own culture” with the “rush of battle”
addictive and enabling us to experience “excitement, exoticism, and power” and chances “to rise
above our station in life” (Hedges, 2002). Hedges wrote:

Fundamental questions about the meaning, or meaninglessness, of our place on the planet
are laid bare when we watch those around us sink to the lowest depth. . . The enduring
attraction of war is this: Even with its destruction and carnage it can give us what we long
for in life. It can give us purpose, meaning, a reason for living. Only when we are in the
midst of conflict does the shallowness and vapidness of much of our lives become
apparent. . . And war is an enticing elixir. It gives us resolve, a cause. It allows us to be
noble. (p. 3)

Individuals often gravitate towards violence to escape poverty and oppression or perhaps
are drawn to a noble cause. Regardless of the cause, an individual transformation most probably
takes place. Marsella (2004) suggested that “because human beings are constantly engaged in
meaning-making in their lives, war presents an easy opportunity for profound and sudden shifts
in personal and collective meaning” (p. 27).

Terrorism is violence. Neumann (2013) noted that with terrorism, violence is the defining
element. There is no agreement on the term “radicalization.” The subject of this dissertation is
terrorism. In scholarly literature, especially of Western origin, terrorism is the violent act that is
preceded by radicalization (Neuman). Someone who has been radicalized is anyone who is
critical of prevalent hegemonic social conditions. If that person resorts to violence, they become
a terrorist. I will expand on the nuances of the term and meaning of terrorism in Chapter Two.
Copious literature in the West describes the conditions of terrorism but rarely addresses its root
causes. The most recent Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) publication: Terrorism and
Violent Extremism Awareness Guide (2016) noted two models to explain terrorist violence. The two models in the guide include a model based solely on the individual and proposing a step-by-step process in the form of a staircase; the second model is based on a feeling of injustice. Indicators of certain behaviours place an individual on a stage moving towards becoming a terrorist and suggest means to “counter” such behaviour. Collectively, the indicators, with scientific precision, can be viewed as symptoms and as the “what” and may point to a terrorist “disease.” In attempting to explain the terrorism challenge symptomatically, the two models fall short of explaining the root causes, the “how” and the “why.” Perhaps there is a context-related meaning-making element that needs to be explored.

A critical context for the “was” research is provided by sociocultural critical theorists (Tariq Ali, Edward Said, Talal Asad, Noam Chomsky, Paulo Freire, Jürgen Habermas, Michel Foucault, Fazlur Rahman, Ali Sharīʻatī) in their views on the Islamic Arab world, the West, and the broader global Islamic world or ummah. The critical perspective occurs at a macro holistic level. “Critical,” as used in this dissertation, means to explore how language is used to maintain power structures in society and how the less powerful, without realizing it, co-operate to maintain inequality. In other words, it explains how the oppressors use language to oppress the less powerful and, as a result, legitimize ideology and organized power. As Sayyid (2003) noted, to understand the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, and for some related terrorism, one needs to explore the “wider logic” (p. 5) and research a “conceptual narrative” (p. 5). Such a conceptual narrative, from a sociocultural critical theorist’s perspective, entails many elements that include history, political ideology and secularism, power, secular values versus religious values, modernity, media, and Islamic scholarship. Through a sociocultural critical insight, additional information on the term “terrorism” and the meaning-making contexts in the West would add to
the Western scholarly discourse on the subject and clarify the understanding and genesis of terrorism.

Imposing European civilization in lasting colonial structures had profound implications in the Arab World. Following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, the relatively unified Muslim societies in the Islamic world were taken over by European colonizers. After decolonization, leaders sought to imitate the Western model and embraced Westernization in the hope of modernizing and thus becoming “civilized” (Ahmed, 2004; Rahman, 1992; Sayyid, 2003). More-orthodox Islamic leaders opposed this trend (Ahmed, 2004) as did those who challenged lost freedom or dignity (Sayyid, 2003). Muslims appreciated the spirit of tolerance, optimism, and the drive for self-knowledge in the postmodern West but also recognized “the threat it poses them with its cynicism and irony. This is a challenge to the faith and piety which lies at the core of their worldview” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 7).

In his book *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said argued that the West looked at the Islamic World through a Western lens that sought to exploit rather than understand. The West imposed its own values rather than tried to understand the “other” (Sayyid, 2003; Tibi, 1998). By using its power and advanced development, the West was trying to domesticate the Islamic Arab World and the broader global Islamic World or *ummah* (Sayyid). The construction of fundamentalism was a necessary “other” in the binary narrative.

Contemporary Muslims often feel that the West has deprived Islam of its core function, that is, to lead humanity (Tibi, 1998). The Western models had failed and Tibi (1998) posited that Islamists sought to replace current Western-imposed nation states with a “comprehensive system emanating from religious principles and embracing law, polity, society, economy, and culture” (Buck-Morss, 2003; Tibi, 1998, p. 13).
By critically exploring the literature, I aimed to identify the gap in the literature by looking at the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview and with a with a sociocultural critical perspective. Is the West trying to domesticate the Islamic Arab World and the broader global Islamic World or ummah? Is fundamentalism, as Sayyid (2003) pointed out, a necessary “other” in the “binary” Western narrative? What sociocultural critical perspectives in the West drive the discourse on terrorism? The role of adult education and adult learning in critically engaging society is the next topic.

**Adult Education and Adult Learning**

Although adult education tends to take place formally and within an institution, adult learning is without institutional confines. In fact, adult learning occurs in the adult learner. According to Merriam and Bierema (2014), learning takes place “all the time” (p. xi). Livingstone (2001) defined learning, generically, as “the gaining of understanding, knowledge, or skill at anytime and anywhere through individual and group processes” (p. 22). Adult educators who intentionally educate adults practice adult learning. Merriam and Bierema defined adult education as “activities intentionally designed for bringing about learning among those whose age, social roles, or self-perception define them as adults” (p. 11). For an adult student, learning takes place in an intentionally structured environment, typically a postsecondary institution. In adult education, learning is bound by age and an intentionally structured social path.

Individuals are part of a larger dynamic society. Natural and social life are complex open systems with multiple mechanisms and dimensions including physical, chemical, social, biological, economic, and linguistic dimensions with no ONE dimension the determinant of a particular event (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In understanding society’s dynamism,
“society must be conceived as both as a meaningful whole and as a self-maintaining system constituted of subsystems fulfilling various functions” (Sitton, 2003, p. 61). Institutions in the lifeworld include institutions for socialization (family, schools), social integration (groups, collectives, associations), and cultural reproduction (religion, art, science). Institutions “are the indispensable source from which our character and identity is formed and reformed” (Welton, 1995, p. 134). Through discourse, social institutions exercise power in meaning-making (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Through institutions for socialization, integration, and cultural exchange, adult education and learning help to shape our identity. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) suggested that prevalent Islamic studies in the West are dominated by scholars with ethnocentric assumptions. Are the institutions for socialization effective in teaching different cultural spheres to critically inform their students? Are Islamic studies based on work by Islamic scholars from their traditional point of view or is the discourse dominated by ethnocentric assumptions? How does prevalent institutional discourse influence the meaning-making of the term “terrorism” in the West?

It could be argued that the current “adult education paradigm” guiding adult education’s terminology is the knowledge economy. Drivers of the knowledge economy exhibit considerable influence on the terminology and direction of the workplace and learning space (Fenwick, 2006). Our society has become a “knowledge economy” driven by “rapidly changing scientific knowledge” (Jarvis, 2006, p. 205). The legitimization of contemporary knowledge by its performativity, objectivity, raw data without context…. does not lead to a call to action or motivation. Further, Jarvis (2006) noted:
Knowledge, beliefs, and values are always subjective and have to be learned, as do emotions. It is these that form the basis of our motivation to act as well as the knowledge itself… such notions are essential in creating the personal lifeworld. (p. 208)

In Habermasian terms, ordinary people, through beliefs and values, give meaning to the lifeworld.

Meaning-making in the personal lifeworld is best captured by exploring the notion that learning takes place continually (Merriam & Bierema, 2014). Welton (1995) suggested that the colonization of lifeworld has taken its toll. The anti-normative inversion of human life “desiccates the communicative contexts of our common life and depletes non-renewable cultural resources” (p. 147). Disruption of the lifeworld generates “several disturbing pathological conditions: personalities are destabilized, sources of meaning dry up, and communal bonds erode. Those with money and power stave off despair [while] those in the underclass drop into an ever-deepening morass of violence, drugs, alcoholism, and criminality” (Welton, 1995, p. 147). From the Western and sociocultural critical perspective, by looking more deeply into the cultural sphere of the Islamic Arab World, the broader ummah, and the ideological, social, political, and historical factors at the macro social level, how is a disrupted lifeworld the starting point for terrorism?

The path towards terrorism is not socially acceptable and is likely to take place outside a formal adult education context. The meaning-making of the term “terrorism” is likely to take place as adult learning, influenced by the news media and government policy initiatives. The broader adult learning captures unprompted learning which a more structured environment may not. Learning has been described as an “existential process—it is almost coterminous with life itself” (Jarvis, 2010, p. 16.) and as “a continuum ranging from spontaneous responses to
everyday life, to highly organized participation in formal education programs” (Livingstone, 2001, p. 22). Groen and Kawalilak (2014) reminded us that “we are all adult learners, navigating the circuitous pathway of life and learning” (p. 3). Although structured adult learning follows a closely designed, socially correct path, spontaneous learning and meaning-making on a day-to-day basis may not take place in a socially acceptable way.

In everyday life, there are many sites of learning. We learn from our daily experiences and spontaneous or studied responses between ourselves and our social partners. Abram (1996) suggested that the lifeworld is the world of our lived experience. In detail, the lifeworld is:

[The] reality as it engages us before being analyzed by our theories and our science . . .
the world as we organically experience it in its enigmatic multiplicity and open-endedness, prior to conceptually freezing it into a static space of facts. (Abram, 1996, p. 40)

Groen and Kawalilak (2014) noted that there will be times when:

Ideas and concepts are so new and/or contradictory to our understanding and experiences of life that we no longer just assimilate this knowledge. This is when we are called upon to move into accommodation and adaptation that requires dramatic shifts in our thinking and ways of being. (pp. 40-41)

Building on Groen and Kawalilak’s assertions, some critical questions require further reflection and exploration. Are adult learners in the West exposed to Islamic Arab World discourses, perspectives, and rationales? Are adult learners exposed to critical perspectives when informed of terrorist acts through the news media or guided by government policy documents? Are we vulnerable as we engage in new and contradictory ideas? Is the “freezing out” of lived
experience into “facts” an indication that adult education in formal education settings has failed to explain terrorism?

At the micro individual level, it is important to recognize that subjective knowledge through thoughts, emotions, and actions guide our actions. Knowledge, beliefs, and values are learned and form the basis of our motivation to act. Such learning situations create our personal lifeworld. We are reminded by Jarvis (2015) that “our experience can be transformed by thought, emotion or action” (p. 91). Society as lifeworld “is defined to contain the background of shared meaning that makes ordinary symbolic interaction possible and, further, it now explicitly includes those structural components (institutions, normative structures, and social practices) that make social reproduction possible” (Pusey, 1987, p. 106.). Society, as a system, is that part of society that disconnects or “uncouples” from “communicatively shared experience in ordinary language and coordinated, instead, through the media of money and power” (Pusey, 1987, p. 107). Within the system, we are all trained to contribute commercially. When we go back home to our family and friends, we join our own “circle of trust,” our lifeworld. The lifeworld concept connects the macro society with the micro individual.

In the global discourse of Islam on terrorism, the binary meaning of the term has come to be projected as a cruel and violent extremist on one side, and a freedom fighter on the other. The discourse has become internationally hegemonic and used locally by Arab authoritarian regimes (Sayyid, 2003). When objectively explaining Islam and the term “terrorism,” one needs to look deeply into the cultural sphere because culture is constantly and profoundly shaped by “discursive, ideological, linguistic, social, cultural, political, economic, and historical contexts” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 12).
Sites of struggle for power and control in a Western worldview can be deciphered through critical discourse analysis and by including sociocultural critical perspectives. Critical discourse analysis, as a methodology, is concerned with power as a central condition in social life and analyzes the intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses (Cheek, 2008).

**Statement of the Problem**

Law enforcement agencies and academic circles dealing with terrorism studies realize that the challenges of terrorism are multifaceted, interdisciplinary, and complex. For this research study, the objective was to explore the term “terrorism” and the discourse around the term from a Western worldview with consideration of sociocultural critical perspectives. The process involved analyzing government policy documents and news media textual data and exploring text and power relationships. Moghaddam and Marsella (2004) noted that, “in today’s global community, international terrorism occurs in a milieu of competing and conflicting religious, economic, cultural, psychological, and historical worldviews and ideologies. This environment is further complicated by omnipresent military, political, and legal pressures and counter pressures” (p. 11). Moghaddam took an individual approach based on psychology. Sageman’s model emphasized group behaviour and the importance of friendship and kinship as key processes that lead to terrorism.

Although dispositional and individualistic analysis have led to the deductive development of many explanatory models, they provide little insight into the Arab Islamic World or the *ummah* perspective, or consideration of sociocultural critical perspectives of discourse on terrorism. Further understanding and insight into the term “terrorism” requires an approach that explores a sociocultural critical context. It also requires an understanding of the way underlying
cultural spheres, historical, and power relations influence the term and the discursive practices in a Western worldview.

**Research Purpose and Significance**

The purpose of this research was to explore the term “terrorism” in the context of a Western worldview with consideration of sociocultural critical perspectives. By tracing the historical development of the West, my objective was to explain (a) how the term terrorism emerged and became situated in the current Western worldview, and (b) how the related discursive practices take place and are perceived from a critical sociocultural context. The topic is current, relevant, and important.

The conflict in Syria and Iraq has inspired an unprecedented surge of foreign fighters to join *jihadist* terrorist groups. This trend has become a dominant security concern and considerable efforts are being made to understand the reason (Dawson et al., 2016). Critical discourse analysis may be an avenue to understand how the discourse on the term “terrorism” influences the global phenomenon. My intention was to add an adult learning perspective to the prevalent terrorism discourse in academia.

The audience for my research includes all stakeholders who perceive terrorism as a challenge: family members, friends, government departments, NGOs, community leaders, social workers, and adult educators.

**Research Questions**

**Primary Research Question**

This research was guided by the primary research question: How is the term “terrorism” made meaning of when viewed from a Western worldview? This primary research question centered on “how” and “why” meaning of the term is made when viewed through a Western worldview.
Sub-questions. Sub-questions to inform the primary research questions included:

1. How is the discourse of terrorism being produced through Western hegemony?
2. What are the ways in which the state becomes implicated in this discursive production of terrorism?
3. How can the Western and a critical sociocultural view of terrorism be reconciled through adult education? What does this mean for adult education?

This research was based on the Western power paradigm and discourse regarding terrorism. Likewise, the radical discourse of the Islamic Arab World or, as Flores (2017) noted, the hate terrorism that is on the rise in America, could have been analyzed but this was not the focus of the research. Educators, law enforcement, and community leaders dealing with terrorism challenges were the primary target audience for the research. Insights drawn from the research could also benefit the public.

Research Methodology

Critical discourse analysis was my chosen methodology. Discourse analysis examines “the idea that all reality and interpretations are socially constructed” (Bhattacharya, 2008 p. 466). In addition to the notion of social construction, discourse analysis of this research is critical. Critical discourse analysis tries to locate and attend to such struggles for power and control in the text. Critical discourse analysis assumes a critical approach and examines “how power is operationalized through language” (Cook, 2008, p. 217). In using critical discourse analysis in research, concentration is placed on the language and how it “works” or on how language and discourse are used in society to effect social change. Furthermore, critical discourse analysis shows how language is used for social maintenance and change (Bloor & Bloor, 2007; van Dijk, 2015). Cheek (2008) suggested that at any point in time “there are a number of possible
discursive frames for thinking, writing, and speaking about aspects of reality” (p. 356) and as a result of power relations, “not all discourses are afforded equal presence or equal authority” (p. 356). In studying the term “terrorism,” this research study examined how language and discourse are used by holders of power to effect either social maintenance or change. I elaborate further on critical discourse analysis in Chapters Two and Three.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework at the foundation of this research study is Fairclough’s (2001) analytical framework for critical discourse analysis: (a) critical, in terms of exploring the way language is used to maintain power structures in society, and (b) how the less powerful, without realizing it, co-operate to maintain inequality and legitimize ideology and organized power. The goal of this research was to locate the term “terrorism” in Western discourse by looking at the role of language in social discourse as mediated by state power through government-issued policy documents and the news media to its respective citizens. The goal was not guided by the desire to provide solutions to deal with terrorism; rather, the research sought to expose the dynamics of power inherent in language and social discourse. Within the broad body of literature on discourse analysis and in this research study, I employ Fairclough’s (2001) analytical framework in conducting critical discourse analysis. Such a framework consists of five steps: (a) focus on the social problem which has a semiotic aspect, (b) analysis of the discourse, (c) the social order and network of practices in the context of the problem, (d) the identification of possible ways past the problem, and (e) a critical reflection on the analysis. The critical discourse analysis, together with exploration of the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview, a sociocultural critical perspective, and an interpretivist framework may provide a greater understanding of the global discourse on terrorism.
Organization of Research Study

The research study consists of five chapters. Chapter One provides a broad overview on the terrorism topic. In Chapter Two, I review relevant literature that informed this research study. In Chapter Three, I discuss my methodological choices and the research design that is the basis of this theoretical research study. Chapter Four discusses the findings and analysis of the data, and Chapter Five provides a discussion and recommendations.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided the background of the term “terrorism” and described how the term is used in a Western worldview and a sociocultural critical perspective. Several possible perspectives on terrorism and psychological, socioeconomic, and sociocultural factors were identified with respect to a Western worldview. The Western worldview is interested primarily in tracking and collecting instances of acts of terrorism and subsequently using empirical research to understand the Arab Islamic sociocultural context. It is a macro conceptual understanding from a historical, political, and sociocultural aspect. With further critical sociocultural insight and an exploration of discursive practices on the term through news media and government policy documents in the West, additional information on the term “terrorism” might add to the Western scholarly discourse on the subject and inform the understanding and genesis of terrorism. In Chapter Two, I provide a review of the scholarly literature that informed my research.
Chapter Two: Literature Review

Overview

In this chapter, I review and synthesize key literature themes that was the basis of my research on the term “terrorism” in terms of critical discourse analysis. Figure 1 (below) details my literature review strategy via a concept map which includes key themes, thus providing an overview of Chapter Two.

The concept map is divided into three themes. Because terrorism is embedded in wider political, social, and cultural structures and systems, I approach the literature review by first reviewing terrorism and relevant explanatory models and theories from the Western perspective, collectively forming the Western worldview. Next, I move on to adult education and relevant theories. Finally, I explore sociocultural critical theories. The themes may lead to a deeper understanding of my research topic.

Figure 1

Literature Review Concept Map

Terrorism - Western Worldview
- Activism, Fundamentalism, Radicalization, and Terrorism
- Terrorism, Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), Social Strategy, and Community
- Failed States
- Explaining Terrorism: Psychological, Socio-Cultural, and Historical

Adult Education and Learning
- Terrorists as Adult Learners
- Identity
- Ideology, Power, Hegemony, Islamophobia
- Dialogue and Learning Environment
- Global Public Sphere/Space
- Critical Discourse Analysis

Socio-Cultural Critical Theory
- Hegemonic Worldview
- History
- Modernity
- Political vs. Religious ideology
- Power
- Secular vs Religious values
- Media
- Islamic scholarship

Terrorism and Its Discontents: A Critical Discourse Analysis
Terrorism via a Western Worldview

Several factors combine for terrorism to thrive. Since September 11, 2011, terrorism has evolved, increased in complexity, and globalized. This section explores (a) how terrorism evolved, (b) how strategies dealing with terrorism have evolved, and (c) how social strategies have come to include communities. It also explores (a) the role of failed states, and (b) current explanatory perspectives. First, however, activism, fundamentalism, radicalization, and terrorism and their meaning in the literature are explored from a Western perspective.

Advocacy, Activism, Fundamentalism, Radicalization, and Terrorism

In government policy documents, the terms “terrorism” and “radicalization” often appear together. Although there is broad agreement that terrorism uses violence for political ends, researchers and policymakers agree that radicalism is a problem in that “its meaning is ambiguous” (Neumann, 2013, p. 873) and there is no agreement on the meaning of the term. The Oxford English Dictionary defines radicalism as “the beliefs or actions of people who advocate thorough or complete political or social reform” (Simpson, W. et al., 1989). The Oxford English Dictionary does not mention violence. Inherent in radicalism is the term “fundamentalism,” that is, “political ideology, with the objective of inducing sweeping change based on fundamental or ‘root principles’” (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015, p. 13). The adoption of fundamentalist beliefs is thought to be associated with a phase of radicalization (Maskaliūnaitė).

The term “fundamentalism” originated in the Protestant movement in the United States in the early twentieth century (Mamdani, 2004; Maskaliūnaitė, 2015) and was defined by “premillennialism and the verbal inerrancy of the Bible [and a] generalized anti-modern and anti-liberal mentality” (p. 13). In political settings, fundamentalism has come to mean “[a] strict,
uncompromising attitude and an unwavering attachment to a set of beliefs” (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015, p. 13) that is not necessarily violent.

Advocacy, activism, fundamentalism, radicalization, and terrorism share a common “belief” component but tend to differ in the type and intensity of “action” taken to propagate or defend that belief. Shields (2012) used advocacy and activism interchangeably and suggested that “both imply taking a stance on behalf of a person or a position in which one believes” (p. 6). Maskaliūnaitė (2015) distinguished between radicalism and activism, suggesting that activism was a means of social or political change through legal activities and non-violent means.

Although radicalization and terrorism may be related, the relationship is not straightforward. McCauley and Moskalenko (2008) defined radicalization as “a change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviours in directions that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defence of the in-group” (p. 416). Neumann (2013) noted that although there is no agreement on the term “radicalization,” with terrorism, there is “an objectively definable core—a violent tactic” (p. 878) that differentiates the term. John Horgan, the director of the International Center for the Study of Terrorism at Pennsylvania State University, noted that “there is no direct link between any one type of ideology and terrorism, as terrorism is a method of violence that has at some time or other been perpetrated in the cause of doctrines within all [political] categories” (as cited in Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016, p. 30). Individuals may become terrorists without having been radicalized and radicalization may not lead to violent terrorist activity. According to Borum (2011), trying to understand radicalization in order to pre-empt terrorism is challenged by the fact that most radicals do not engage in terrorism and most terrorists do not follow a “traditional” radicalization path.
Many researchers have agreed that radicalism has no meaning on its own. Meaning is derived from the context in which events take place. Neumann (2013) noted that “different political, cultural, and historical contexts produce different notions of ‘radicalism’” (p. 874). Rather, what is seen as “mainstream” in a given society at a particular point in time provides the context, and therefore the meaning and definition of a “radical.” At the start of the Syrian Civil War with the influx of European and North American fighters, interest in radicalization grew. In trying to explain radicalization, interest shifted from remote places in the Middle East to integrated or non-integrated immigrant communities in the West (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015). It was in immigrant communities that “the birth of a terrorist was sought” (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015, p. 10).

Politicization of the term “radicalization” has further complicated agreement on its meaning. Frequent use in a political context by governments and officials of both the more violent terms of “terrorism” and “radicalization” “has shifted the study of the term from a social phenomenon, studied objectively, to one serving a political agenda (Neumann, 2013). Buck-Morss (2003) posited that the politicization of Islam has shifted discourse from one of opposition and debate dealing with issues of social justice, legitimate power, and ethical life to one that is perceived in a binary form to challenge the hegemony of Western political and cultural norms. Promoted first by the security establishment in the United States and then Europe, “the concept of radicalization locates the source of terrorist violence in the identity, psychology, and ideology of individuals and groups” (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016, p. 29). Other possible causes such as underlying social, economic, political, and military conflict that may generate terrorist responses were ignored (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016). “For many, in other words, radicalization, like terrorism, is in the eye of the beholder: one man’s radical (or terrorist) is another man’s freedom fighter [so that] its meaning will always be contested” (Neumann, 2013, p. 878).
Noam Chomsky offered a critical perspective. Chomsky (1989b) explained that Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed fundamentalist group, was a result of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Chomsky noted that Israel supported the creation of fundamentalist elements “as a rival to the accommodationist PLO in the occupied territories” (p. 19), acts of “brilliance of intelligence operations when they have to deal with populations” (p. 19), with Islamic fundamentalism only an enemy when it is “out of control,” with Israel “a strategic asset fulfilling U.S. goals in the region in tacit alliance with the Arab façade in the Gulf and other regional protectors of the family dictatorships, and performing services elsewhere” (p. 20). In a binary argument, one man’s radical (or terrorist) is another man’s freedom fighter, which serves the maintenance of hegemony of Western political and cultural norms. Flores (2017) explained that labelling a person a terrorist “is a political way to reidentify oppressed people in order to fulfil other political purposes” (p. 28). Herman and Chomsky (2002) noted that since the fall of communism, U.S. business and the upper class needed a “refurbished Red Menace” (p. 47) to restrain and control the masses who wanted to share political power with the elite. In the 1980s, Reaganism led to great expansion in military spending and the development of “a new class of right-wing ideologues spawned by the Cold War, militarization, and anticommunism (p. 48). Coming from the military-intelligence apparatus and right-wing think-tanks and journals, these elements have been spiritually close to the national security states and their ideology and leadership, and the need for “wholesale terror” (p. 48). Herman and Chomsky explained that the liberal establishment “provided an important cloak of respectability to this system of state terrorism” albeit “under the pressure of unyielding politico-economic and anti-communist ideological imperatives, and with qualms” (p. 49). To Chomsky (1989b), Islamic religious zealotry “is a code word for ‘radical nationalism’ that threatens ‘stability’ which we have to
understand “to mean maintenance of specific forms of domination and control, and easy access to resources and profits” (p. 20).

In the West, politicization, disagreements on meaning, different assumptions, philosophical traditions, and historical experiences have resulted in different policy approaches to countering radicalization (Neumann, 2013). Neumann described two policy approaches, namely, (a) an Anglo-Saxon approach followed by the United States and Britain, and (b) a European approach followed on the continent. Both approaches locate the source of terrorist violence in the identity, psychology, and ideology of individuals and groups. Both approaches are Western, the European culture based on historical key influences: the Roman Empire, Christianity, the Enlightenment, and industrialization (Asad, 2003). The countries represented include present-day Western Europe and North America, Australia, and New Zealand. Radicalization was thought to be a precursor of terrorism. Neumann differentiated between notions of radicalization, noting that some emphasize extremist beliefs (cognitive radicalization) and some emphasize extremist behaviour (behavioural radicalization).

The Anglo-Saxon approach views cognitive radicalization as a legitimate part of freedom of expression, so countering radicalization by challenging cognitive radicalization “would be anti-democratic and misguided” (Neumann 2013, p. 886). Government intervention should be applied to behavioural radicalization, that is, when individuals break the law, not on political ideas or motivation, however extreme, anti-democratic, offensive, or divisive” (p. 885). The European approach, perhaps given its pre-second World War history and the rise of extremism, aims to confront both cognitive and behavioural radicalization. For Europeans, the threat of terrorism is political, a failure to challenge extremist ideas. Counter-radicalization efforts should
be “promoting democracy and citizenship, while challenging ideas and political grievances that extremists are exploiting in order to win people’s hearts and minds” (Neumann, 2013, p. 888).

Maintaining the prevalent education system often means keeping the hegemonic social conditions in an unchallenged, unchanged state. Describing education in the U.S. context, O’Sullivan (2001) noted that the purpose of schooling was refashioned to fit individualism and capitalism with the goal of education to make students competitive in the new global reality, the “current mainstream” one-true story. “All grand narratives that present themselves as one-true stories are potentially sources of violence and oppression” (O'Sullivan, 2001, p. 319).

Lichtenstein (1985) noted that education in contemporary capitalism has created a society based on competitive individualism that “lulls students into a false sense of freedom” (p. 51) and by fragmenting, dividing, and breaking the circle of human relationships, “education has become a means for life rather than life itself” (p. 51). Deep social and economic structures of injustice, inequality, oppression, exploitation, and exclusion are removed from the possibility of critical challenge (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016). Critical, creative, and activist impulses are nullified by the “banking” approach to education, maintaining the “current mainstream” one-true story status quo and removing the role of education as a transformational change agent (O’Sullivan, 2001).

Flores (2017) noted that Paulo Freire, Noam Chomsky, Ivan Illich and Henry Giroux reminded us that education is the foundation of what society will become for future generations, education that teaches students critical thinking and social justice. Besides the Western hegemonic perspective, other perspectives on terrorism include those of Noam Chomsky, Tariq Ali, and Edward Said, providing a sociocultural critical theorists’ perspective.

By politicizing radicalization and its Western discourse and locating the source of terrorism in the identity, psychology, and ideology of individuals and groups, an almost
inevitable consequence is the stereotyping of the largely Muslim cultures, ideologies, and social networks deemed by security experts to be linked with terrorism (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016). Current counter-radicalization discourse “is of distinctly political origin [and] builds into official thinking biases and prejudices” (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2016, p. 29). Sukarieh and Tannock further argued for a revival of the critical tradition in education with a particular aim in mind, namely:

Of understanding the root causes of social problems and injustices; an embrace of fundamental social change as a core goal of education; and, more particularly, a promotion of utopian ideals of a more just, equal, democratic, and sustainable world. (p. 27)

In summary, beliefs can be propagated through (a) advocacy, activism, and fundamentalism, usually in a non-violent way, or through (b) radicalization, which may entail violence, and (c) terrorism, which often includes a violent component. Politicization of radicalization has shifted the goal from understanding the root causes of radicalization in social conditions to serving a hegemonic agenda.

**Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)**

The terrorist attacks in the United States on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001 (9/11) became a milestone in the study of terrorism. Since 9/11, “terrorology” (Stern, 2016, p. 102), the field of terrorism studies, has “exploded.” The term “counter-terrorism” is used for individuals who have committed to join a terrorist organization and become “career terrorists” (Selim, 2016, p. 95). Organizations such as al-Qaeda, and more recently the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), cannot usefully be countered with traditional law enforcement strategies. Since
9/11, “we now have to fear terrorist threats from anyone, anywhere, in any way” (Selim, 2016, p. 98). As President Obama stated:

We cannot use force everywhere that a radical ideology takes root; and in the absence of a strategy that reduces the wellspring of extremism, a perpetual war . . . will prove self-defeating, and alter our country in troubling ways. . . . [We need a] strategy [that] involves addressing the underlying grievances and conflicts that feed extremism. (As cited in Selim, 2016, p. 95)

The strategy or model to “reduce the wellspring of extremism” (Selim, 2016, p. 95), a prevention model of post-9/11 terrorism, has come to be known to many as “countering violent extremism” (p. 95).

Countering violent extremism (CVE) was meant to address the causes of extremism. CVE “refers to proactive actions to counter efforts by extremists to recruit, radicalize, and mobilize followers to violence” (The White House, 2016, p. 2). In detail, CVE is about the prevention of radicalization, intervention with individuals in danger of radicalization, and de-radicalization (Korn, 2016). Cohen (2016) described the preventive strategies as “programmatic efforts” (p. 119) and noted that “those radicalized to violence exhibit behaviours of concern that are observed by those who associate with that individual” (p. 119). Locally based prevention programs need to include community members (Greenberg, 2016) and involve “re-education, religious discourse, psychological counselling, and family and financial support” (Kruse, 2016, p. 203). Addressing causal elements of radicalization needs to engage several professional disciplines resulting in the building of social strategies. By going beyond the individual and building up a social cross-disciplinary strategy, the Western worldview sought to “rationally” track down the roots of terrorism.
Without a cross-disciplinary social strategy, CVE prevention efforts would be ineffectual. There is agreement in the literature that multiple avenues lead to radicalization (Korn, 2016; Selim, 2016; The White House, 2016) and there is no “one-size-fits-all” approach (Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016b; Korn, 2016). Nor is there a “radical” profile that can point to a radicalized individual based on a socioeconomic, religious, ethnic, cultural, or educational profile (Cohen, 2016; Haykel, 2016; Mirahmadi, 2016). As a result, any corrective action needs to be local or community based and, according to Korn (2016), “prevention, intervention, and de-radicalization measures necessitate differentiation, and the best fit must be determined on a case-by-case basis” (p. 183). Furthermore, a multidisciplinary and multi-institutional coordinated approach is needed to address the radicalization challenge (Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016b; Korn, 2016; Stern, 2016), involving not only the security authorities and the judiciary, but also communities and other governmental institutions such as Labour and Education, all feeding into a coordinated social strategy (Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016b; Korn, 2016; Stern, 2016). CVE and social strategy tend to be local responses to terrorism with the involvement of local communities prominent.

As realization dawned that there is no one-size-fits-all solution, community involvement in identifying and finding a solution to radicalization increased. Guided by statistically relevant factors and indicators, law enforcement agencies sought to “cultivate good relations with members of the Muslim communities” (Haykel, 2016, p. 80) because “they can help to identify potential terrorists” (p. 80). Furthermore, Greenberg (2016) found that “government-sponsored efforts can be ineffective and counterproductive [as] they are met with the accusation that they are treating Muslims as a ‘suspect community’” (p. 173). Many law enforcement–community partnerships were developed in several Western countries.
Although the different models have the same objectives—those of CVE—depending on the country where they were developed and based on the local institutions, regulations, and resources, they operated in slightly different ways. Community based models such as the World Organization for Resource Development and Education (WORDE), Building Resilience Against Violent Extremism (BRAVE) model in the United States, and the Prevent Strategy in the U.K. received government funding and support. WORDE clustered indicators into five risk factors: (a) sociological motivators, (b) psychological conditions, (c) ideology/belief/and values, (d) political grievances, and (e) economic factors (Mirahmadi, 2016, p. 131). The BRAVE model is a “whole-of-community approach” (p. 138) and is based on trust between public and private stakeholders emphasizing “trust, collaboration, and multidisciplinary strategies through engagement, education, and specialized interventions” (p. 141). Similarly, the British government’s counterterrorism strategy program, CONTEST, has the Prevent Strategy that aims to keep communities safe from the threat of terrorism (Greenberg, 2016). Because the activities are tied to funding, success needed to be measured. Lack of suitable metrics was a major challenge. The Western worldview sought to scientifically understand terrorism and overcome the challenge in communities by using proven methods and resources.

Metrics and the lack of measuring success was prominent in the literature on the effectiveness of the radicalization programs. The 2016 White House Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States noted that “the CVE efforts will be informed by a rigorous, evidence-based approach to research and analysis that addresses all forms of violent extremism” (p. 5). A central challenge was the absence of metrics with which to gauge a program’s success (Cohen, 2016; Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016b; Greenberg, 2016; Mirahmadi, 2016). Metrics was also important in
ensuring sufficient resources and funding being allocated to programs (Cohen, 2016; Mirahmadi, 2016). Since 9/11, such funding has been made available and resulted in the “concrete expansion of the terrorism-industrial complex” (Priest & Arkin, 2011, p. 71). Dana Priest and William Arkin, in *Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State*, conducted hundreds of interviews with current and former military, defence and intelligence officials, and private contractors and visited at least a hundred places where top secret work is carried out. They concluded: “One of the greatest secrets of *Top-Secret America* is its disturbing dysfunction” (p. xiv). The dysfunction included soaring national debt, bureaucratic rivalry in security establishments, and spending in the hope of achieving a “zero-defect expectation” (p. 51).

Media-amplified terrorist threats, which increased fear and spending, meant “the intelligence-military-corporate apparatus” was growing larger and more secret every day (p. 55). In 2010, the budget for intelligence had become 250 percent larger than it was on September 10, 2001 and was estimated to be $80.1 billion a year excluding $58 billion for the Department of Homeland Security and excluding billions of dollars spent by the military (p. 103). Gradually, after 9/11, there was “the stunning handover of the nation’s security apparatus to the private sector” (p. 181), which turned into “a dependency that calls into question whether the federal government is still even able to stand on its own” (p. 182). This situation was exacerbated by the “brain drain of talent, as people are lured from public service and take more lucrative private jobs” (p. 183). Priest and Arkin (2011) warned that “the Department of Defense is no longer a war-fighting organization, it’s a business enterprise” with the profit motive “having a tremendous impact on policy and budgets” and the “counterterrorism business is such a secure, profitable ecosystem that few who enter ever really leave” (p. 188). The scores of generals and admirals who left the Pentagon since 9/11 “parlayed their taxpayer-funded experience to defence and intelligence
corporations making profits on contracting projects also paid for by the American public” (p. 191).

While looking for individual terrorists one at a time with zero tolerance of failure, the United States missed seeing the strategic picture. In the process, the U.S. created a security establishment that no one seemed able to control. The fight against terror resulted in a huge taxpayer bill as well as a weaker democracy:

America had become so focused on undoing one terrorist at a time that no one was seeing the big, strategic picture, and that was because, at the bottom of it all, it had grown so big and so unwieldy and no one, still, was actually in charge. (Priest & Arkin, 2011, p. 270)

Fear, arguably perpetuated by the media and the state security apparatus, had gripped the United States:

Top Secret America had been born of fear and panic ten years earlier, yet the nation’s leaders were still unable to have a fact-based dialogue with the public, free of fearmongering, about terrorism and the withering, criminal organization named al-Qaeda that brought it to our shores. (p. 262)

With the assumption of better “to err on the side of the nation’s safety,” the Patriot Act 2001 allowed information about individuals not subject to a criminal investigation to be collected without their knowledge, weakening the Watergate-era Privacy Act of 1974. On paper, racial profiling was banned, but “in practice it happened all the time” (p. 135). Further, people seemed not to notice the incremental changes that were taking place concerning “the eroding of privacy and the tabulation of personal information in government hands” (p. 151). Then there were the military strikes on Third World countries which routinely killed many civilians.
Drone strikes piloted from the safety of Suburbia U.S.A., had become an acceptable practice, even the norm. Funding Top Secret America with unlimited tax dollars during the deepest recession in memory had become normal, too, as had tacitly endorsing an incremental assault on individual privacy. (Priest & Arkin, 2011, p. 220)

Furthermore, secrecy led to further erosion of democratic principles with policies and procedures giving power to those with security clearance with no checks and balances in place for elected officials to audit how the power was used:

Reliance on secrecy has made the United States vulnerable, too. In its most benign form, too much secret information gums up the very system it was created to serve. In its most dangerous form, secrecy is allowing the people in the know, those with security clearances, to hide their own malfeasance, or to unintentionally chip away at democracy. (p. 267)

CVE, the Department of Defense and other security institutions and social strategy tended to be internal homeland responses to terrorism and radicalization efforts. An external factor identified in the literature was “failed states.”

**Failed States**

The chief building blocks that propagated the global threat of terror were failed states that acted as an incubator for terrorists. The breakdown of civil society was a major driver in the rise of terrorism in the post-9/11 era and exposed multiple underlying chronic challenges, primarily in some Arab states. Challenges included repressive governments, weak economies, growing young populations, and unresolved questions of political identity and the role of religion in civil society (Haykel, 2016; Salem, 2016a). With the Arab Spring in 2011, states across the Middle East collapsed, leading to partial or full state failure (Salem). Failed states created “the
ungoverned space and social chaos that has allowed al-Qaeda to resurge and enabled the formation and spread of ISIS (also known as the Islamic State or ISIL)” (Salem, 2016b, p. 37). Terrorist organizations were able to exploit failed states and the sociopolitical instability to expand their activities (Lister, 2016). “Instability, macro-level societal change, and political uncertainty all represented opportunities for jihadist exploitation” (Lister, 2016, p. 54). Terrorist organizations were able to tap “into a deep vein of resentment, disillusionment, and disenfranchisement, specifically among the Sunni Arabs” (Haykel, 2016, p. 72). Vulnerable individuals became more susceptible to the call of extremism, thus creating a large supply of recruits (Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016b). A critical perspective on failed states was offered by Herman and Chomsky.

In filling the power vacuum created by the weakening of colonial powers post-WWII, Herman and Chomsky (2002) proposed that Third World countries were not ready to accept integration into the Western political economy. At the expense of conventional U.S. ideology that preaches democracy, self-determination, and human rights, the United States installed and supported regimes that were “more amenable regimes designed to meet Western criteria of stability” (p. 44). At the beginning, such support was against the evils of communism and then Islamism, but Herman and Chomsky noted that the U.S. support and hostility in the Third World is first and foremost a result of business criteria and second, military convenience. Humanistic considerations were “effectively irrelevant” (p. 45) and any humanizing forces such as religious leaders, educators, and union organizers became “threats” (p. 45).

Weak or failed states were nothing new to the Middle East; nor were the chronic challenges the region had faced since independence (Haykel, 2016; Salem, 2016a). What had changed, however, was the transfer of the Western discourse on terrorism to Western societies.
Pre-9/11, radicalization took place in small communities by fellow members with the process of radicalization expected to take place over a long time (Selim, 2016). Although radicalization was thought to continue within communities, presently, “it is far more common to self-radicalize online” (Selim, p. 97), and on an individual basis, a “relatively understudied topic of individual mobilization” (Stern, 2016, p. 103). This phenomenon has affected many Western societies.

Post-9/11, certain psychological motivations and societal conditions were thought to correlate and to explain terrorism. A potential terrorist, the Western discourse suggested, can now be produced much faster and can have global reach.

**Current Explanatory Perspectives in a Western Worldview: Psychological, Sociocultural, and Historical**

Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in New York, explaining terrorism was based primarily on individual psychological or theological (Islamist) journeys (Kundnani, 2012). Terrorism or radicalization was “largely removed from social and political circumstances” (Kundnani, 2012, p. 5) and, therefore, explanations lacked a social, in situ context.

Many explanations emerged in personality and social psychology literature—literature on the constitution and formation of “human nature.” Theorists such as Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, Erich Fromm, Rollo May, Albert Bandura, Joseph Berke and B. F. Skinner, in addition to psychopathologists and social psychologists, constituted “a good beginning for generating hypotheses regarding motivational and goal patterns that may engender and sustain terrorism” (Marsella, 2004, p. 23). Such models formed the basis of models used by law enforcement agencies.
In fulfilling their missions in keeping countries and communities safe, security authorities were trying to pre-empt any terrorist threat, either foreign or domestic, by using social and psychological radicalization models. The RCMP’s *Terrorism and Violent Extremism Awareness Guide* (2016) noted that “there is no simple explanation or consensus about a typical pathway to radicalization leading to violence [and that] researchers and security services worldwide propose various models to better define specific trajectories” (p. 7). The two models described in this guide include Moghaddam’s (2016) *Psychologically Based Staircase* and Sageman’s (2016) *Bunch of Guys* theory.

Moghaddam’s *Psychologically Based Staircase* deals with the individual and proposes a step-by-step process in the form of a staircase—the final stage leads subjects to mobilize and engage in terrorism and violent extremism. The process starts on the first floor with candidates for radicalization wanting to fight and correct perceived injustices in their everyday life. Lack of non-violent methods means candidates go to the second floor and their aggression moves to out-groups. On the third floor a moral cover is assimilated to “appropriate” the use of violence against the enemy. Joining a “like-minded” organization and further indoctrination is the fourth level. The top or fifth level results in a terrorist or violent extremist.

Sageman’s model emphasized “friendship and kinship as central to the radicalization process” (Kundnani, 2012, p. 14) and included a moral dilemma. In this model, relationships are considered the critical driving element. The model proposes that “the receptivity [to] radicalization [and] violence develops solely through acquaintances, friends and various social networks” (p. 9). Sageman maintained that friends, family, acquaintances, and networks were important sources of relationship-building. Important drivers of the radicalization process include a sense of moral outrage, resonance with personal experience, and interpretation of the
world. Regardless of the model used, observable changes in behaviour could indicate early warnings of radicalization leading to violence. Changes in behaviour (changes of interest); appearance (changes in dress style, wearing tattoos, signs or symbols); habits (use of new names or pseudonyms in social media and personal environment); relationships (breaking relational ties, social isolation, change in peer groups); identity (segregation and antagonism, glorification of violence or sacrifice); or ideology (rejection of state politics and values, using extremist language, consumption of hate and violent propaganda) could indicate a start on the path of radicalization (RCMP, 2016). Flores (2017) explained that violent extremism is the result of three factors that come together and incline a person or people to use violence: (a) oppressor, (b) oppressed, and (c) resignation form the core of violent extremism. In this model of hegemonically provoked violent extremism, the oppressed see no other option to counter their oppression except violence, the last resort. This is corroborated by Ali (2002) who noted that “the combination of anger and despair will lead to more and more young people in the Arab World and elsewhere feeling that the only response to state terror is individual terror” (p. 153).

More recent literature suggests that terrorists are mobilized based on “spiritual, emotional, or material benefits of belonging. Individuals are influenced at several levels—personal psychology or history, group dynamics, and social conditions” (Stern, 2016, p. 104). Context was and is important. A terrorist organization’s mission may be adopted, friends or family members may be persuasive (Stern), or a terrorist recruiter exploits “a basic human need—the need for meaning, achievement, or esteem” (p. 107). In addressing recruitment strategies employed by ISIS, Atran, Haque, Choi, Phillips, and Bursztajn (2015) suggested that “ISIS provides a quick fix to the perennial problems of human life . . . specifically, the relief in question concerns the human desire for identity, certainty, social connection, meaning, the
optimal amount of freedom, and glory” (p. 2). Thus, terrorist recruiters take advantage of “vulnerabilities in human nature exacerbated by aspects of Western societies” (p. 3).

For Westerners in transition, marginalized, lonely, lost, bored, uncertain, spiritually or existentially dispossessed, burdened by too much freedom, and empathically selective, ISIS and other shallow but contagious ideologies will remain tempting as quick fixes for the deep predicaments inherent to the human condition. (p. 3)

By using narratives that contain purpose and meaning, such as terrorist fighting and celebrating battle victories in a worthwhile cause, extremist groups offer would-be terrorists an escape from their “mundane lives” (Mirahmadi, 2016, p. 133). Further, extremist groups provide “existential fast food, and for some of the most spiritually hungry young Westerners, ISIS is like a Big Mac amidst a barren wasteland of an existence” (Haque et al., 2015, p. 1). Quintan Wiktorowicz and Kundnani (2012) posited that psychological crisis due to emotional distress, experiences of discrimination, political repression, or confusion over identity provide a “cognitive opening” that could then be exploited by an extremist narrative.

The current modus operandi of countering violent extremism and resulting terrorism works as follows: Using models such as Moghaddam’s psychologically based staircase or Sageman’s *Bunch of Guys* theory as diagnostic tools, individuals thought to be on the radicalization path because of exhibiting certain indicators (such as those listed above from the RCMP report) would be placed in the “relevant” segment of the model. Communities and relevant social and governmental institutions then coordinate their resources and efforts to “de-radicalize” offenders, often by using counternarratives.

Borrowed from business, the terms “push-pull” have been used to classify and describe the use of the indicators or factors that flow in radicalization process models (Dawson et al.,
“Push factors” are “the negative social, cultural, and political features of one’s societal environment” (Mirahmadi, 2016, p. 131) which “push” an individual towards the path of radicalization. Government oppression or difficulty in making a living are other examples of push factors (Selim, 2016). “Pull factors” are “the positive characteristics and benefits of an extremist organization that “pull” vulnerable individuals to join” (Mirahmadi, 2016, p. 131). Examples of pull factors are camaraderie, a feeling of brotherhood, or a salary (Selim, 2016).

To summarize, in attempting to explain terrorism or radicalization, the literature offered psychological, historical, identity, and sociocultural perspectives. Discussions on radicalization were based on the political, economic, social, and psychological forces that underpin terrorism (Kundnani, 2012). These were further broken down into indicators and factors that could be clustered. Models based on these clusters were then formulated. All the explanations were based on norms and academic discourse prevalent in secular Western democratic states.

Statistical associations of indicators and factors provided by scholars guided law enforcement agencies when attempting to predict and foil current and future threats, putting to use this data in their efforts to detect future threats (Kundnani, 2012). Becoming radicalized meant following a certain “radicalization process” (Cohen, 2016; Haykel, 2016; Korn, 2016; Kundnani, 2012; The White House, 2016) or “path” (Selim, 2016) towards radicalization.

Prevention became a key focus for law enforcement agencies. By using defined processes and indicators, law enforcement agencies aimed to identify and manage possible threats in the “pre-criminal space, that is, prior to the violation of law” (Cohen, 2016, p. 123). Traditional law enforcement strategies needed to engage the help of local communities and civil society to identify at-risk individuals and to develop pre-emptive forms of intervention.
History, identity, and sociocultural perspectives were other approaches prevalent in the scholarly literature. Samuel Huntington (1993) argued that it was the very contrast among cultures—the varying constructions of reality—that sat at the heart of current struggles. He suggested that the nature of current local and global pressures was pushing ethnocultural and national groups toward a new cultural consciousness. Here, differences are exaggerated for the purpose of establishing identity. Marsella (2004) proposed that “wars of identity are now the norm, and the variations in Islamic, Asian, African, and Western identities are fertile ground for extremism” (p. 40).

The established reality is a neo-liberal paradigm that prescribes risk management. Beck (2006) noted that “modern society has become a risk society in the sense that it is increasingly occupied with debating, preventing, and managing risks that it, itself, has produced” (p. 332). Within the radicalization discourse, we look at risk factors towards radicalization, which include:

- economic and geographical marginalization (Korn, 2016),
- failed states, military occupation, intergroup competition, time on the internet, underemployment (Stern, 2016), and
- sociological motivators, psychological conditions, ideology/belief/and values, political grievances, and economic factors. (Mirahmadi, 2016)

Established best practices suggest that by managing risk factors, radicalization can be prevented since the current “radicalization discourse claims predictive power” (Kundnani, 2012, p. 10).

Although the models and processes were built in the predominantly neoliberal Western paradigm and based on Islamic communities in America and Europe to address integration issues, thus countering some of the risk factors, a larger problem indirectly related to Islam
became prevalent. Bartlett (2016) quoted Scott Atran, a known expert on terrorism, who posed the question: "What propels people from 100 countries to come to this place [Syria and Iraq] to blow themselves up?" and maintained that “there's something in human beings that this appeals to, otherwise it wouldn't work” (p. 3).

Since the Syria–Iraq conflict became globalized in 2012, Westerners and other nationalities began to join radical groups in larger numbers. Between 27,000 and 31,000 foreign fighters (with 250 from the United States) joined ISIS (Greenberg, 2016). Four to five thousand were estimated to be from the West (Dawson et al., 2016) with “130-145 individuals with Canadian connections [and] 30-40 Canadians fighting in Syria or Iraq” (p. 3). The pull factors that ISIS promised isolated and troubled youth included adventures, missions, and/or inclusiveness (Greenberg, 2016). The pull factors contained in ISIS narratives targeted at youth resonated with “everyday young people in social transition, on the margins of society, or amidst a crisis of identity” (Haque et al., 2015, p. 2). Given that the average age of a foreign fighter worldwide is 27 years, their familiarity with social media and the internet has, in Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) former Director Jim Comey’s words, put “all that propaganda in your pocket, and the terrorist is in your pocket” (Greenberg, 2016, p. 166). ISIS has been successful in targeting and responding “effectively to young Westerners in transition at the margins of society, who can easily be tempted by the false allure of quick and easy social connections amidst an individualistic society from which they feel alienated . . . a way to thwart loneliness” (Haque et al., 2015, p. 2). As a result of the internet, to “self-radicalize online” (Selim, 2016, p. 97) or be “individually mobilized” (Stern, 2016, p. 103) is far more common; traditional counterterrorism-related investigative strategies are insufficient to prevent “self-radicalized individuals” (Cohen,
2016, p. 118) and lone-wolf terrorist acts. As stated by Selim (2016), the radicalization challenge has become globalized.

Post-9/11 research has mainly been quantitative and incident-based or reactive (Stern 2016) and “few studies have addressed the question of how individuals are mobilized to become terrorists” (Stern, 2016, p. 103). The larger question of causality, the why and how, has been overlooked. Researchers on terrorism point to alienation, disenfranchisement, and cultural divides as causes but do not go deep enough into the social foundations that foster and sustain the path to violent extremism (Flores, 2017). The radicalization discourse “lacks explanatory power” (Kundnani, 2012, p. 10) and has been researched from a distinctly Western worldview. The West views violent extremism through a hegemonic lens without consideration of the “deep anthropologic ties people have to their society, culture, and linguistics” (p. 34). There is a gap in the literature, a gap I attempted to bridge in this research study by looking at sociocultural critical perspectives. In addition, from an interpretivist perspective, adult education and learning may help to explain the meaning-making of the term “terrorism” prevalent in the current discourse.

**Adult Education and Learning**

**Terrorists as Adult Learners**

Individuals on the path of radicalization, in a broad sense, are adult learners because the term “adult learners” refers to individuals “navigating the circuitous path of life and learning” (Groen & Kawalilak, 2014, p. 3). The individual could live in the suburbs of a major European city where “the bulging age cohort of Muslims under 30 . . . will continue to seek employment, improved living conditions, increased respect, greater equality, and meaning in their lives” (Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016a, p. 14). The individual could also be on the internet in Canada,
aged 27, the average age of foreign fighter recruits worldwide (Greenberg, 2016). All are adult learners.

It could be argued that the current adult education paradigm aligns with a liberal knowledge economy. A more critical perspective is Paulo Freire’s banking education concept that removes criticality from a learner’s repertoire and facilitates alignment with the prevalent liberal education and its hegemonic objectives. Drawing from Paulo Freire’s (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Flores (2017) suggested that banking education teaches the oppressed to accept the oppressor’s social framework. The educational system reinforces the idea of oppression and blocks any opportunity for critical thinking to better humanity. Thus, “people learn to use violent extremism in the larger classroom that is the world” (p. xvii) without having the appropriate education to critically reflect on the chosen path. Violent extremists will find the banking approach in education “nurture[s] in them the capability to wield violence without malice” (p. 2). The oppressed are deprived of the opportunity to solve their problems and become aware of their own humanness and how they could fit better into society but are forced to accept the oppressor’s social framework. Independence from the oppressor through courage and knowledge which the oppressed did not know existed becomes a liberating force and a danger to the imposed social framework. Through the school system and banking education the oppressed “ensure the oppressors maintain their version of freedom and liberation” (p. 2). Thus, Freire’s fears are realized because the “oppressed have no other options than to turn to violence as a recourse for their oppression” (p. 3).

Drivers of the knowledge economy exhibit a strong influence on terminology, the direction of the workplace and learning space (Fenwick, 2006). Jarvis (2006) agreed that our society has become a “knowledge economy” driven by “rapidly changing scientific knowledge”
Knight (2004) expanded on the six factors which affect our society and suggested that (a) the development of advanced communication and technological services, (b) increased international labour mobility, (c) greater emphasis on the market economy and trade liberalization, (d) emphasis on the knowledge society, (e) increased levels of private investment, (f) decreased public support for education, and lifelong learning were key social elements demanded by the knowledge economy and influenced by higher education. Flores (2017) noted that “language associated with violent extremism is hostage to an individual’s unique consciousness of his world as developed through an educational process that began in the highchair” (p. 4).

A decrease in public support for education and lifelong learning might negatively affect adult education, leading perhaps to radicalization and terrorism in that the neo-liberal paradigm might not be agreeable to all. Flores (2017) reminded us that Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy was a method to teach the oppressed “to learn the value of their humanness” (p. 1). Herman and Chomsky (2002) noted that the adult education programs of Paulo Freire with their focus on literacy, enhancement of feelings of self-worth, and belief in the possibility of improvement were “quickly terminated” (p. 85) in Brazil in the 1960s because they politicized the lower classes and constituted a security threat. Is it possible that the knowledge economy’s strong influence on adult education, resulting in the predominantly Western neo-liberal paradigm as hegemonic and discoursed as the overriding “true reality,” has created a gap in adult education based on worldviews or paradigms?

Identity

Identity, adult education, and terrorism share a common stage. There may be a key link between terrorism and adult education and learning in that all three coexist and influence each
other in a particular social context, time, and set of circumstances. Radicalization (Korn, 2016; Selim, 2016; The White House, 2016), and adult learning (Groen & Kawalilak, 2014) are multi-faceted and young adults may be confused about their identity (Haque et al., 2015; Kundnani, 2012). Understanding the linkages between identity, adult education and learning, and radicalization may lead to understanding how radicalization takes place. “Identity crisis” in early adulthood (Haque et al., 2015, p. 2), “confusion over identity” (Kundnani, 2012, p. 17), self-versus group identity and their fusion (Atran, 2016), “unresolved questions of political identity” (Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016b, p. 213; Salem, 2016a), and “quest for identity” (Kruse, 2016, p. 206) are indications in the literature that set young adults on the path of radicalization.

Identity and its meaning and use is contested among scholars. Edward Said dismissed the idea of a national identity or what he would call “politics of identity” as “a complete fiction” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 391). Identities and their differences are established in the diverse ways people interpret and make meaning of texts and incorporate them into their own practices (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Identity search or validation, regardless of whether it is Islamist or secularist, takes place in the politico-cultural space being contested and dominated by the hegemonic West (Sharabi, 1992). Huntington (1996) suggested that “interest politics presuppose identity [and when] established identities dissolve, the self must be redefined, and new identities created” (p. 97). Religion-shaped identities ally with fundamentalist movements as a way of “coping with the experience of chaos, the loss of identity, meaning, and secure social structures created by the rapid introduction of modern social and political patterns, secularism, scientific culture and economic development” (Huntington, p. 98). Sharabi (1992) noted “a reference to a model” shaped by the West (p. 24) with the Western discourse weakening Muslim
identities, with Islamism “a nativist response to inclusion in a Western-led global system” (p. 22).

**Ideology, Discourse, Power, Hegemony, Islamophobia**

Discourse is ideologically based and can be so deeply engrained in thought patterns and language that it is taken for granted and unrecognized. Bloor and Bloor (2007) defined ideology as “a set of beliefs or attitudes shared by members of a particular social group” (p. 11). More hegemonically, ideologically constructed beliefs and attitudes may not be apparent to individuals and thus may be difficult to question. When an ideology permeates the thinking of several individuals and becomes socially significant, it becomes even harder to question. Appleman (2015) defined ideology as “a system of values and beliefs that help create expectations for individual behavior and for social norms”, further, it is “a social and political construct, one that subtly shapes society and culture” (p.179). From a cultural studies perspective, Marxists variants of ideology concepts as exploitive and misleading dominate (Barker, 2004). From a Marxists perspective, the exploitive system of social relations, lead to a “false consciousness” (p.97) and worldview. Gramsci’s writings further supported Marxist account of ideology as being exploitive and misleading by noting that ideology “ is grasped as ideas, meanings, and practices which, while they purport to be universal truths, are maps of meaning that support the power of particular social classes” (Barker, 2004, p. 97). Thus, capitalist belief systems can be taken for granted, naturalized, with work in the interest of one group at the expense of another, normally a marginalized group, can take place.

Flores (2017) used the idea of banking to represent a systematic global mechanism to maintain hegemonic power with those resisting hegemony turning to violent extremism.

Ideology influences policy which could be blinded “by unbending ideology” (p. xviii). Banking
education educates the oppressed on maintaining the social framework of the oppressor (Flores). Banking education would ensure that the discussions on an issue are bounded within “proper limits” and debate can be tolerated (Chomsky, 1989a, p. 147). Bloor and Bloor (2007) asserted that “an aspect of ideology can be carried, sometimes inaccurately, by a single word” (p. 11). Terrorism could be that word and its meaning-making from discursive practices in a Western worldview was the intent of this research study.

Without close contact with other cultures, individuals tend to adopt the established values or ideology of their own social groups without questioning such values (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Such assumptions may be challenged when individuals interact with different cultures. Discourse will then be challenged because the underlying assumptions of the ideology are different. Understanding and analysis of the discourse will require investigation “with a fresh and open mind” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 19).

Discourse analysis seeks to uncover hidden ideologies in texts. Social investigations require an understanding of the ideology in question and those aspects that underpin social interaction (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Such an investigation, the breaking down of meaning into its component parts, a process defined as “deconstruction,” analyzes texts to “to reveal the undercurrents of association and implication” (p. 11). Knowledge or texts used in discourse “generally incorporate issues of identity and power” (p. 18). Propagandists can steer discourse in such a way as to take an argument in the direction they wish.

Discourse is also an instrument of power. Van Dijk (2015) defined “social power in terms of control” (p. 469). Social power is likely to be exercised by groups or institutions. “Groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups” (p. 469). Power is enabled by access to scarce resources such as
force, money, knowledge, information, culture, forms of public discourse, information (van Dijk, 2015) or access to the media (Jaeger, 2001). When the power of dominant groups is integrated in laws, rules, norms, and habits, it can become hegemonic (van Dijk, 2015). Further, holders of power may not obviously exercise their power “but [it] may be enacted in the myriad taken-for-granted actions of everyday life” (van Dijk, 2015, p. 469).

As human beings, we are constantly engaged in discourse with the self, shaping our identity, and assimilating new knowledge gained in continuous meaning-making attempts of the self with our environment. Discourse contributes to the crafting of our sense of self and our identity and serves as a vehicle to explain our actions to ourselves and to others. According to Jaeger (2001), “knowledge means all kinds of content which make up a consciousness and/or all kinds of meanings used by respective persons to interpret and shape the surrounding reality” (p. 33). Discursive context provides people with knowledge, and people, in their lifetime, are permanently immersed in a discursive context (Jaeger, 2001).

Discourse has become shaped in the context of conflicting worldviews. As a result of social, military, and economic development since the European Renaissance, the currently dominant worldview discourse is “Western” and is expected to counter the discourse of radicals. Discourse through text is part of anti-radicalization strategies such as the World Organization for Resource Development and Education’s (WORDE) Building Resilience Against Violent Extremism (BRAVE) model in the United States, and the Prevent strategy in the U.K. (Mirahmadi, 2016) and several NGOs (Greenberg, 2016). Governments are working with the private sector to encourage youth recruited from colleges “to create counter-messaging . . . [to] develop and execute campaigns and social media strategies against extremism that are credible,
authentic, and believable to their peers, and resonate within their communities” (Greenberg, 2016, p. 173). These are, again, a form of discourse.

Islamophobia, defined by Kincheloe et al., (2010) as acts of discrimination and bigotry by media, politicians, religious leaders, and miseducation in school opposes Islamic peoples or those who appear to be Muslim. Racism and fear are propagated through discourse. Such discourse reaches targeted audiences through the media, political or religious speeches, or formal educational texts. How such discourses are constructed is of interest in terms of critical analysis.

Governments and their enlisted NGOs and private-sector partners’ interest in counter-discourses has been primarily reactive to the terrorists’ efforts. Terrorists have “recruited personnel, often from the West, with expertise in social media, film-making, magazine layout, and storytelling” (Stern, 2016, p. 111). Further, there have been calls to engage more deeply in what Stern (2016) referred to as “political warfare,” broadly defined as “the employment of all the means at a nation’s command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives . . . as was the case for political-warfare operations against the Soviet Union” (p. 111). Just as Marxist theory was defeated by political warfare, governments should wage political warfare to defeat the Salafist Jihadist ideology. Stern (2016) reasoned that, in political warfare, with the involvement of multiple stakeholders including business leaders, attorneys, philanthropists, students, teachers, and the government, “Salafi jihadist theory” could stand in for “Marxist theory,” and would challenge and neutralize terrorist ideology. Haykel (2016) maintained that, given the complex ideological and sociopolitical origins of jihadism, it was not possible to defeat terrorist movements and the objective had to be to try “to contain and mitigate their harmful effects” (p. 79). Whatever the starting point, “discourses can be understood as material realities” (Jaeger, 2001, p. 34) and by studying dominating discourses (such as the Western), “the dominating
discourses can be criticized and problematized; this is done by analyzing them, by revealing their contradictions and non-expression” (p. 34). We may study the Western as well as critical sociocultural discourse with each representing “a reality of its own which, in relation to the “real reality,” is in no way “much ado about nothing,” or distortion and lies, but has a material reality of its own and “feeds on” past and current discourses (p. 36). The purpose of this research study was to review the discourse of government policy documents as well as news media textual data and explore the discourse offered on the term “terrorism” in a Western worldview.

**Dialogue and Learning Environment**

The multifaceted drivers of terrorism and a community approach in building counter-narratives mean that dialogue has become a key vehicle in preventing individuals from taking part in radicalization and, subsequently, terrorism. Communities have sought to promote intercultural dialogue and dialogues between extremists and de-radicalization practitioners (Korn, 2016). Intracommunity dialogue to build trust, to offer alternatives (Selim, 2016), and to promote tolerance and understanding among civilizations, cultures, peoples, and religions have been deemed important in the global counter-radicalization drive (United Nations, 2016).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) proposed that the terms and expressions used to describe the world are vague and general pointers, with participants in any dialogue routinely filling any gaps by drawing from their shared knowledge and experience. This same knowledge and experience are an important part of social relations and the communicative interaction that gives participants a sense of belonging and shared identity. In turn, participants are continually interpreting and designing their contributions to act upon social relations in a new light. Participants are, thus, “actively constructing identities for themselves and each other” (p. 40).
Community and government action point to attempts at creating a safe learning environment in which isolated and troubled youth can critically dialogue with representatives from their community and share their personal challenges. Critical dialogue takes courage. It takes courage to challenge “objective reality.” According to Groen and Kawalilak (2014), “it takes courage to be open to the unfamiliar, to push beyond what is comfortable, and to respond to an invitation to make meaning of the world and our place in it, in new ways” (p. 8). They further asserted that “it takes courage to loosen our grip on what is and has always been comfortable and familiar to free up this [safe] space” (p. 14). They continued by saying that dialogue with another provides a “safe space within which to ponder, reflect, and make meaning” (p. 8) of our experiences. Such a space can be approached from both ends of the radicalization narrative—the “positive” end and the “negative” end. In both cases, it takes courage because each side needs to loosen their grip on their respective worldview to create the shared space in which meaning-making and understanding can take place.

My research explored the role of adult education in understanding the meaning-making of the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview. Meaning-making through dialogue and discourse is a reflexive construction of social practices and may lead to future action within that practice (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). “The discourse is one moment in a social practice which is dialectically linked to others, with an orientation to a practical intervention aimed at changing the world” (p. 41). The change or action dialectic must be kept in view to monitor colonization or appropriation. Dialogue “opens up a space that welcomes differences of perspective and understanding and focuses on inclusion and relationship formation through trust and being authentically present to one another” (Groen & Kawalilak, 2014, p. 13). Fenwick (2006) suggested that critical dialogue is necessary and should be sought in “identifying our
terms, positions, language, and connections” (p. 275). The exchange of narrative and counter-narrative between de-radicalization stakeholders and radicalized youth, for the transformation to be successful, is based on trust and relationship-building (Korn, 2016; Selim, 2016) and takes place in a safe space.

Although government funding (Korn, 2016; Mirahmadi, 2016) has supported research on terrorism, most of the research undertaken has been quantitative in nature (Stern, 2016). Data, metrics, measurement, processes, and models have been important to secure funding. Stern (2016) argued for more extensive research, citing the need to understand “how (emphasis added) individuals are mobilized to become terrorist[s]” (p. 103). Applying a phenomenological lens, Abram (1996) questioned the Western philosophical tradition, “the modern assumption of a single, wholly determinable, objective reality” (p. 31), arguing that the sciences overlook daily, direct experiences which are “necessarily subjective [and] necessarily relative to our own position” (p. 32). Contributing to the discourse on experience and our perception of reality, Jarvis (2015) commented:

Our experience can be transformed by thought, emotion, or action. We frequently recognize that our perception of reality is socially constructed but we do not always recognize that there are other phenomena in the situation which are not included in our social construction—but it is these that we experience in a non-cognitive manner. (p. 91)

Both the radical and non-radical side, influenced by their respective narrative, will claim that the “truth” lies with them. By questioning norms in the positivist narrative (Moules, 2015), and negotiating “truth” through dialogue (Angen, 2000), a common understanding of truth can be achieved. Citing Gadamer, Moules (2015) noted the importance of “dialogue as a means of addressing difference” (p. 33) with conversation being “a life process in which a community of
Are we vulnerable as we engage in new and contradictory ideas? Is there a role for adult education in the discursive meaning-making on terrorism from the hegemonic Western worldview? Is there a role for adult education in creating a safe space in terms of critical dialogue? These are all important questions that deserve attention through further research.

**Global Public Sphere or Space**

Buck-Morss (2003) proposed a global public sphere based on three criteria: (a) tolerance, (b) freedom, and (c) political trust. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) and Asad (2003) noted the lack of public debate in liberal democratic societies. As a result, the more powerful influencers take control of public discourse and try to impose a discourse globally and hegemonically. Sayyid (2003) described the challenge of Orientalism, not so much as being textual or scholarly, but in terms of what space exists for the “other.” The lack of critique provides a vacuum that enables the more powerful to take hold of public discourse and impose “truths.” Critique is part of social life and social struggles and can contribute to real dialogue across public spheres (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Edward Said suggested that “there is no such thing as monolithic experience” and it would be much better to accept such as fact and “work with that mixture [rather] than to try to start to separate it” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 199). Power could reduce that mixture by constructing a homogenous truth rather than creating deeper understanding in different experiences through open discourse and an exchange of viewpoints.

The global public sphere suggested by Buck-Morss (2003) would not be created by the media as they currently exist because they would need *ijtihad*, an engagement of the critical spirit and free intellectualism that is genuinely Islamic and creative. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) proposed that through “a respectful interaction with those different from ourselves, we
come to new modes of consciousness” (p. 4). A global public sphere would eliminate the need to take sides and adhere to either one or the other paradigm, be it religious or secular, modern or post-modern (Buck-Morss). Such a space would also “promote the possibility of a dialogue between cultures” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 271) disagreeing with Huntington’s Clash of Civilization thesis. “Cultures really are not impermeable; they are open to every other culture” (p. 271) and offer the possibility of non-violent communication and debate (Buck-Morss).

The “silence of other” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 42) and the lack of critical debate on perspectives and paradigms in the political discourse facilitates the imposition of a “New World Order” by the United States (Buck-Morss, 2003). It rests not only on terrorism and its contested meaning but also on democracy. To the United States, democracy means “domination of the economic, social and political life by domestic elements that are properly sensitive to the needs of corporations and the U.S. government” (Chomsky, 1989a, p. 150). Internationally, true democratic forms are rejected in favour of super exploitation with state control over the economy in coordination with domestic conglomerates and international corporations. A critical discourse would go “against the economic and ecological violence of neo-liberalism, the fundamentalist orthodoxies of which fuel the growing divide between rich and poor” (p. 50). If one ideology were to be victorious over the other, the global public space for debate and dissent would narrow dramatically (Ali, 2002).

Critical Discourse Analysis

The term “terrorism” is part of a global discourse occurring on an uneven playing field. Power differentials among nations guide the discourse. Buck-Morss (2003) postulated that “as practitioners of culture the very tools of our trade—language and image—are being appropriated as weapons by all sides” and that language is “being appropriated today by discourses of power
in a very particular way” (p. 63). Citing Foucault, Said and Viswanathan (2001) suggested that the “struggle for domination can be quiet, systematic, hidden, all because of discourse” (p. 15). Asad (2007) argued for an “examination of what the discourse of terror—and the perpetration of terror—does in the world of power” (p. 27).

Language and legal terms define rights. Foucault et al. (2017) noted that “we could define the right as the limits of the exercise of power: limits which are implied by the definition, the goals, and the rational structure of this power” (p. 21). This power can be exercised by any kind of institution using its defined tools and rational goals which have been accepted by society (Foucault et al., 2017). “Shackling of universities to economies is happening on an international scale” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 8) with a “battle on to preserve universities as a public sphere, and to preserve and develop critical voices” (p. 8). Current social life and language are dominated by a one-sided structuralist versus a constructivist-structuralist approach which addresses the dialectical character of discourse more precisely (Chouliaraki & Fairclough).

For a constructivist, the notion of what it is to be an individual “is a cultural variable since the resources that form the materials of personhood are the languages and cultural practices of specific times and places” (Barker, 2004, p.32). Meaning is formed in joint action of social relationships, accounting practices, and conversations. “Our maps and constructs of the world are never simply matters of individual interpretation but are inevitably a part of the wider cultural repertoire of discursive explanations, resources and maps of meaning available to members of cultures” (p. 32-33).

Terrorism experts employed by governments suggest that terrorism has nothing to do with politics (Asad, 2007). In the West, the construct of terrorism is about morality, law, and the
rules of war; the actual terrorists are about culture and ideology. The critical perspective side proclaimed hegemony. Asad suggested that the “discourse of terrorism is dependent on a constructed object (not an imaginary object) about which information can be collected” (p. 27). Kincheloe et al. (2010) spoke of an “Islamophobically constructed 21st century” (p. ix) and Edward Said’s scholarly work concerned “the way in which Orientalist texts are attempts at textual reconstruction of the Orient, as if the ‘real’ or actual Orient ought not by itself to be admitted into Western consciousness” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 26). Power, ideology, text, and constructs are appropriate for discourse analysis (Bloor & Bloor, 2007).

Unequal relations of power on language could result in discourse working ideologically with hegemonic consequences. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) explained that if the social process is viewed dialectically and discourse is one “moment” among six components: discourse/language, power, social relations, material practices, institutions and rituals, and beliefs, values and desires, discourse is a form of power. Each moment internalizes all the others and the way each moment is translated becomes crucial to critical discourse analysis. Practices are forms of production of social life—economic, cultural, and political. A practice is part of a network of other practices and influences, and is, in turn, influenced by that network. Practices are also reflexive: “People always generate representations of what they do as part of what they do” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 22) and are driven to action based on the reflection. So reflexive social action is a continual process of reflection, new action, and further reflection. Networks of practices are held in place by social relations of power shifting with the shifting dynamics of power and struggles over hegemony. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) noted that the view of modern power “as invisible, self-regulating and inevitably subjecting” needs to be complemented by a view of power as domination, with the establishment of causal links between
institutional social practices and positions of the subject in the wider social world (p. 24).

Hegemony, or domination based on consent rather than coercion, involves the normalization of practices and their social relations with ideology being important in achieving and maintaining relations of domination. Considerable tension develops between the naturally open social system and the hegemonic focus for closure of practices and networks (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The network of practices in a closure can be conceptualized as hegemony with tensions resulting in struggles which, in turn, espouse resistance. Could that tension be a driver for the meaning-making of terrorism? Could discursive practices in a closure be communicated to the public through the news media and government policy documents? A pre-interpreted world using established theory (perhaps models on how to counter terrorism) contributes to reflexivity and informs “from the outside,” influencing practice and therefore action.

With reflexivity caught up in social struggle, and containing an irreducible discursive aspect, discursive constructions are themselves part of practices that may depend on reflexive self-constructions for sustaining relations of domination. Reflexive self-constructions that function in this way Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) called ideologies: “constructions of practices from particular perspectives” (p. 26). Could it be that the Western discourse on terrorism through the news media and government policy documents, using hegemonic power, is colonizing meaning-making by hijacking individual reflexivity?

Such a discourse, with elements of power, language, culture, and an institutional discourse is important to critical discourse analysis. As Bloor and Bloor (2007) noted, it is in the discourse that “the power structure of a nation (or smaller social group) is enshrined” (p. 30). Further, in critical discourse analysis, facts are “open to a process of creation or re-creation in the text in the light of the changing cultural or historical contexts” (p. 51). The cultural setting,
historical time, domain, and social practice and how they interrelate with text in the creation of meaning are all considerations in critical discourse analysis notes on studying text. In that sense, critical discourse analysis acts as a form of explanatory critique by (a) showing a problem; (b) noting the obstacles; (c) explaining the function, including the ideological; and (d) ways of removing the obstacles (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

Relations between concepts are influenced not only by textual considerations but also by power-related interests. The way in which we make meaning, understand conceptual relations, and incorporate new concepts in an existing web of relations cannot be separate from our worldview. As Foucault (1972) noted, the web of relations needs to be interrogated in terms of who holds power, and how these relations intersect with the “institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, [and] modes of characterization” (p. 45). Critical discourse analysis reveals writers’ strategies in formulating and re-formulating ideas and beliefs as well as revealing “traces of the dominant ideology or evidence of ideological struggle and cultural change” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 54).

Edward Said proclaimed, “Nothing in a text merely occurs or happens; a text is made—by the author, the critic, the reader” and “[the] text is a process, not a thing” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 18). Arab history, real history, through Orientalism “has been deposited in, has been physically imprisoned, by Europe” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 31). Chomsky (1989a) noted that in the days of Woodrow Wilson’s Red Scare and to prevent improper thought and expression and control the public mind, organized propaganda and “historical engineering” was necessary. Through such historical engineering, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) is “evil incarnate, committed only to terror and destruction” (p. 80) while Israel is “this tiny nation, symbol of human decency” (p. 79) despite countless attacks and killings in Lebanon.
before, during, and after its 1982 invasion. Propaganda to explain Israel’s policies towards the
national rights of the indigenous Palestinian population, and its repression and state terrorism
over many years have been successful (Chomsky, 1989b). Said described the Orientalist myth as
a myth-system with its own institutions that pretend scientific objectivity with the aim of
political consequence (Said & Viswanathan, 2001). Critical discourse analysis functions to
investigate how discourse “helped to maintain power structures and support discrimination” and
how “powerful groups, sometimes with the tacit “co-operation” of the less powerful, can use
language to maintain inequality” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 85). Critical social research, with its
emancipatory outlook, positions itself within a network of practices, theorizes about the
practices, and recontextualizes the social practice it theorizes (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).
Critical social research produces knowledge and could be a resource in the social struggle, unlike
objectivist research which seeks to separate theory from practice in search of objective truths
(Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

**Terrorism and Radicalization: Sociocultural Critical Theory**

The first section of the dissertation looked at the Western discourse on the term
“terrorism.” The second section reviews the role of adult education and learning. In this section,
sociocultural critical theory will be introduced and reviewed in depth from the following
perspectives: hegemonic worldview, history, political ideology and secularism, power, secular
values versus religious values, modernity, media, and Islamic scholarship. Through this critical
insight, additional information on the term “terrorism” may add to the Western scholarly
discourse on the subject and widen the understanding and genesis of terrorism.

I use the term critical sociocultural theory as coined by Lewis, Encisco, and Moje (2007,
p. xi) in order to retain constructs from sociocultural theory while emphasizing focus on issues of
power, identity, and agency (Lewis et al., 2014). Both, critical sociocultural theories and sociocultural critical theories are historically derived from and inspired by Marxist theories. Sociocultural critical theory emphasizes Vygotskyan theories and focus on the creation of optimal learning environments that are created with students when they engaged with more experienced others to learn practices, they are not ready to do alone. “The teacher’s role is to organize the learning environment and to develop a skilled sensitivity to moments when novices are ready to take on more responsibility” (Vossoughi & Gutiérrez, 2016, p. 148) and enable a transformational rather than a transmission of knowledge. Critical sociocultural theory further builds on sociocultural critical theories to further consider “how reading, writing, response to literature, and both the analysis and creation of digital media shape and are shaped by race, culture, identity, and codes of power” (p. 22). Lewis, Pyscher, and Stutelberg (2014) further noted that “transformative, creative, critical, and disruptive teaching and learning thrives in a critical sociocultural perspective—where new ways of being, new identities, and new possibilities are always being made and remade” (p. 37)

**Hegemonic Worldview**

The speed and decisiveness with which Europe emerged as a center of wealth and power in the world imposed upon other leading cultures (Arab Islam, Hindu India, and Buddhist China) the European-dominated system without being able to impose European civilization or culture. Globalization, through economics, politics, communication, transportation, and technology has become a unifying element among global societies. Such global unification is structural. The same cannot be said about culture or civilization (Tibi, 1998).

Governments and economies needed to develop and join the global unification movement. Systems of government and the economy were imposed on nations globally and with
the systems came the commodification of language. Contemporary capitalist-created cultural commodities are an important vehicle of the commodification of language. “What is different about cultural commodities . . . is the specific mode of internalization of the moment of discourse within the material practices of commodity production and exchange” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 10). If, as noted earlier, discourse is one “moment” among six different components: (a) discourse and language; (b) power; (c) social relations; (d) material practices; (e) institutions and rituals; and (f) beliefs, values, and desires, commodification of that moment at the expense of the other “moments” gives discourse a form of power, particularly systemic economic and state power. With instrumental rationality “everything becomes subservient to maximizing the effectivity of institutional systems, whether it is a matter of maximally effective ways of producing or selling commodities or of organizing or educating people” (p. 12). An example of military and state power was the 1991 bombardment of Iraq that “effectively terminated everything vital to human survival in Iraq—electricity, water, sewage systems, agriculture, industry, and healthcare” (p. 184). The sanctions were part of the “low-intensity conflict” (p. 187), which resulted in the death of half a million children about which Madeleine Albright, the then-U.S. ambassador to the U.N. commented, “I think this is a very hard choice, but the price, we think the price is worth it” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 190). Government policy documents and news media reports explained the necessity of the Iraq bombardment and the imposing of sanctions.

Across different civilizations, fragmentation is cultural (Huntington, 1996; Sharabi, 1992). Within civilizations, however, there exists unity. “People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups, religious communities, nations, and at the broadest level, civilization”
The world system has been based on European dominance as a global unifying system, but cultures and civilizations have not become a holistic world civilization (Sharabi, 1992). People trying to maintain their cultural, social, and religious way of life would not accept democracy, the American version of social control over society, thus depriving them of “opportunities to develop a humanity that is based on self-consciousness” (Flores, 2017, p. 11). Forcing American hegemony and the American way of life on others creates tensions between oppressed populations and reinforces the partnership among the American elite, fearing the loss of hegemonic power on the local, national, and global stage, and their Third World client states (Flores). Patriarchal societies share similar structures and lead to a hybrid European-dominated structural system fused with traditional patriarchy. Sharabi (1992) termed this amalgamation “neopatriarchy.” A genuine European-dominated or traditional, conservative society did not materialize in Arab, Hindu, or Chinese societies (Sharabi). Neopatriarchy became the global norm.

Before the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the world was divided into two camps, the West and the East or Communist Bloc. In the post-Cold War world, global realignment after the fall of Soviet communism and distinctions among peoples came to the fore and were cultural (Huntington, 1996). In Islamic societies, with Islam’s claim to universality as a community (*ummah*) and humanity (Ahmed, 2004; Tibi, 1998), a new perspective or discourse evolved. Islamic societies “all share a worldview that can best be described as an Islamic *Weltanschauung*” (Tibi, 1998, p. 5).

For some, such a worldview was based on humanism and moral principle (Ahmed, 2004; Buck-Morss, 2003; Tibi, 1998). “On the community level, it means to fight with full moral force for economic justice, equality, and social harmony” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 50). For others,
religion was a delineation between civilizations. “Of all the objective elements which define civilizations, however, the most important is usually religion” (Huntington, 1996, p. 42). Huntington closely identified major civilizations in human history with the world’s great religions. Among the eight civilizations Huntington identified was the Judeo-Christian-inspired Western civilization and the Islamic civilization (Asad, 2007; Huntington, 1996; Mamdani, 2004). The European-dominated system spread globally through Western commercial expansion and promoted the Westernization of societies outside the West (Huntington, 1996). According to Huntington, social leaders responded in one of three ways: (a) by rejecting both modernization and Westernization, (b) embracing both (Kemalism), or (c) embracing the first and rejecting the second (Huntington, 1996, p. 72).

Following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, the relatively unified Muslim societies in the Islamic world were taken over by European colonizers, primarily the British and the French. After decolonization, leaders sought to imitate the Western model and embraced Westernization in the hope of modernizing and thus becoming “civilized” (Ahmed, 2004; Rahman, 1992; Sayyid, 2003). Examples of the implementation of Kemalism included Ataturk in Turkey, Amanullah in Afghanistan, the Shah in Iran (both senior and junior), and Jinnah in Pakistan (Ahmed, 2004).

The common values to which most civilizations aspire become the bedrock of a universal civilization (Huntington, 1996). The assumptions, values, and doctrines currently held by many people in Western culture and spread to other cultures, include: (a) consumption patterns, (b) education, and (c) popular culture, which Huntington calls the “Davos Culture” (Huntington, 1996, p. 57). Western education has contributed to Westernized elites in non-Western civilizations. Westernized elites, encouraged by Western advisors in economics, put their trust
and faith in market forces to solve society’s problems. A network of private institutions such as the Heritage Foundation in the United States, the Adam Smith Institute in the United Kingdom, the Kiel Economics Institute in Germany, and the Fraser Institute in Canada advise and consult Islamic governments as well as global institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Ahmed, 2004). The assumption is that close attention to capitalism’s propagated values of discipline, sobriety, and hard work, if followed, should overcome any challenges (Ahmed, 2004). Chomsky (1989) noted that the guiding principles of the West were encouraged by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the fight against fascism: (a) freedom of speech, (b) freedom of worship, (c) freedom from want, and (d) freedom from fear. Chomsky described a fifth freedom: “the freedom to rob, exploit and to dominate, to undertake any course of action to ensure that existing privilege is protected and advanced” (p. 7). In Western industrial societies a tension exists where the locus of power sits—the people, or state and private corporations. Any resolution of this tension comes in the form of forcefully eliminating public interference with state and private power by depriving democratic political structures of substantive content, with ideological institutions channeling thought and attitudes, a form of thought control conducted through the media and related elite intellectual culture (Chomsky, 1989a).

Not all members of Islamic societies subscribe to Westernization. More-orthodox leaders oppose (Ahmed, 2004) as would those who challenge lost freedom or dignity (Sayyid, 2003). Muslims appreciate the spirit of tolerance, optimism, and the drive for self-knowledge in the postmodern West but also recognize “the threat it poses them with its cynicism and irony. This is a challenge to the faith and piety which lies at the core of their worldview” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 7). In the Islamic world, adaptation à la Kemalism has “failed to gain roots there” (Tibi, 1998, p. 7).
After gaining independence, Muslim leaders in Syria, Iraq, and Iran borrowed Western ideas (from Europe and the U.S.) as well as Eastern ideas (from the Soviet Union) of development and implemented them in order to modernize. The price was political, as Islamic states divided into the Cold War’s East versus West spheres of influence. The outcome was brutal despots, authoritarian regimes led by ruling dynastic families, and Westernized elites that were far removed from the masses (Ahmed, 2004; Tibi, 1998). The materialist model, “whether Marxist at one end of the spectrum or capitalist at the other,” failed. Failure of the materialist models and the secular nation states “feed Islamic revivalism” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 36; Tibi, 1998).

The decline of communism in the East, the crisis of meaning plaguing the West, and the failure of the Westernized elites locally to make Western ideas palatable to the masses helped pave the way for the Islamic Arab World to pose their competing challenge to Western modernity and Western hegemony (Tibi, 1998). Islamic ideas are not restricted to national or regional boundaries (Tibi, 1998; Sayyid, 2003) or ethnicity (Sayyid, 2003) because Islam as a religion and its interpretation is universal and well established among the globally dispersed Muslims (Sayyid, 2003). However, Western culture, as the globalization process unfolded, was more competitive, and challenged Islam. Although universal, Islam was not able to spread the da’wa (Islamic mission) throughout the modern world (Tibi, 1998).

Contemporary Muslims often agree that the West had deprived Islam of its core function, that is, to lead humanity (Tibi, 1998). Flores (2017) reminded us that the Middle East is a collection of nation states created by colonialist powers during the Sykes–Picot Agreement whose objective was to create markets for Europe to exploit. Islamists use violent extremism against the Western world to allow Muslims to rule their countries. The biggest threats to the United States included “indigenous nationalism” (Chomsky, 1989b, p. 16) that “might inspire
democratizing tendencies that would undermine the dictatorships which the U.S. relies on to control the people of the region” (p. 17). The Western models have failed and Tibi (1998) submitted that Islamists sought to replace current Western ideas imposed on nation states with a “comprehensive system emanating from religious principles and embracing law, polity, society, economy, and culture” (Buck-Morss, 2003; Tibi, 1998, p. 13). Such a worldview, if realized, would compete with Western universalism. In addition to the geopolitical importance of the Middle East in the world and the prospect of a Pan Arab Islamic state, as opposed to the array of secular nation-states in the region, a clear challenge is apparent to the exclusively secular basis of legitimacy in the Western tradition (Ahmed, 2004; Buck-Morss, 2003; Tibi, 1998). “We can also recognize how threatening such an economic union, were it to seriously challenge the orthodoxy of a ‘free’ market, would be to the hegemony of neo-liberalism within the global economy” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 50). Thus, a dichotomy exists between the current hegemonic Western World and a potential Islamic Arab and broader Islamic World or ummah whose masses are critical of the West.

Both Tibi (1998) and Huntington (1996) saw the revival of religion as a global phenomenon. Huntington proclaimed that the conflict between cultures was a clash replacing the Cold War rivalry of the superpowers. Intra-cultural clashes would develop because of conflicting political ideas “spawned by the West” (Huntington, 1996, p. 54). Tibi (1998), in comparison, proclaimed inter-cultural conflict as political rather than religious.

Huntington (1996) explained that German thinkers “drew a sharp distinction between civilization, which involved mechanics, technology, and material factors, and culture, which involved values, ideals, and the higher intellectual artistic, moral qualities of a society” (p. 41). Huntington’s definition of civilization was reduced in true positivistic fashion to combining the
German civilization and culture into one so that “a civilization is a cultural entity” (p. 41). For Huntington, material factors and moral values and ideals are one. Chomsky (1989) proposed that the four freedoms—of speech, worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—are in contradiction to the fifth freedom, to exploit and dominate. The U.S. government doctrine and practice in the world is based on applying the fifth freedom and such action entails that “the state must spin an elaborate web of illusion and deceit, with the collaboration of the ideological institutions that generally serve its interests” (p. 8). Chomsky’s fifth freedom and Huntington’s reduction facilitated the discourse to a view of binary oppositions between a Western worldview and the critical Islamic Arab World.

The plenitude of the West was contrasted with the lack of the Orient; the West had rationality, the Orient was irrational; the West had tolerance, the Orient was fanatical; the West was progressive, the Orient was traditional; and so on. Islam is consistently identified with the negative and antithetical terms. (Sayyid, 2003, p. 33)

The role of serious academic historians and political leaders was to “deceive the public, for their own good” (Chomsky, 1989, p. 8) and so engage in “historical engineering” and “explaining the issues of the war that we might the better win it” (p. 8) regardless of the facts.

Edward Said noted that “I believe the major political and intellectual disasters were caused by reductive movements that tried to simplify and purify” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 457). Western discourse headed by “the Empire” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 7) built on binary oppositions. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) suggested another set of binaries: “hatred and nobility; heroes and villains,” which simplified and purified but “removed Americans from history, while in their lack of specificity vilified the Islamic other” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 4). Ahmed (2004) described the outcome as two “mutually uncomprehending systems
In his book *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said argued that the West looked at the Islamic world through a Western lens that sought to exploit rather than understand. The West imposed its own values rather than trying to understand the “other” (Sayyid, 2003; Tibi, 1998). By using its power and knowledge, the West was trying to domesticate the Islamic Arab World (Sayyid). The construction of fundamentalism was a necessary “other” in the binary discourse. There has to be an enemy of democracy in a country where the U.S. tries to establish democracy and the “reflex device is to label the indigenous enemy communist, whatever their social commitments and political allegiances may be” (Chomsky, 1989a, p. 153). If “the enemies of democracy are not communists then they are terrorists” (p. 157). Fundamentalism allowed “the abnormality and extremism” of fundamentalism to be contrasted with the moderation and reasonableness of Western hegemony” (Sayyid, 2003, p. 31). Other binaries included on the one hand the West being depicted as rational, developed, humane, and superior, with the Orient being aberrant, underdeveloped, and inferior (Mamdani, 2004). Two other “truisms” noted by Said in *Orientalism* were that the Orient lives by the Qur’an and does not respond to the changing demands of life and that the Orient is something to be feared or controlled (Mamdani, 2004). Flores (2017) observed that the American elite fear losing hegemonic control over their society “or ideas of what their society should be” (p. 21).

Although propagating the contemporary Western worldview spearheaded by the Empire, “the right-wing story about the contemporary world situation conveniently omits the last 500 years of European colonialism, the anti-colonial movements around the world beginning in the post-World War II era” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 11). An example of “historical
“engineering” was the propagation of the meaning of *jihad*. Terms such as *jihad*, in modern Western thought, are put in the context of the Crusades and a Holy War with the aim of depicting Islam as violent (Asad, 2007; Huntington, 1996; Mamdani, 2004) rather than the more Islamic interpretation of *jihad* as struggle:

> On three levels, only one of which—a last resort, least pleasing to God—is violent. On the community level, it means to fight with full moral force for economic justice, equality, and social harmony—not only for the nation, but for the entire Islamic World.  
> (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 50)

Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) suggested that prevalent Islamic studies are dominated by scholars with ethnocentric assumptions citing Samuel P. Huntington’s *The Clash of Civilizations: Remaking of World Order* (1996) as the most popular. Edward Said noted that “there’s a huge amount of ‘learned’ material, by Bernard Lewis and others, on ‘the rage of Islam’ or ‘the madness of Arabs.’ It is neither scholarship nor history. It is demagoguery” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 351). In Chomsky’s (1989) words, “The responsibility of the serious academic historian and political scientist, as of political leaders, is to deceive the public, for their own good” (p. 8)

Perhaps this is the price of competition between Western and Islamic Arab civilizations. Chomsky (1989) suggested that the “vocation of the powerful constantly assumes new forms and new disguises, as the supportive culture passes through varying stages of moral cowardice and intellectual corruption” (p. 10). In the West, ethnocentric assumptions about Islam became “sanctified as the findings of the old masters” and, according to scholars in the field, “quite authoritarian and aggressively resisted criticism” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 21). In Said and Viswanathan (2001), Edward Said suggested that “the world of Islam has always been a
historical competitor, and it has never capitulated” (p. 288). Islam “is the only non-European culture that has never been completely vanquished” (p. 391). In the global discourse of Islam on terrorism the binary aspect of the term has come to be projected as a cruel, violent extremist on one side and a freedom fighter on the other. The discourse has become hegemonic internationally and used by local authoritarian regimes (Sayyid, 2003). Objectively examining Islam and the term “terrorism” one needs to look deeply into the cultural sphere. Culture is constantly and profoundly shaped by “discursive, ideological, linguistic, social, cultural, political, economic, and historical contexts” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. xx).

An example of an Islamist revolution that managed to stand on its own feet and survive Western hegemony (such as the CIA coup that inaugurated the dictatorship of the Shah in the 1950s) and subsequently resist it (so far) is the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) experience over the last four decades. Buck-Morss (2003) noted that the Iranian revolution “constituted a new Muslim subjectivity” (p. 46), modern and independent of the West. The IRI was anti-communist, nationalist and determined to act independently of any foreign influences (Mamdani, 2004). Chomsky (1989b) noted that Israel could not confront Iranian power and has been “trying to stir up a U.S. confrontation with Iran, and ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ and recognized the threat of a Syria–Iran axis” (p. 18). Chomsky (1998b) asserted that the propaganda campaign on Islamic fundamentalism that has “the most extreme Islamic fundamentalist state in the world is the loyal U.S. ally Saudi Arabia . . . the family dictatorship that serves as the Arab façade behind which the U.S. effectively controls the Arabian Peninsula” (p. 18). Ironically, the development of the political Islam that inspired the revolution was not religious but the work of a non-clerical intellectual, Ali Sharīʻatī (Mamdani, 2004).
Prior to the 1979 revolution, Ali Sharī‘atī’s lectures “awakened new interest and confidence in Islam, not merely as a private form of worship, but as a total worldview, fully autonomous, superior to the creeds and ideologies of past and present, and bearing in its heart a revolutionary mission” (Sharī‘atī, 1980, p. 8). Khomeini did not try to justify his political theory in terms of Western thought and thus escaped Western hegemony (Buck-Morss, 2003; Sayyid, 2003). Rather, Islamic modernity arose from within Iranian society (Mamdani, 2004). Ali (2002) went so far as to equate the occurrence as large as the victory of Protestant fundamentalism in seventeenth-century England, noting that the revolution was “a revolt against History, against the Enlightenment, ‘Euromania,’ ‘Westoxification’” (p. 131). Recognizing the magnitude of the event, Ali (2002) maintained that Foucault “became the most visible European defender of the Islamic Republic” (p. 131). Thus, Khomeini and the Iranian version of political Islam was able to adjust from an opposition against the U.S.-installed regime of the Shah to a counter-hegemonic movement (Sayyid, 2003).

From the Islamic perspective, the Iranian revolution pointed to two important lessons. The first was the importance of an intellectually knowledgeable society; the second was the creation of a discursive space that enabled the engagement of the larger society. In the Islamic World after the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a “high-level and creative philosophical tradition persisted only in Iran, where it has remained unbroken till the present” (Rahman, 1982, p. 35). Another key insight was noted by Sayyid (2003): “as long as Islamic political thinkers are locked in a (one-sided) conversation with Western political thought, they remain locked in a logic in which there is no space for anything other than the West” (p. 114). The “other” was excluded in the discourse.
In the United States, two faces of political Islam emerged: (a) a popular revolutionary version, and (b) an elitist version (Mamdani, 2004). The revolutionary version saw mass participation and social movements as critical to their success and independence. In contrast, the elitist version distrusted popular participation and sought to contain and control it. Western discourse sought to identify the “revolutionary face of political Islam with Iran and the Shi’a sect in Islam, and the elitist face with majority Sunni pro-American regimes such as those in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 122). In both the popular and the elitist version, Islamists were able to attract the masses and gain popular support by combining “the deconstructionist logic of the postmodern critique of modernity with an attempt to speak from another center, outside the orbit of the West” (Sayyid, 2003, p. 120).

The previous section of the dissertation looked at the Western discourse on the terrorism phenomenon. In this section, the sociocultural critical perspective is further deconstructed with an examination of the Islamic Arab critique as it is perceived to provide the West with a most urgent contemporary challenge. Analysis of history, political ideology and secularism, power, secular values versus religious values, modernity, media, and Islamic scholarship in the context of a sociocultural critical perspective was attempted. Through this critical discourse, additional information on the term “terrorism” might add to the scholarly discourse on this term. As proclaimed by Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010), “understanding and addressing the genesis of terrorism and anti-American sentiments in the world should not constitute a controversial act” (p. 19).

History

The colonial history of the Middle East explains the present challenges of the region. “Without knowing the past, it is impossible to understand what is happening today” (Ali, 2003,
The past involves what Sharabi (1992) called “neopatriarchy,” the marriage between modernity and traditional patriarchy resulting in an inauthentic modernity. It was the direct outcome of modern Europe’s colonization of the patriarchal Arab world. Sharabi advanced the view that, except for Japan, all cultural modernization occurred under “dependant” inauthentic conditions. Western imperialism was a key driver in the European project of modernism (Ahmed, 2004). Because of the power imbalance, the result was European domination on one side and subordination on the other; cultural development was no longer borrowing and transmitting between equals (Sharabi).

The European discourse and narrative reflected the more advanced and therefore “truer” reality and was imposed on the Arab and Islamic World. “European civilization” was based on the influences of the Roman Empire, Christianity, the Enlightenment, and industrialization (Asad, 2003), events Muslim society has not experienced. It became powerful enough to “impose” a profound structural transformation (Sharabi, 1992) in the region. Further Muslim isolation was due to the rejection of the ancient Greeks “whereas the other great monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity, interacted with them” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 38).

Imposing European civilization in terms of lasting colonial structures had profound implications in the Arab World. Egypt was a model for other Arab nations, given its history as one of the great civilizations. It was then, and still is, the most populous Arab country in the Middle East. The term um al dunya literally meaning “the mother of the temporal world” is widely used in layman’s discourse in all Arab countries, which points to its significance in the Arab Muslim World.

Tracing the structural workings of colonialism in Egyptian society indicates, in part, the workings of neopatriarchy. Asad (2003) noted that secularism (almaniyyah) did not exist in Egypt.
prior to modernity, and the term “to secularize” had no Arabic equivalent. Almana, the Arabic equivalent, was invented recently. Gradually, the role of the shari’a jurisdiction (the system of practical reason morally binding on each faithful Muslim and the individual theologically) was narrowed and replaced by imported European legal codes (Asad). At the time, both Westerners and Egyptians saw the imposition of European legal procedures in nineteenth-century Egypt as aspects of becoming “civilized.” “The march from premodern chaos to modern order was initiated by Europeans and overseen at first by them and later by Europeanized Egyptians” (Asad, 2003, p. 211).

Secularization and modernization “took over” society with the shari’a restricted to “matters of personal status and to areas where it could be clearly and easily codified” and “maintained by the centralizing state” (Asad, 2003, p. 219). Ijtihad, the institutionalized practice of interpreting the shari’a to account for changing historical circumstances and, therefore, different points of view, “was made to mean the general exercise of free reason, or independent opinion” (p. 219). The orientalist definition of the static nature of ijtihad (that “the gates of ijtihad were closed”) was challenged by recent scholarship which argued that “change was always important to the shari’a and its flexibility was retained through such technical devices as urf (custom), maslaha (public interest), and darura (necessity)” (Asad, 2003, p. 221).

The Egyptian example was implemented in other countries in the Arab World. Depending on the colonizer, either British or French legal codes were imported, implemented, and upheld by Westernized elites. In my own experience in Lebanon and Syria, then French colonies, it was the French legal code. In the United Arab Emirates, it was the British. Asad (2003) suggested that such social and cultural changes created the preconditions to secular modernity. Social spaces that initially belonged to the shari’a were codified in legal terms so that
they could be easily governed or controlled. The political authority of the nation-state acted as security, the freedom of market exchange was established, and the moral authority of the family moved in such a way that the state had a say (Asad, 2003). The European sociocultural and socioeconomic narrative in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was accepted over the local in the social, cultural, political, and economic arenas (Saffari, 2017). European and secular codes regulated the secular lifeworld, while morality remained largely rooted in Islamic tradition (Asad, 2003).

The European history of violence and cruelty necessitated a secular society. In European history, the “historical process of constructing a humane secular society, it is said, has aimed at eliminating cruelties” (Asad, 2003, p. 109). Modern legal, administrative, and educational practices were major instruments of secularism. European religious wars, the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Spain, the cruel powers of the twentieth century, Nazi Germany, Stalin’s Russia, Imperial Japan, the Khmer Rouge, Mao’s China (Asad, 2003) and Protestant and Catholic fundamentalism over native tribes in the colonization of America and the Spanish conquest of South America generally led to mass killings and slavery (Ali, 2002). As a result of the post-Holocaust history, Judaism, “a prominent other who lived inside Europe” became “an integral part of Europe” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 35). Islam was, and in Europe still is, the “prominent other” (p. 35). Ali (2002) noted the historic irony that many of the Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal were granted refuge in the predominantly Muslim Ottoman Empire and settled in Istanbul, Baghdad, Cairo, and Damascus. My Syrian grandmother frequently spoke kindly of her Jewish neighbours. Similarly, in Beirut and before the Lebanese Civil War of 1975, there was a small Jewish community.
Huntington (1996) credited the rise of the West as being propelled by a strong and autonomous aristocracy, substantial peasantry, and solid class of merchants and traders. These gradually evolved into secular representative bodies which later become parliaments and other institutions to represent the interests of the aristocracy, clergy, traders, and other groups. With modernization, the institutions evolved into institutions of modern democracy. The colonial imposition of European institutions and structures in the Middle East failed to take hold and Huntington (1996) suggested that “this failure has its source at least in part in the inhospitable nature of Islamic culture and society to Western liberal concepts” (p. 114).

Ahmed (2004) explained that balance is essential to Islamic societies. “The crucial balance is between din (religion) and dunya (temporal world); it is a balance, not a separation, between the two” (p. 49). The neopatriarchy imposed on Arab Islamic lands with the help of Westernized elites disrupted this crucial balance and tilted it heavily towards secularism and the dunya. Religion, Islam in this case, rather than acting as an effective counterbalance, “was controlled by the ruling class and the clerical class that had essentially grown up within the ruling order” (Sharīʿatī, 1980, p. 105). At the same time, “once Islam was free from traditional institutional arrangements, emptied of any political use yet still widely dispersed within cultural life, it became available for articulations of political resistance to the postcolonial order” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 45). Islam started to morph into a “counter-hegemonic discursive field” (p. 45) in which the dissatisfied masses expressed their secular demands but also became a “means by which interests and identities were formed” (p. 45). As perhaps the “significant other,” how is such counter-hegemonic discourse portrayed by Western media?

Neopatriarchal societies in the Arab and Muslim Worlds exist today. The schizophrenic schism between din and dunya persists. Buck-Morss (2003) proposed that the different historical
discourse of raising issues of modernity and the parameters of the theoretical discussions set by Islamists and the West are the key to understanding and interpreting this schism. The discourse, however, is currently “set by the West” (p. 44). The demise of the communist discourse as a viable ideology of social transformation at the end of the Cold War (Sayyid, 2003) and the positioning of “the U.S. national security state as a war machine” necessitated that the “Empire” “have a localizable enemy for its powers to appear legitimate”. There should be a threat to the “Empire”, so it may fight off that threat so that “the enemy disappears” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 30).

Islam represents a viable enemy as well as a threat. “In the post-Cold War framework, the icon of the Muslim terrorist represents the general Islamic threat to U.S. global dominance. It is the first time in world history that a single Empire has become hegemonic” (Ali, 2003, p. 172). After the fall of the “‘evil empire’ of the Communist Bloc, the Islamic threat fills the enemy vacuum quite effectively” (Flores, 2017; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 13). Asad (2007) concluded that the United States simply took over from the European colonizers and has continued the interventionist tradition “with its own strategic and economic interests in the Middle East and has invoked new justifications for intervention in the present” (p. 13). Chomsky’s (1989) suggestions regarding the need to deceive the public or to justify action to uphold the fifth freedom would be an example of needed intervention in the Middle East.

Religious revivalism with a political edge has emerged in many cultures and Ahmed (2004) saw American imperialism as a major cause. Mamdani (2004) noted that the era of post-Cold War globalization “is marked by the ascendancy and rapid politicizing of a single term: culture” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 17). Said noted that “a serious historical investigation must begin with the fact that culture is hopelessly involved in politics” (as cited in Ali, 2006, p. 10).
Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) declared that “to some extent, all political positions are historical interpretations” (p. 19). Many in the West do not understand the violence of Islamic groups because they view it in the historical narrative of the West, in Orientalist terms, rather than its own history in the “proper sense” (Asad, 2007). From a Western lens such violence is referred to as violence of a “totalitarian religious tradition” inherently hostile to democracy and “irrational as well as being an international threat” (p. 8).

Who controls the discursive future? Sayyid (2003) noted that the conflict of logic between Islamism and eurocentrism is about “how to write the history of the future” (Sayyid, 2003, p. 159). As Chomsky (1989) asserted, the facts of current history must be presented “in a proper light” using “historical engineering” (p. 8) with the support of the West’s wealth, power, and the cooperation of its ideological institutions. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) suggested “the perception of Islam as the ‘enemy’ is a social construction of Westerners, especially Americans” (p. 23). “Palestinians and their organizations, and the Arabs more generally, have been portrayed in terms of violence, terrorism, irrationality,” and in the standard media, “the Arab terrorist is routinely contrasted with the heroic Israeli” (Chomsky, 1989b, p. 43). Political Islam was born in the colonial period, but terrorist movements came into being during the Cold War (Mamdani, 2004). The Cold War had one victor, the United States. It could be suggested that the writing of the history of the future is taking place in black and white rather than in the context of an all-inclusive cultural diversity. As noted by Edward Said, “because the nature of culture itself is diversity and hybridity and mixtures, rather than one thing” (as cited in Ali, 2006, p. 103), keeping their respective discourse separate is really “about maintaining the status quo” (p. 104). Are the black and white discursive practices discernible in the Western news media and government policy documents?
The key colonial incentive to expand Western ways globally was modernization. In many civilizations, modernization was accepted as necessary for social progress. In the Western historical discourse, capitalism was an essential transformative social element producing political and economic conditions of dependent capitalism (Sharabi, 1992). Capitalism has created a single market since its inception in the eighteenth century, and during its institutionalization in the nineteenth century it has transcended revolutions, wars, national liberation, or a combination of these. In the twentieth century it remains triumphant and the main reposito of wealth and uncontrolled military power (Ali, 2002). The Third World’s role is to serve industrial capitalist centers by providing raw materials and markets and “must be exploited for the reconstruction and development of Western capitalism, as secret documents frankly explain” (Chomsky, 1989a, p. 98). Under neopatriarchy, such dependent capitalism clothed in modernity was perceived as a form of hegemony of the West. Chomsky (1989b), writing in the 1980s, spoke of the “Ottomanization” of the region, its fragmentation “into ethnic-religious communities, preferably mutually hostile” (p. 767), with Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and the Arabian Peninsula “being dismembered into smaller “factors,” religious and ethnic, as in the Levant during the Ottoman period” (p. 767). The “breakdown of the national state system,” an alien implantation by colonial powers, “has given rise to endless turmoil and suffering” self-perpetuating instability and suffering analogous to the centuries prior to nation formation in Europe. Are the recent events in the Middle East and the Arab Spring a realization of Chomsky’s prediction of the consistent hegemony of the West? Are such hegemonic discursive practices evident in textual news media and government policy documents when looking at the term “terrorism?”
**Modernity**

Scholars such as Bernard Lewis and Michael Walzer believed that the cause of terrorism was the failure of Muslim countries to modernize (Asad, 2007). Ahmed (2004) described modernism as the most recent phase of world history characterized by a belief in science, planning, secularism, and progress. Huntington (1996) proposed that at the social level, countries that modernized were more powerful because their economic, military, and political capabilities were enhanced.

In the postmodern notion, Western societies is “a sense of the fragmentary, ambiguous and uncertain nature of living in the context of a speed-up in its apparent pace” but “do not necessarily represent a sharp break with the modern” but a “blurring of modern historical, aesthetic, and cultural boundaries” (Barker, 2004, p. 157). Barker (2004) defined postmodernism as “a cultural style marked by intertextuality, irony, pastiche, genre blurring, and bricolage” (p.156). Baudrillard and Jameson spoke of contemporary culture as being depthless and meaningless with the modern distinctions between real and the unreal, the public and the private, art and reality as having broken down. Others, Hebdige, McRobbie, Kellner noted that postmodernism as collapsing boundaries with representation becoming problematic as a result. In the context of consumer culture, “we act as self-conscious bricoleurs selecting and arranging elements of material commodities and meaningful signs into a personal style” so that the postmodern “can be read as the democratization of culture and of a new individual and political possibilities” (p. 157).

At the individual level, modernization generated “feelings of alienation and anomie as traditional bonds and social relations are broken and lead to crises of identity to which religion provides an answer” (p. 76). Flores (2017) suggested that oppression due to control by a superior
hegemonic authority leads to alienation, disenfranchisement, servitude, humiliation, shame, disgrace, and inferiority, leading an oppressed person to feel less than human in the society they live in.

Sharabi (1992) explained the term “modernization” as having three forms: (a) a “structural” form, (b) a “totalizing process” form, and (c) a “consciousness” form. As noted earlier, Kemalism sought to adopt modernization by imitating the West in all three forms and moulding Arab and Islamic societies to project modernity in the Western sense (Ahmed, 2004). “Modern’ was translated by Muslim leaders as the drive to acquire Western education, technology and industry” (p. 31). Islamic nations looked to the West and discussed democracy and representative government. Some looked to the communist countries and Moscow for guidance on modernization and imported ideas of secularism, socialism, and state-controlled industrialization (Ahmed, 2004).

In theory, democracy and democratic institutions concentrate power in the hands of elected representatives. Markets are increasingly taking over regulatory functions in areas of life that had been held together by political structures or forms of communication. There is a marked reduction in the citizens’ field of action compared to the private realm (Habermas & Schuller, 2006). Elected representatives use effective power to determine the course and functioning of major social institutions (Chomsky, 1989a). To democratize the social order, a democratic communications policy is a central component. Such a concentrated and centralized communications policy maintains the concentration of the decision-making power of the state-corporate nexus (Chomsky, 1989a). Popular movements or the masses dedicated to values that are suppressed or driven to the margins in the social order such as community, solidarity, the
environment, independent thought, and true democratic participation in various aspects of life have no place in modern societies.

In Orientalist terms, the Western perspective perceived Muslim societies as incapable of modernizing, hostile, and resistant to modernity (Saffari, 2017). Huntington (1996) suggested the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is a response that is taking place between civilizations and cultures. Mamdani (2004) proposed that fundamentalism and modernity were related but the struggle is within religion, not between religions. The struggle within is between liberal and conservative forms of religion, with the latter seeing the liberal version as accommodating an “aggressive secular power” (p. 39).

Mamdani (2004) put forward that “fundamentalism is as modern as modernity, [and] actually a response to modernity” (p. 61). Asad (2003) described modernity as a political-economic project with terrorism “an epistemological object in modern society” (p. 2) that needed theorization as to what it is and how it can be pre-empted. Edward Said reminded us that “representations are a form of human economy, in a way, and necessary to life in society and, in a sense, between societies” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 42). An important consideration is to “determine why the idea of “modernity” (or the West) has become hegemonic as a political goal, what practical consequences follow from that hegemony, and what social conditions maintain it” (Asad, 2003, p. 13). Is the jargon of terrorism an attempt to propel modernity, as a political-economic project, to “attempt to construct categories of the secular and the religious in terms of which modern living is required to take place, and non-modern peoples are invited to assess their adequacy?” Such representations of “secular” or “religious” “mediate people’s identities, help shape their sensibilities, and guarantee their experiences” (Asad, 2003, p. 14). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) submitted that “modernity has involved a radical change in the nature of social
practices and in the relations between social practices” (p. 42). The ways “in which the moment of discourse is articulated with other moments in social practices are radically changed” (p. 42). The way in which power internalizes discourse and discourse internalizes power has been transformed. Another complication is the change in context. Face-to-face discourse shares a context whereas news writers and letter writers have different contexts. A reduction in shared knowledge and a narrowing of the range of symbolic resources available for making and interpreting meaning has taken place in modern times. A dominant feature of modernity is the rise of mediated mass communication through books, newspapers, radio, and television, when the co-involvement of many dispersed people is added to the time-space distance of mediated interaction. The dominant players are the institutional and organizational contexts of the modern social systems: the economy and the state on one hand, and the contexts in which people live their ordinary lives on the other hand. Meanwhile, the links between system and lifeworld are separating in modern societies, i.e., the uncoupling of the lifeworld and the system (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

Another aspect of modernity is that the social consciousness has become externalized. People rely on specialized systems and experts to organize information, know-how, and ways of reasoning, thus drawing people into the social relations of capitalism. Magazines and lifestyles are commodities that can be consumed. Such commodities are sellable by adjusting the sales pitch or conversational discourse so that the sale can take place (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In other words, the conversation or discourse can be “appropriated and transformed in diverse and unpredictable ways, and undesirable ways from the perspective of those who are selling the commodity” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 45). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) explained that “there is always a dialectic of colonization [and] appropriation” (p. 45).
The outcome is dependent on how the moment of discourse is dialectically connected to other moments in a particular social practice.

Sharabi (1992) suggested that dependency relations between civilizations do not lead to modernity because of unequal power distribution but because of “modernized” patriarchy or neopatriarchy. Ahmed (2004) described such a situation as “cultural schizophrenia” (p. 32). Sharabi described it as “neopatriarchy's schizophrenic duality” (p. 7). Militant and politicized Islamic fundamentalism spread among the Arab masses (not the elites) because of this schizophrenic duality (Sharabi). The larger Arab society, the nonpatriarchal society, was neither displaced nor truly modernized but maintained its steady deformed “hybrid sort of society [or] culture” of the present (p. 4).

The nonpatriarchal society remained weak, neither developed nor modern. Its political and economic structures, nevertheless, gave the false external impression of modernity. Such a society was impotent, dependent, non-modern, lacking an inner force, organization, and consciousness which, if addressed, would define it as modern (Sharabi, 1992). Sharabi suggested that “fundamentalism in the form of an antimodernist, Utopian patriarchalism, sees itself as the legitimate successor of the disintegrating nonpatriarchal status quo” (p. 13). For the Arab masses, modernization was seen in the Muslim world as “a task of cultural submission” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 44).

Such detail and complexity were often overlooked by Western powers. In a clearer good/evil and black/white binary tradition, and on launching the Iraq War, President George W. Bush, “a born-again Christian fundamentalist . . . aware of the wickedness of ancient Babylon” (Ali, 2003, p. 26) declared: “Either you are with us or against us” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 27). When the imagined political landscape and its resultant hegemony is under attack it is easier to
rally democratic citizens with a simple binary argument, rather than a complex discourse reflecting the reality of a diverse global multitude (Buck-Morss). The vicious cycle of “terror produced terror” (p. 27) set in.

The powerful national security state, albeit without democratic oversight, can come to the defence of its citizens. Mamdani (2004) reminded us that when a discourse “harnesses one or another aspect of tradition and culture, terrorism needs to be understood as a modern political movement at the service of a modern power” (p. 62). What is revoked or harnessed because of modern power, Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) noted that “from the Crusades and colonialism the Europeans ‘learned’ that Muslims were barbaric, ugly, zealous, and ignorant. Such perceptions allowed a moral justification to the European colonial project around the world” (p. 20). The project is continuing with the United States in the lead. What is omitted is the historical mixing of Christians, Jews, and Muslims with opposing currents that have existed in all three religions and numerous and Golden Periods such as in Islamic Spain. Saladin’s taking of Jerusalem following the Crusades was not followed by revenge killings, but the city was declared an open city with churches untouched and synagogues rebuilt with state subsidies and freedom of the city for worshippers of all faiths (Ali, 2002).

On closer scrutiny, the resurgent Islam, and scholars such as Abul Al’a Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, and Ali Sharī‘atī challenged the pillars of Western modernity. Buck-Morss (2003) noted that in the West, members of the Frankfurt School and the European Marxists raised similar concerns with regard to the “impoverished tradition of instrumental reason, possessive individualism, and lack of social consciousness” (p. 99). Sharī‘atī (1980) pointed out that “humanity became the hapless victim sacrificed to the unchecked powers that brought science, technique, and everyday life into orbit around their maddening and continually growing greed
and search for profits” (p. 92). Sayyid (2003) agreed and noted that the Islamic resurgence pointed out the limits of the “Age of Europe” and the “universality of the West” (p. 5).

**Political Versus Religious Ideology**

Many scholars differentiate between religious practice and religiously inspired political ideology. Tibi (1998) declared that “Islam as a faith is very different from Islamism as a contemporary political ideology of fundamentalism” (p. 19). Buck-Morss (2003) stated that “Islamism is not terrorism” and that Islamism has been politicized in a postcolonial context because its discourse on issues of social justice, legitimate power, and ethical life has challenged the hegemony of the West (p. 3). Tibi (1998) clarified the view that Islamic fundamentalism is not “simply an intra-Islamic affair, but rather one of the pillars of an emerging New World disorder” (Tibi, 1998, p. 2). The issue is not so much religion but a political ideology that in Western discourse is linked to religion (Buck-Morss, 2003; Sayyid, 2003; Tibi, 1998). Sayyid (2003) reminded us that politics “is the process by which societies arrive at a new vision of the truth, a new way of describing the good or the useful (p. 13). Religions can be politicized “so as to employ them as tools in the ‘clash of civilizations’” (p. 19).

Autocratic Arab regimes in a state of neopatriarchy could also make use of a terrorist-inspired political ideology. Sharabi (1992) suggested that politicized Islamic fundamentalism helped polarize the masses against the failed policies of the secular regimes. As a political tool, militant and politicized Islamic fundamentalism leads to disorder (Sharabi). The Arab masses want to avoid this disorder and are therefore willing to accept autocratic rule.

Politics can take advantage of ignorance and uniformed discourse. Historically, Mamdani (2004) submitted that the “notion of a Judeo-Christian civilization crystallized as a post-Holocaust antidote to anti-Semitism” and proposed differentiating between fundamentalism as a
religious identity and political identities that use religious slogans (p. 36). Political identities such as political Christianity and political Islam are formed through direct engagement with modern forms of power” (p. 36).

The features that religion and politics have come to represent are clearly drawn from Western models: “politics” in the sense of both ideology and practice (Sharabi, 1992), and “religion” based on Western Christianity as a model (Sayyid, 2003). In a sense, both terms are constructs that evolved in meaning and are a historical product of Western discursive processes. Religion in the Western discourse is separate from society and is private. In the Islamic discourse, religion and the temporal world are balanced. Individualism, as propagated by the West, is part of the secular discourse and a foundational value; in the Eastern community, collaboration is foundational.

Unequal arrangements of global power influence the discourse, meaning, and therefore reality, one way or the other. Ali (2002) suggested that Islam has always been open and has prospered through contact with other traditions, especially Judaism and Christianity. Buck-Morss (2003) noted that if taken up as a discourse of political opposition, Islam “is capable of playing the role that ‘reason’ does in the Western discourse of the Frankfurt School” and “just as in Western critical theory, the great defenders of reason are those who criticize the rationalization of society in reason’s name” (p. 47). For the research study, sociocultural critical theory serves as a discourse of political opposition as does the Frankfurt School and, as an alternative, the prominent hegemonic Western discourse in the Islamic Arab World and the broader global Islamic World.

The current discourse is different and polarized. As Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) propounded, “the ideology that there is an inevitable clash of civilizations between Western
Christian nations and Eastern Islamic and Confucian societies is injected into the discourse of U.S. foreign policy” (p. 21). The discourse is not evenly balanced but based on a “clash of civilizations ideology” (p. 21) so that the United States’ cultural superiority can be perceived as under attack, giving it the mandate to intervene globally as the global policeman and “help instal governments favourable to U.S. economic and geo-political interests” (p. 21) while maintaining world order. Flores (2017) suggested that the current challenges of violent extremism “are the pedagogical product of—often unintentionally—America’s foreign and domestic policies (p. xvi). Herman and Chomsky (2002) termed such ideology as a “National Security ideology” (p. 124) that needed the subversive communist threat of the Cold War era (now the Islamist threat?) to depict a war between the forces of good and evil with Western military power as “protectors of Christianity, Democracy, and the Free World” (p. 124). Other discourses and exploration “[are] forbidden knowledge” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 21). Edward Said argued in Orientalism (1978) that “the interests at work in the representation of the Orient by the West were those of imperial control and were the prerogatives of power” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 237).

**Power**

A politically informed discourse propagated by power has the potential to normalize the use of power in society. “Politically, economically, and ideologically, power is what drives people to violence” (Flores, 2017, p. 113). Maintaining power justifies the use of violence and validates the use of violence by dehumanizing the victims, with the victor having sovereignty over writing the history of the future (Flores). Mamdani (2004) described terrorism as a modern political movement at the service of a modern power. Sayyid (2003) argued that power is most effective and accepted as legitimate when it is perceived as a natural way of life and is capable of
“the fashioning of a culture it its image” (Sayyid, 2003, p. xvii). Power, therefore, will become invisible to the radar of criticality. Edward Said elaborated that “webs of power constructed by and around discourse rob individuals of the capacity to resist power or rewrite it in terms that restore agency to themselves” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. xiv). Asad (2003) noted that in the complex interdependent modern world, traditional cultures do not naturally evolve into modern cultures but people “are pushed, seduced, coerced, or persuaded into trying to change themselves into something else” and this is “not possible without the exercise of political power that often presents itself as a force for redeeming ‘humanity’ from ‘traditional cultures’” (p. 154).

The Western World exercises such hegemonic power. As Ali (2003) proclaimed, “it was the unchanging face of history. Military occupation, economic exploitation, sexual and cultural humiliation had been the time-honoured methods of empires old and new” (p. 26). As posited by Herman and Chomsky (2002), the United States, post-World War II and with the establishment of 3,000 overseas bases, made one of the most dramatic external advances in power since the Roman Empire. With its leading rivals defeated or devastated, the U.S. moved “into the power vacuum left by receding colonialism, engineering the displacement of European and Asian colonial powers by clients and strenuously resisting radical changes and nationalistic movements threatening Western control” and conforming to the “demands of major U.S. economic interests” (p. 44). Client states received arms and the training of military and police personnel and, through military aid, billions of dollars’ worth of equipment. Research suggested that “U.S. aid to the Third World is positively related to terror and human rights violations” (p. 128). Such disproportionate power and the spreading influence of the U.S. sense of virtue, left America’s Western allies, satellites, and mass media subservient to the “natural right, as top dog, to intervene freely when it sees fit” (p. 133). The global system constructed on U.S. power and
control would permit U.S. business interests to thrive (Chomsky, 1989a). The strategic importance of the Middle East is based on “its immense petroleum reserves and the global power accorded by control over them; and, crucially, from the huge profits that flow to the Anglo-American rulers” (Chomsky, 1989b, p. 15). The wealth flowed to the West and “not to the people of the region” (p. 15) “through military purchases, construction projects, bank deposits, and investment in Treasury securities” (p. 61). Ali (2003) noted that oil was the reason “that necessitated the buttressing of Israel as the Prussia of the Arab East” (p. 113). The dangers of Iran instigating Shi’ite uprisings in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf states as well as the safety of the emirs and sheikhs who ruled the statelets of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia were a concern to the Americans (Ali, 2002). Just as Iran, prior to the Islamic Revolution of 1979, was the U.S. custodian in the Middle East, “if carefully nurtured and protected, Arab dynasties could become the trusted custodians of the new imperial possessions” (Ali, 2003, p. 47).

The triumph of capitalism is an enabler, with the Western world “as the main repository of wealth and the principal wielder of uncontrolled military power” (Ali, 2002, p. 3). The West obtains enough “economic muscle to create a military machine that would attempt to throttle all challenges to the world capitalist order” (Ali, 2002, p. 262). Democracy, as the American version of social control over society, if exported to other countries, supports American hegemony (Flores, 2017). Tibi (1998) suggested that the West needed the enemy it identified to be Islam “so as to ensure the continuity of its political and military unity and hegemony” (p. 2). Herman and Chomsky (2002) noted that security was an acceptable cover for contracts to exploit resources. During the Age of Terrorism, the national media could disseminate inflated claims as news without serious criticism, because it was necessary to fight “evil.” The tragic events of
9/11, however, suggested that the U.S. and Western hegemony were vulnerable (Buck-Morss, 2003) and that perhaps a change of attitude was necessary.

A military repositioning is taking place. The waging of war using non-traditional armies and methods is now “modern warfare.” In an article published in the Military Review in 2004, William S. Lind devised a framework for understanding military conflict. His framework begins in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia, a treaty that ended the Thirty Years’ War. The state subsequently established a monopoly on war and military power. Prior to the treaty, wars were waged by many entities, including families, tribes, religious groups, cities, and business enterprises. Lind (2004) noted that since 1648, modern war has evolved from a first-generation stage to the current fourth generation. The first-generation war consisted of line-and-column tactics to reinforce the culture of order. Uniforms, saluting, and gradations of rank were all intended to differentiate commanders from civilians and reinforce order. The second generation was developed during and after the First World War and concerned mass firepower. The third generation was developed by the German Army, Blitzkrieg, or maneuver warfare, and was based on speed and surprise. The fourth generation is characterized by decentralization and initiative with the state losing its monopoly on war. Non-state actors such as al-Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) regularly intervene. Lind (2004) indicated that “we now find ourselves facing the Christian West’s oldest and most steadfast opponent, Islam” (p. 13). Not only states but cultures engage in war with “invasion by immigration [that] can be at least as dangerous as invasion by a state army” (p. 14). In such a war third-generation mobile ground forces are not enough. Cultural intelligence and integrating troops with the local people are vital. Using military power alone as the United States and its allies did in Afghanistan and Iraq is insufficient, as it destroys the state and creates a “happy
hunting ground” (p. 15) for non-state actors. In many ways we see a return to the kind of warfare that existed before nation states were established and state power became based in a national army. Important elements of fourth-generation warfare are guerilla tactics or “what we call terrorism, who fights and what they fight for” (p. 16) so it becomes difficult to differentiate friend and foe.

The modern systems, based on the European Enlightenment and beyond, facilitated the unchecked exercise of power. Ali (2002) and Asad (2003) noted that politicians, corporations, and global media networks are locked in a relationship of mutual dependence. The public sphere “is a space necessarily articulated by power” (Asad, 2003, p. 182). The secular nation state had concentrated the means of violence into disciplined militaries controlled by politics (Mamdani, 2004). The rise of pressure groups such as the AIPAC and the oil lobby in the United States have distanced liberal democracies from their electorates and through opinion polls, the media and the government are able to influence the political reactions of the public (Asad). Chomsky (1989) noted that:

Part of the genius of American democracy has been to ensure that isolated individuals face concentrated state and private power alone, without the support of an organizational structure that can assist them in thinking for themselves or entering meaningful political action, and with few avenues for public expression of fact or analysis that might challenge approved doctrine. (p. 31)

As a world religion and major civilization, Islam poses a challenge to the existing international system of secular nation states (Tibi, 1998). Buck-Morss (2003) noted that “American hegemony is constitutive of the fundamentalist Islamism that opposes it” (p. 106). Mamdani (2004) described two Islamic movements as the basis of the theoretical roots of terror.
One is state-centered and sees shari’a as static and unchanging; the other is society-centered and open to *ijtihad* and discourse. “My argument is that the theoretical roots of Islamist political terror lie in the state-centered, not the society-centered movement” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 61). Appropriately, the state-centered Islamist movement would constitute a fitting ideological “other” binary of the prevalent Western hegemonic discourse. Asad (2007) noted that the idea of a “war on terror” was developed and expressed in the United States and “most of the theorization about terrorism occurs there, as well as in Europe and Israel” (Asad, 2007, p. 2). Herman and Chomsky (2002) noted that the U.S. military, economic, and diplomatic support recipient, Israel, is generally portrayed by the U.S. media as the victim of terrorism, which is partly correct but:

Its own role as a major perpetrator of state terrorism [invasion of Lebanon, targeting civilians, villages, cities, and the treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories] is consistently downplayed or ignored in accordance with the general principle . . . that violence employed by ourselves or by our friends is excluded from the category or terrorism, by definition. (p. 77)

Ali (2002) reminded us that “the sufferings of European Jewry, from the pogroms of Tsarist Russia to the slaughterhouses of Auschwitz and Treblinka, were the responsibility of [a] bourgeois civilization” with “the Palestinian Arabs being made to pay for these crimes with the West “arming Israel and paying it ’conscience money’” (p. 11). Each side has used its experience over generations “to structure a consciousness that created a definition of acceptable violence to fight for or gain control over a society” (Flores, 2017, p. 4). Discursive practices of institutions to shape consciousness to accept and support such global violence in Western democratic societies play a strong role in making such actions palatable.
The state-centered Islamist movement can be used as a tool in the exercise of global power. “The best-known CIA-trained terrorist was, of course, Osama bin Laden” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 234). Ali (2002) argued that the West’s support of democracy globally was “purely instrumental and decorative, since the majority of their client states in every continent, bar in Europe, were squalid, corrupt, and brutal dictatorships, which preserved the wealth of the oligarchies” (Ali, 2002, p. 107). Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) noted that the West’s support of democracy in the Middle East was only in “name” not “deed” as “in the name of democracy, the United States has supported dictators and tyrants in the Islamic world including Saddam Hussein before the First Gulf War and Osama bin Laden in the Afghan fight against the Soviets” (p. 25). Buck-Morss (2003) reminded us of “multiple cases of CIA support for violent extremist groups, as well as for paramilitary government violence in the Middle East” (p. 3). Mamdani’s (2004) notion of the roots of Islamists’ political terror lying in the state-centered U.S.-supported neopatriarchal regimes of the Middle East would thus complete the binary discourse. Flores (2017) suggested that Osama bin Laden learned, while first working with and then against the U.S., that violence bred more violence as each hegemonic authority used violence for control over and against a population.

Herman and Chomsky (2002) observed that post-World War II, the U.S. sphere of influence installed military regimes and other dependent tyrannies in Central and South America, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Much of the Arab World is ruled by military regimes installed and supported by the U.S. All such regimes represent elite interests and multinational corporations, use terror to keep the majority unorganized and powerless, are corrupt, and feed social inequality. In essence, Herman and Chomsky intimated that the U.S. government and corporate interests, on the one hand, and local business and military dictatorships in the Arab
World, on the other, try to take control of these countries under the guise of the development of the Third World.

The United States took over the role of policeman of the world from colonial Britain following World War II. Determined not to let Britain maintain its monopoly on Saudi oil wealth in the 1930s, the United States merged Standard Oil, Esso, Texaco, and Mobil to form the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) with oil production beginning in 1938 (Ali, 2002). During World War II a USAF base was established in Dhahran and “was deemed crucial to the defence of the United States” (Ali, 2002, p. 85). The National Security States (NSS) of the Third World serve the interests of the tiny elite with the help of military dictatorships which maintain that “growth in the long run will trickle down to the lower orders” (p. 28). Dana Priest and William Arkin in Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State, suggested that the CIA has a firm and steadfast relationship with a handful of countries including Britain, Australia, Canada, Germany, Jordan, Poland, France, and Saudi Arabia (Priest & Arkin, 2011). Cooperative ventures include fabricating intelligence and maintaining secret prisons.

A critical exploration of American complicity and involvement in the support of the military dictatorships of the Arab World and the cruelty and torture they employ to keep their majority under control would not make good reading in Western democratic societies that believe in Western non-involvement and think the root causes are local in origin. Herman and Chomsky (2002) noted the existence of a lesser terror (or retail terror) which is perpetrated by select individuals and small groups. “The present study of terrorism is with movements that have used terrorism as their main weapon . . . the state is excluded so that state terror is defined away” (p. 22). In the context of this research, recent Islamist terror in Europe would be lesser terror. Analysis of terrorism deals mainly with lesser terror and funding supports the creation of models
and processes to counter such lesser terror by paying attention to motivation or social oppression. The media focuses on lesser terror as something the West and Third World governments need to fight, “giving them unreasonably elevated status and thus encouraging their activities” (p. 24).

The greater terror “is defined out of existence and given little attention” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 13). The real terror network is perpetrated by the National Security States (NSS) of the Third World with the U.S. playing a prominent role in establishing and maintaining the NSS in power (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). U.S. government aid to the police states in South America (primarily by the CIA), originated in training, the provision of military supplies, and diplomatic and economic support. In the context of this dissertation, support of Arab dictatorships such as Saddam Hussein of Iraq and the atrocities committed by his regime (in 1988 against the Iraqi Kurds and then in April 1991 against the Kurds in the Iraqi north and the Shia south) is an example of real terror. Herman and Chomsky (2002) noted that “huge crimes by state terrorists within the U.S. sphere of influence are either suppressed or given brief and muted treatment; abuses attributable to enemies are attended to repeatedly and with indignation and sarcasm” (p. 16). They suggested that the historical record of steady interventionism started in 1823 with the Monroe Doctrine and continues to the present with the United States as “the sponsor—the Godfather—of this real terror network” (p. 119) hidden from view as a result of “the power and patriotism of the Free Press” (p. 119). Institutions, government, and the state-corporate nexus need to dialogue appropriately to show the patriotism of the United States versus the evil Saddam Hussein in the Middle East. Ali (2003) reminded us that the aims of the U.S. in Iraq were simple: to impose privatization and a pro-Western regime (Ali, 2003).

Both sides, the state-centered Islamists and the West, engaged in violence and bloodshed, either directly or indirectly. Mamdani (2004) suggested the real violence the CIA perpetrated in
support of the Afghan mujahedeen (then called freedom fighters as they were fighting communism) was the “privatization of information about how to produce and spread violence—the formation of private militias—capable of creating terror” (p. 138). Asad (2003) noted that the use of excessive force against humans is outsourceable to Third World countries. Mamdani suggested that such violence “now termed collateral damage, was not an unfortunate by-product of the war; it was the very point of terrorism” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 91).

Examples are many and span the globe: (a) the bombardment of Iraq in 1991 that “effectively terminated everything vital to human survival in Iraq—electricity, water, sewage systems, agriculture, industry, and healthcare” (p. 184); (b) the sanctions regime as part of the “low-intensity conflict” (p. 187) that resulted in the death of half a million children about which Madeleine Albright the then-U.S. ambassador to the UN commented, “I think this is a very hard choice, but the price, we think the price is worth it” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 190). Before 1990, Iraq had a GNP of over $3,000 (GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population), high levels of literacy and an advanced system of healthcare (Ali, 2003). The West ruined its social structure, denied its people the necessities of existence and polluted its soil by using uranium-tipped warheads which led to a massive increase in cancer (Ali). The Reagan administration in Nicaragua had also left behind dead bodies, malnutrition, and childhood epidemics (Chomsky, 1989a). The rationale in Nicaragua was to bring it back in line or keep it poor, isolated, and radical (Chomsky, 1989a). Ali (2002) noted that “Clinton and Blair are personally responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of small children” (p. 153) in Iraq because of the blockade imposed by America and Britain. Sayyid (2003) commented that the “war against terrorism” could be waged with a savagery similar to that used by the colonial powers to pacify the ‘savages’” (p. xi). In the current discourse, “they are all branded terrorists,
since their violence is often visible, while the violence of their oppressors remains complex, structural and veiled in legalese” (Sayyid, 2003, p. xii). Are such legal terms hidden from the democratic citizenry in hegemonic discursive practices?

Within the system and its institutions, violence against terrorists and the countries hosting them was normalized. Democratic checks and balances in the U.S. government were overcome after the Vietnam War. “Strategic sabotage” is what the CIA training manual calls legitimized violence against a civilian population (Mamdani, 2004, p. 169). “The source of privatized and globalized terrorism in today’s world, the international *jihadis*, are the true ideological children of Reagan’s crusade against the ‘evil empire’” (p. 177). Following the Vietnam War and popular anti-war demonstrations, “the 1973 War Powers Act and the 1976 Clark Amendment marked the high point of the antiwar movement that swept the United States” (p. 81) and provided “some congressional oversight on waging war” (p. 81). To bypass these democratic constraints and facilitate executive action, U.S. government ideologues “embraced proxy wars enthusiastically and terrorism gradually” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 87). Concurrently, the institutional democratic checks and balances were circumvented by politicians. Chomsky (1989) explained that the “expansion of clandestine operations in those years, on the usual principle that in our form of democracy, if the public escapes from passivity, it must be deceived—for its own good” (p. 13). A more aggressive foreign policy was initiated through the Reagan Doctrine with the objective of expanding U.S. power through subversion, international terrorism, and aggression (Chomsky, 1989a). Internally, Chomsky observed that the Reagan Doctrine resulted in the elimination of labour unions, independent media, political associations, and other forms of popular organization that interfered with the domination of the state by concentrated private power. Propaganda that
did not work forced the state to go underground and conduct clandestine operations and secret wars (Chomsky, 1989a).

Secret wars by a government institution or the military in the West are instruments of realizable power. Frank Kitson, a brigadier with wide experience of operations and intelligence against terrorists, noted the increasing importance of subversion and insurgency warfare in the decades after the 1970s. Control of the population is the most important factor and this can be accomplished by selecting a cause and, through a local party, projecting it into the population “by the organization of a chain of branches and cells, using persuasion and coercion for the purpose” (Kitson, 1971, p. 48). The idea is to secure the support of the population and, at the same time, to damage the enemy, which constitutes a subversive campaign.

Such methods also enable the “cultivation” of terrorists to be used as instruments of hegemonic power. Initially, the terrorists cultivated in the struggle against the nations and regimes were seen as pro-Soviet. Gradually, the doctrine and the use of terrorists and conduct of proxy wars “formalized the shift to low-intensity conflict (LIC) as the main military strategy” including “an idealization—and ideologization—of counterrevolutionary forces and their choice weapon, terror (Mamdani, 2004, p. 98). Mamdani (2004) concluded that the prevalent Islamic terror was the result of the convergence of the state-centered Islamic ideology inspired by Qutub and Mawdudi, the Marxist-Leninist ideals of armed struggle, the American support of the Afghan jihad, and the political demonization of Islam and its depiction as terrorism.

Unchecked power, in the context of modern secular nation states can result in tragedy. In the United States, discourse is not critical or shared with the public. Americans are not informed by the media on “covert U.S. military operations and U.S. economic policies” and “hurtful activities of the American Empire are invisible to many of the empire’s subjects” (Kincheloe &
Steinberg, 2010, p. 7; Priest & Arkin, 2011). Any deviation from American interests results in economic, ideological, or military warfare, terror, and subversion against communism or any other perceived threat to the Empire (Chomsky, 1989a). Rather, “historical erasure central to the miseducation of the U.S. public” (p. 10) and subversion of the democratic process takes place (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 10). The United States “could hire members of the mafia, and other assassins . . . and carry out a secret war of sabotage, murder, and political blackmail of quite considerable scope, and come out of this as Uncle Sam, the clean Fighter-Against-Terrorism” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 64). Herman and Chomsky give the example of the secret war against Cuba in the 1960s when many CIA-trained cadres became an international mercenary army serving in the Congo, Vietnam, and Puerto Rico and upholding U.S. interests in those theatres of operation. This network grew and never disarmed. It became a major terrorist network sponsored by the West but “denied its rightful place in the Fright Decade by the Free Press” (p. 69). Could a similar scenario have been playing out in the last two decades in the Middle East or in the Arab Spring, Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen? In covert operations against Iran? Are these military actions of the United States subject to a “true” democratic process?

Disinformation centers on efforts to reduce criticality and thus allows leading media enterprises to define reality for the public. Using Claire Sterling’s bestseller, *The Terror Network* as an example of manufactured consent, Herman and Chomsky (2002) described it as a “cynical and opportunistic piece of propaganda that serves a classic Red Scare purpose” (p. 49), lacking in scientific evidence but full of propaganda, with full dramatics, and stripped of any historical and political context, with the assumption that anything disseminated by Western intelligence sources “must be true” (p. 54). Further, Herman and Chomsky noted:
As many of these retail terrorists are extremely nationalistic and would appear to be pursuing local ends, the idea that they all have the global objective of “destabilizing Western democracy” is classic terrorist pseudoscience . . . resting on carefully selected “facts” and the final imaginative leap. (pp. 59-60)

Are such methods substantiated? Perhaps by U.S. military-power-supported hegemony? “To preserve U.S. hegemony, force will be used wherever and whenever necessary” (Ali, 2003, p. 153). Has the Red Scare been replaced by Islamism, with the Empire trying to maintain hegemony with Islamism, and terrorism the new evil in the binary discourse?

Asad (2007) noted a tension between the contradiction of humanitarianism (saving human lives) and the need of governments to legitimize organized violence against an enemy, including civilians. Huntington (1996) saw legitimacy in power and noted that the superior power of the West “imposes on them the obligation to extend that culture throughout the world” (p. 218). The problem is not fundamentalism but Islam, “a different civilization whose people are convinced of the superiority of their culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power” (p. 218). Asad (2007) declared that “mortal violence is integral to liberalism as a political formation” (p. 3) and that “today’s liberals who engage in this justification think they are different because [they are] morally advanced” (p. 4). All liberal democratic states in the modern world, including the United States, were founded “in massive violence and exclusions” (Asad, 2007, p. 58). How else could massive violence and related military spending and the government-corporate nexus be justified to the American taxpayer?

**Secular Versus Religious Values**

Sharīʿatī (1980) proclaimed that “today, a science developed without God has actually produced a civilized society, but not civilized people, whereas in the past, we had civilized
people in a savage and backward society” (p. 101). Shariati’s statement reflects the imbalance between *din* (religion) and *dunya* (the temporal world). Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI) noted:

> It is the responsibility of philosophy to critically assess the development of the individual academic disciplines, shedding light on premature conclusions and apparent “certainties” about what man is, whence he comes, and what the goal of his existence is. (Habermas & Schuller, 2006, p. 57)

Asad (2003) noted an unresolved tension between “the moral invocation of “universal humanity” and the power of the state to identify, apply, and maintain the law” (p. 138). Central to the tension was the freedom of religious belief in a modern secular state. As Ahmad (2004) explained, postmodemism is about diversity, tolerance, and understanding of the other. In contrast, the virtues associated with the traditional Semitic religions include humility, piety, compassion, and concern for the aged and the less privileged. Sharīʿatī (1980) was more explicit and suggested that Western humanism, which preaches diversity, tolerance, and understanding “proclaims the possibility of spiritual development and growth in adherence to the moral virtues without belief in God” (p. 23). Tibi (1998) noted that Western norms and values have not become universal because they were not part of the globalization of structures. Sayyid (2003) stated that “universal values can be generated from Islam” (p. 7). Huntington (1996) explained the unresolved tension by declaring that Islam was incompatible with Western democratic values, individualism, individual rights, and the liberties in civilized societies. This contrasted with the prevalence of collectivism in the Islamic Arab and the broader global Islamic *ummah* societies. Emphasis was put on materialism and the tangible. These became a way of life (Ahmed, 2004) at the expense of mysticism.
Rahman (1982) noted the importance of metaphysics as “the unity of knowledge and the meaning and orientation this unity gives to life” (p. 132). “Mysticism is innate to human nature” (Sharī‘atī, 1980, p. 97) and the West has transformed religion and mysticism “into a superstitious rationale for the exploitation of the people by the ruling class, and into an enemy of human growth, the growth of man’s primordial nature” (p. 102). Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger proclaimed that science can never show us more than partial aspects of the reality of human existence (as cited in Habermas & Schuller, 2006). The West grants humanity an honoured place in nature, whereas “Islam holds that humanity was created as God’s deputy in nature (p. 91) with mysticism “a lantern shining within humanity. It is a catalyst that transforms material man into a non-material entity above and beyond the limits of nature” (p. 100). Such views transcend the material discourse of the West but are echoed in Islamic discourse. How much space is the “other” permitted in Western media and critically considered in government policy documents?

In contrast, for Huntington (1996), “it is human to hate” (p. 130) with hate exacerbated by competition in business, rivalry in achievement, and opposition in politics. In the binary discourse of us and them, Huntington proclaimed that for “self-definition and motivation, people need enemies” (p. 130). As Flores (2017) explained, “it is easier to hate the difference in people than it is to learn about diversity” (p. 110).

Asad (2003) suggested that natural, intense emotions are channelled by the secular state towards nationalist sentiment by the media. In the modern secular age, a nationalist social arrangement with related “emotionally potent oversimplifications” (p. 33) and propaganda that does not allow reason but is based on emotions allows the masses to stay obedient and be kept under control (Chomsky, 1989a). But “Islamism cannot be reduced to nationalism” (p. 200) because the separation of law and citizenship from religious affiliation conflicts with the balance
of din and dunya. Furthermore, Asad disagreed with the use of the Western model as a definition of what religion is as “the constituent elements and their relationships are historically specific” and “the definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes” (p. 15). Islamists identify more closely with the Islamic ummah, the Muslim global community and collective consciousness, unlimited by sovereignty and embracing all of humanity. Asad (2003) concluded that the motive behind giving an Islamist an Arab “nationalist” cast (p. 199) was to use religion for political ends and use “the modern nation-state’s enforced claim to constitute legitimate social identities and arenas” (p. 200).

Mamdani (2004) suggested political violence “that does not fit the story of progress tends to get discussed in theological terms” (p. 4). Huntington (1996) used the culturalist argument that global politics was reconfigured along cultural lines and “for people seeking identity and reinventing ethnicity, enemies are essential” (p. 20). Buck-Morss (2003) noted that “Western hegemony has been problematic” and that the “the defence of democracy demands not military force, but a radical questioning of these power arrangements” (p. 52). Buck-Morss stated that the Western story of progress can be subjected to the Islamic “political articulation of protest against present inequities of power” (p. 51). The media play a prominent role in the Western discourse on Islam and terrorism.

Media

The media play a central role in articulating the Western story of progress. The media have been described as some of the most important manifestations of Western power (Huntington, 1996), as never disinterested, and deeply rooted in the materiality of history, circumstance, and location, and thus deeply invested in cultural production (Said & Viswanathan, 2001). The media are part of an economic and ideological system, intoxicated by
speed at the expense of silence, withdrawal, and mediation (as advocated by all the great
religions) and as central to the understanding of power and domination and their acceptance
(Ahmed, 2004). Chomsky (1989a) described the media as forming a “corporate oligopoly” and a
“natural system for capitalist democracy” (p. 36); with media concentration intense, public radio
and television are limited in scope. In addition to news, cinema and the pedagogy of popular
culture play a role. Steinberg (2010) maintained that the pedagogy of popular culture is
ideological, influences our affective lives, and has a role to play in the shaping of our identity.
The structure of the media “is designed to induce conformity to established doctrine” with major
media outlets reflecting the perspectives and interests of established power with set limits on
debate and discussion (Chomsky, 1989a, p. 21). Through the choice of topics and emphasizing
certain issues, the range of opinion permitted, the unquestioned premises that guide reporting and
commentary, and the use of an imposed general framework, the media presents a certain view of
the world (Chomsky, 1989a), lauding democracy and demonizing all “official” enemies.

Herman (2018) noted a discrepancy between actual developments around the world and
their treatment in U.S. news media. Herman’s work on news media criticism irrefutably pointed
to a double standard in the type of evidence and assumptions about motives of different parties
while reporting news (Herman). Heavy and uncritical dependence on elite information sources
drive what Herman and Chomsky (2002) called a “propaganda model.” Discourses of late
modern social systems suffer from a dialectic tension between structure and agency,
homogenization of discourses versus proliferation of languages (Chouliaraki & Fairclough,
1999).

The structural factors that shape media performance relate to the fact that the dominant
media are firmly embedded in the market system. In such a decentralized and non-conspiratorial
market system of control and processing, efficiency considerations, politics, and overlapping interests among the government, major media, and corporate businesses all sustain the propaganda model. Management implements strategies to shape discourse, consciously intervening to transform workplaces (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In the output of the model, “ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and anti-communist ideology work as filters through which information must pass, and that individually and often in additive fashion they help shape media choices” (p. 4). Market mechanisms have been used by Western governments to regulate popular perspectives and sentiments with the marketplace of ideas disseminated through an upper-class perspective in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries while repressing the ideological and cultural independence of the lower classes (Chomsky, 1989a). The idea was to protect privilege from the threat of public understanding and participation and “train the minds of the people to a virtuous attachment to their government” (p. 26). Differential treatment that helped shape such choices related to political and economic advantage, with the marketplace and governments forging firm and enduring links between socioeconomic position and ideological power with the elite using one to support the other (Chomsky, 1989a).

In wielding and maintaining the global political and economic advantages, the United States needs to stay powerful. The role of power in the “U.S. propaganda system lies in its ability to mobilize an elite consensus, to give the appearance of democratic consent, and to create enough confusion, misunderstanding, and apathy in the general population to allow elite programs to go forward” (p. 5). Herman and Chomsky (2002) described communism as an “enormously serviceable tool for achieving morally dubious goals under a morally acceptable cover” (p. 34). The “Red Scares” (p. 37) during the Age of Terrorism caused the national media to disseminate fabricated and inflated claims as news and without serious criticism, as necessary
to fight the evil. At home, the U.S. used the media to manufacture consent to create the “necessary illusions” (Chomsky, 1989a, p. 34) while with its Third World dependencies, the U.S. turned to violence to defend or restore democracy. Of Chomsky, Tariq Ali writes:

What his detractors in the U.S. media do not realize is that the main reason for Chomsky’s popularity and prestige in Asia and Latin America is not that he offers strategic or tactical advice, but that he speaks a truth that is uncomfortable to those in power. In the world today, this is a rarity. (Ali, 2003, pp. 93-94)

Could something similar be said of Edward Snowden, the former computer intelligence consultant, and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) employee and subcontractor, who copied and leaked highly classified information from the National Security Agency (NSA) in 2013? Or of Julian Paul Assange, the founder of WikiLeaks in 2006, who published a series of leaks provided by U.S. Army intelligence? With communism defeated, has communist ideology now been replaced by Islamism? Are Snowden and Assange providing elements of truth? Is the news on terrorism being doctored to suit elite interests and keep the profitable binary narrative alive?

Understanding Western media, its power, its role in the global discourse of the Western story of progress and its portrayal of Islam and the term “terrorism” is informative. Edward Said noted that that the words terrorist, rejectionist, extremist, and fundamentalist have come to mean to the public what “Israeli conservatives understand them to mean” and suggested that “it is a pattern” and that “it is a signal triumph of unassimilated, undigested propaganda.” Such propaganda led to the “emergence of terrorism as a discipline, a subject in its own right, with chairs and course codes” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 311). Ahmed (2004) noted that the Western media are all around “stimulating, corrupting, influencing, shaping and challenging us” (p. vii). Huntington (1996) described the power of the media and indicated that “eighty-eight of
the hundred films most attended throughout the world in 1993 were American, and two
American and two European organizations dominate the collection and dissemination of news on
a global basis” (p. 58). Few corporations control the information system (Chomsky, 1989a).
Engineering consent through the media, using what Democratic leaders refer to as scientific
principles and practices, was perceived as socially constructive. Goals and values were used to
persuade society on what is socially constructive. Social consent was engineered through the
media (Chomsky, 1989a). Generalizations are drawn from trivial occurrences and many
American and European journalists abandon unbiased observation and independent thinking “in
favour of an imperial super patriotism” (Ali, 2002, p. 255). Such methods are not limited to
formal news, but government reports are also employed by the entertainment industry. Kincheloe
and Steinberg (2010) concluded that “the new cultural pedagogy colonizes consciousness via the
pleasure of the entertainment media” (p. 13).

The contemporary discourse of Islam in the media is at odds with scholarship and reality.
Actors in the discrimination against Islam include news pundits, religious leaders, and
politicians. Islam is also subject to miseducation in schools. Kincheloe, Steinberg, and
Stonebanks (2010) characterized these acts as Islamophobic (p. ix). The negative portrayal of
Muslims in the media (Stonebanks, 2010) was resented and perceived as hostile by ordinary
Muslims (Ahmed, 2004). Contemporary stereotypes of Muslims as intolerant, violent, and prone
to terrorism was at odds with historical scholarship that teaches a different story, namely, that
“Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived and worked together in harmony for 800 years” (Kincheloe
& Steinberg, 2010, p. 20). Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) explained that the portrayal of
Muslims as barbaric, ugly, zealous, and ignorant over the last several centuries as “having been
produced with conquest and control as objectives” and as a “moral justification to the European colonial project around the world” (p. 11).

Edward Said described the effect of power of the media as “the usurpation of the public space, of the common space, by the media and the corporations, really very, very, very disheartening” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 205). “The less you know, the easier [it is] to manipulate” (Ali, 2002, p. 255). Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) suggested that the Western objective was to “promote its own moral, political, and cultural superiority whenever it has to deal with Muslim societies” (p. 5) and noted that the promotion was reflected in many educational policies that “are ideologically complicit with advancing the power of the new American Empire and, in this role, must avoid humanizing ‘the enemy’” (p. 5) with the “ummah in a continued state of varying assault” (p. x). The positive promotion of the “pioneering spirit, errant into the wilderness, the obliteration of another society, and the continual sense of enterprise” is contrasted with “a tremendous hostility to traditional societies, which are posited as backward, primitive, reactionary, and so on: Islam, for example” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 47).

Nationalism and the role of patriotism in the secular state is the basis of such practices. The media does not educate audiences on Islamic discourses due to a “heavy atmosphere of patriotism and military preparedness that was generated after the September 11 attacks” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 3). Such national sentiment is projected by the media through constructed images that must be cultivated so its citizens can imagine their national communities (Asad, 2003). Being selective in the construction of the national image includes patriotism and selective history. Edward Said noted that such selectivity comprised “a kind of anesthetization of the critical sense” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 206). In terms of 9/11, Kincheloe and Steinberg
(2010) described the “anti-intellectualism and even anti-scientific pursuit of knowledge” as “an affair of the heart, not mind” (p. 18). Such lack of critical thought promotes Islamophobia, with big business, the media, and various interests all involved in discrimination while denying that Islamophobia exists (Stonebanks, 2010).

Terms such as “fundamentalism, jihad, fatwa, Ayatollah,” take on different meanings in the West. In the media, they are invested with new meanings far removed from the original (Ahmed, 2004). These words can come to mean “ugly, intolerant and violent religious fanaticism” and “it is also a code, sometimes subliminal, sometimes explicit, for Islam” (p. 15). Tibi (1998) stated that the media politicizes religion and part of the process is the media’s loose and sensational use of religious symbols.

Journalists and intellectuals were brought in by the West to promote the Western discourse. Some are intellectuals who had worked in the U.S. government such as Kissinger, Brzezinski, Fukuyama, and Huntington. Others are journalists who work for widely read publications such as The New York Times and Washington Post (Ali, 2002). Other journalists such as Brokaw, Jennings, Koppel and Rather operate on a national level and “represent what is happening from the standpoint of U.S. interests” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 45) and have “become apologists for the new colonialism” (Ali, 2002, pp. 276-277). Journalists generally had to conform to the Western discourse, adopting its ideology and internalizing its values. Those who failed to do so were weeded out (Chomsky, 1989a). Chomsky (1989) observed that wars and periods of turmoil make people think about getting involved in social and political action, creating a “crisis of democracy” or “a threat that there might be meaningful steps towards democracy” (p. 48). In such a crisis “the dominant elites must rally to prevent this threat to their privilege and power” (p. 48). Business, the political elites (primarily business-based), the
corporate media, and the privileged intelligentsia serve as “ideological managers” (p. 47). In such a democracy, the citizen is a consumer or observer but not a participant and if that is transgressed, we will have a “crisis of democracy” which must be resolved (Chomsky, 1989a). Any challenge to the control of local oligarchies, U.S. business elites, or trusted professionals that uphold U.S. interests of power and privilege is a challenge to “democracy” that entitles the United States to resort to violence to “restore democracy.” Other sources of discoursed information include retired military men and what Edward Said called “scholar-combatants—Fouad Ajami, Daniel Pipes, Bernard Lewis, and so on—and with them a handful of journalists such as Tom Friedman who were virtually indistinguishable from policymakers” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 359). Chomsky (1989b) described reporting by Thomas Friedman, a Pulitzer Prize winner for “balanced and informed coverage,” as “gross falsification in the service of Israeli rejectionism” with his reporting as “fabrications he has helped establish” (p. 814). Ali (2002) reminded us of Asher Ginzburg’s Truth from Palestine written in 1891 about the falsehood that “Palestine is a land without people designed for Jews, people without a land” (p. 90). As far back as 1891, Ginzburg warned “against the crude and racist stereotypes of Arabs circulating within Jewish communities in Europe” (p. 90) The discourse through the media was a result and in Edward Said’s words “deeply flawed, deeply antagonistic, deeply uninformed and uninforming” and with the “active collaboration of a whole cadre of scholars, experts, and abettors drawn from the ranks of Orientalists and special-interest lobbies” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, pp. 295-296). The U.S. mass media cooperate when the U.S. wants to establish patriotic policy justifying truths with the government issuing voluminous claims and handouts (White Papers and leaks) that are uncritically transmitted to the public (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). Although dealing with high standards of evidence and critical analysis is not welcomed by the
state-corporate nexus, conforming to a patriotic agenda is not costly (Chomsky, 1989a). Scholars who might have been more informative and less distorted do not come forward or were not chosen (Said & Viswanathan, 2001). Ali (2002) reminded us that in crushing the first Palestinian intifada (1936-39) the colonial British state set “a sign of the future” (p. 91) with Winston Churchill giving evidence to the Peel Commission of Inquiry in 1937, justifying the action “on grounds of racial superiority of the Jews” (p. 91). Churchill stated:

I do not admit, for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America, or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people [Palestinians] by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly-wise race, to put it that way, has come in and taken their place. (p. 92)

What the public is allowed to know is managed. A small elite sets the agenda, and the mass media is “stunningly successful in telling the public what to think about” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 144). Critique and debate are only allowed within the parameters of elite interests (Herman, 2018). In-depth critical analysis would “inevitably elicit cries of conspiracy theory” (p. 6) and “where the global power of market institutions makes anything other than market options seem utopian, gives us an ideological package of immense strength” (p. 10).

Further, Herman (2018) noted that the professional autonomy of journalists has been reduced and that a significant proportion of the news originates in the Public Relations industry, doctoring the news that journalists write. Journalistic professionalism and objectivity have become superficial following deeper power and control relationships of governments via sourcing domination and when criticality became less important and advertising more important (Herman, 2018).

The politicization, potential distorting influences, and lack of critically on global issues by the media facilitated by political power are a matter of concern. In the context of
depoliticization (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010; Said & Viswanathan, 2001) “public discourse around political questions slowly fades away in a world of ideologically charged entertainment” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010, p. 5) and “we struggle to counter the miseducation that continues to shape American views of the world” (p. 5). It is “one of the central political issues of our time” (p. 9).

The need to bring criticality to the discourse presented by the media was a challenge. Such criticality would challenge media control and the underlying mechanisms by which the powerful elite are able to dominate the flow of messages and limit the space of contesting parties (Herman, 2018). Images constructed by the media are given as reality and are unchallenged. There is no room to criticize the construct (Said & Viswanathan, 2001). Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) warned of the need for higher media news standards and a cleanup of “the historical distortions developed centuries ago and passed down across the generations” (p. 3) by the media and in the education system (Kincheloe et al., 2010).

Islamic Scholarship

Islamic scholarship, or the lack of it, is to blame for the prevalent negative discourse on Islam. Scholars in the Muslim World were “truly encyclopedic in the scope of learning but had little new to say on anything” (Rahman, 1982, p. 38). Preconceived notions resulting from a process that reflects hegemonic interests have distorted the reality of people who live in the Middle East (Said, 1978). Islamic scholarship has not been projected by Islamic scholars on the global stage to reflect the Middle Eastern reality. Islamic culture, history, humanism, morality, diversity, justice, equality, and social harmony are mostly absent from the global discursive space (Buck-Morss, 2003). At the same time, a lot of Islamic scholarship blocked the outside world, which provided them with confidence but at the same time served as a threat because
Muslims did not know how to deal with other systems and their challenges (Ahmed, 2004). Eastern and Western discursive spaces did not intertwine in mutual understanding. The more powerful West took control of the discursive. The “holier-than-thou attitude” of Muslims and their incapacity to explain themselves effectively have “helped to focus on Islam as the new enemy of the West” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 39). Islamic thinking and scholarship tend to favour “cliché mongering” instead of “serious intellectual endeavour” (Rahman, 1982, p. 137). Edward Said suggested that “intellectuals have just lost touch with their own people; they’ve become Americanized; they serve the regimes” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 414).

Another aspect of the lack of scholarship is the importation of educational systems and models from the West. Such models are based on their development in the West with the Western norms and values and have “no relation to our life” and towards more locally relevant models. “We must indigenously and imaginatively develop composite or hybrid models” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 364) or as Sharia’i (1980) suggested, cultivate expertise in religious knowledge on behalf of the community and without outside influence. Through education and intellectual scholarship, people make their own history, and, for that, the Arab World and its intellectual class need empowerment (Said & Viswanathan, 2001). Education, however, “is awarded a very low priority in the ‘planning strategies’” in the Arab Islamic World (Rahman, 1982, p. 91). The following is a synthesis of key aspects of Chapter Two with, in Foucauldian terms, the complexities of institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, modes of characterization, and power, concisely amalgamated. The synthesis section is followed by a summary of Chapter Two.
Synthesis

Terrorism is embedded in wider political, social, and cultural structures and systems. To recap, key insights, connections, and gaps are presented in this Synthesis section. Terrorism from a Western worldview, the role of adult education, and sociocultural critical theories provide a deeper understanding of the complexities of the topic and serve as a contextual academic and personal lived framework for the study.

The Western worldview uses activism, fundamentalism, radicalization, and terrorism discourses to propagate beliefs, violently or non-violently. By politicizing and categorizing and labelling reduced versions of lived experiences, the Western worldview has shifted the focus from understanding the root causes of radicalization in social conditions to serving hegemonic agendas. By developing Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) strategies using scientific methods, the Western worldview sought to scientifically understand terrorism and overcome the challenge in communities via proven methods and resources.

Such efforts have missed the bigger picture, resulting in an unnecessarily huge taxpayer bill as well as a weaker democracy. By looking for individual terrorists, one at a time, with zero tolerance of failure, the U.S. has created a security establishment that no one seems able to control (Priest & Arkin, 2011). In the process, the U.S. has helped to create failed states that enabled terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda and ISIS to form and spread, taking advantage of local underdevelopment, resentment, disillusionment, and disenfranchisement (Haykel, 2016). States where vulnerable individuals became more susceptible to the call of extremism creating a large supply of “terrorist” recruits (Clarke & Papadopoulos, 2016b).

Explanations in the literature included psychological, sociocultural, and historical research. In trying to explain terrorism, discussions on radicalization examined the political,
economic, social, and psychological forces that underpin terrorism (Kundnani, 2012). These forces were further reduced and categorized into indicators and factors that were built into models. In secular Western democratic states, such models were thought sufficient to explain and “defeat” terrorism, lending credence to the notion of “us versus them” since models are “scientifically proven.”

Adult education and learning are aligned with the liberal knowledge economy. Banking or teacher-centric education maintains and educates the oppressed and terrorists alike, with the aim of supporting power and maintaining the social framework of the oppressor in power, the status quo (Flores, 2017). The neo-liberal paradigm, capitalistic in focus, may not be agreeable to all. Some may value humanness over materialism so that some of that adult education may lead to radicalization and terrorism especially if some of the oppressed learn the value of their humanness through Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy. In the context of a complex social fabric, identity, adult education, and terrorism coexist and influence one another. It seems questionable to assume that reduced and constructive models can explain the complexities of the interaction and coexistence, much less be able to identify that moment of insight leading to becoming a “freedom fighter” or a “terrorist.”

Discourse tends to be ideologically based and may be so deeply engrained in thought patterns and language that it is taken for granted and unrecognized. Through banking education, the West constructed a systematic global mechanism to maintain hegemonic power. Constructs of the system include neo-liberal and conservative ideology and Islamophobia. Those resisting hegemony could be expected to turn to violent extremism. Ideological opposites support bipolar societies and their respective policies with both sides “in the right.”
Lack of dialogue and a non-critical learning environment maintain the status quo of Western hegemony. In the context of a Western worldview and constructed models, community and government action try to create a “safe” learning environment in which isolated and troubled youth can critically dialogue with representatives from their community and share their personal challenges. What was lacking was meaning-making through dialogue and discourse, as such methods are not included in constructed models. As noted by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), the discourse is one moment in a complex social practice with multiple factors dialectically linked to others. Such a moment cannot be captured by a reduced and constructed model for countering violent extremism. It does not permit “relationship formation through trust and being authentically present to one another” (Groen & Kawalilak, 2014, p. 13). Although there are notions of global public spheres and inclusive spaces, these have not been put into practice in a more-critical debate so that current hegemonic perspectives and paradigms facilitate the imposition of a Western world order, one dominated by the United States, the Empire.

Language plays a key role in facilitating hegemony and the construction of the object of “terrorism” so that the more powerful hegemon in the binary can maintain power. Power differentials among nations guide the discourse in the construction of the object so that the unequal relations of power on language could result in discourse working ideologically with hegemonic consequences. Critical discourse analysis attempts to disentangle hegemonically constructed objects.

Sociocultural critical theory suggests that the construction of fundamentalism was a necessary “other” in the binary discourse. With that, and with the prevalent Western power and knowledge, the Islamic Arab world can be domesticated (Sayyid, 2003). There must be an enemy of democracy and with the fall of communism at the end of last century, the current
enemy are the “terrorists.” Chomsky’s fifth freedom (the power to rob, dominate, and exploit) and Huntington’s reductionist approach to material factors, moral values, and ideals into one construct, facilitated the discourse to view binary oppositions between a Western worldview and the critical Islamic Arab world. Western academics are mostly scholars with ethnocentric assumptions (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2010) that hegemonically provide validity to an uninformed and uncritical public.

Historically, European civilization has been imposed on the Arab world. Lasting colonial structures had profound implications on local legal, administrative, and educational practice. These were major instruments of secularism and were imported to the Arab World and culture. European and secular codes (secularism being a necessity given the European history of violence and cruelty) regulated the secular lifeworld. Tension resulted, with Arab morality remaining largely rooted in Islamic tradition (Asad, 2003). Such persistent tension between the necessary balance in Arab culture between *din* (religion), and *dunya* (world) resulted in a form of neopatriarchy with Arab masses ruled by Westernized elites which disrupted this crucial balance and tilted the balance heavily towards secularism and the *dunya*.

Western elites became clients of Western hegemony and helped in repressing the local masses. The discourse used to extend control over the region (and globally) was modernization. Modernity has become hegemonic as a political goal with its dominant feature the rise of mediated mass communication through books, newspapers, radio, television, and social media becoming the means of control. The role of the media was to reduce shared knowledge and narrow the range of symbolic resources available for making and interpreting meaning.

The dominant players are the institutional and organizational contexts of the modern social systems: the economy and the state on one hand, and, on the other hand, the context in
which people live their ordinary lives. The links between system and lifeworld are separate in modern societies, i.e., the uncoupling of the lifeworld and the system (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In the Western historical discourse, capitalism and the systems that propagate it were necessary transformative social elements producing political and economic conditions of dependent capitalism (Sharabi, 1992). Some saw such power and control under the guise of modernity as hegemony. They resisted.

The discourse, system, and its component elements are drawn from Western experience and imposed globally. What religion and politics have come to represent are clearly drawn from Western models. Both terms are constructs that evolved in meaning and are a historical product of Western discursive processes. Politics can take advantage of ignorance and uninformed discourse. The discourse is “us versus them,” hegemonically imposed and used by the Empire and its client Arab autocratic regimes to maintain control using a neo-liberal capitalist system. The U.S. continues to feed the government-corporate nexus with resources and thus generate wealth to stay in power. The global system constructed around U.S. power and control permits U.S. business interests to thrive (Chomsky, 1989a). The 3,000 overseas bases are evidence of realized power, power on the ground, moved into the vacuum created by receding colonialism and fulfilling the demands of major U.S. economic interests. Client states receive support as needed, including arms, training of military and police personnel, and billions of dollars of equipment which is used as necessary and removed or replaced if no longer needed. Materialism and secularism rule.

Pope Benedict XVI challenged secularism and suggested that science can never show us more than partial aspects of the reality of human existence (Habermas & Schuller, 2006). Whereas the West grants humanity an honoured place in nature, “Islam holds that humanity was
created as God’s deputy in nature (SharTatî, 1980, p. 91) with mysticism “a lantern shining within humanity. It is a catalyst that transforms material man into a non-material entity above and beyond the limits of nature” (p. 100). Such views transcend the material discourse of the West but is the basis of the Islamic discourse, leading to an unresolved tension between humanism and capitalism.

Rather than resolve this tension through critical discourse, the media is used to construct objects that help support the “us versus them” binary stance. The media has been described as one of the most important manifestations of Western power (Huntington, 1996), as never disinterested, and deeply rooted in the materiality of history, circumstance, and location, and thus deeply invested in cultural production (Said & Viswanathan, 2001). In describing the role of the school system, media, and other institutions, Donald Macedo uses the term “stupidification” (Macedo, 2006). Chomsky (1989a) describing the media as a “corporate oligopoly” and a “natural system for capitalist democracy” (p. 36). Its role is to anesthetize the critical sense (Said & Viswanathan, 2001) and provide a means to “stupidify” (Macedo, 2006) the masses. It concentrates messaging on emotionally potent constructed objects to deflect criticality and thus realize control of the mind. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) described the “anti-intellectualism and even anti-scientific pursuit of knowledge” as “an affair of the heart, not mind” (p. 18). No discursive space through media access exists so that Islamic scholarship, or the lack of it, is to blame for the prevalent negative discourse on Islam. Islamic humanism does not seem to have the power to compete the established neo-liberal capitalist system of power.

Gaps noted in the literature suggested that the radicalization and resultant “terrorism” lack explanatory power and the discourse is decidedly one-sided with sociocultural critical perspectives absent in the mainstream discursive space. Worthy of exploration is the possibility
that perhaps the strong influence of the knowledge economy on adult education and the resulting establishment of the predominantly Western neo-liberal paradigm as hegemonic with the discourse on “terrorism” is the overriding “true reality.” This suggested a gap in adult education based on a one-sided worldview. Another gap is the understanding the linkages between identity, adult education and learning, and radicalization, with the reduced building of models offering no explanatory power.

By studying dominating discourses (e.g., Western), they can be criticized and problematized through analysis to reveal their contradictions and bridge any knowledge gaps. In a sense, the gap is to study the Western and critical sociocultural discourse with each representing an element of “truth” so the more “real truth,” the “lived truth,” not the “constructed truth” can become apparent. Such multiple truths could address differences and strengthen the role of adult education, in support of humanism, rather than hegemonic capitalism. The role of critical social research, with its emancipatory outlook, could bridge a gap in knowledge and thus be a resource in the social struggle. The system (with history, political ideology, secularism, power, secular and religious values, modernity, media, and Islamic scholarship’s interaction) would be different from objectivist research which seeks to separate theory from practice in search of objective truths (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). A yawning gap could be bridged and a deceived public, fed on emotionally potent oversimplification, informed.

**Summary**

In Chapter Two, I reviewed the relevant literature and explored the gap in the research knowledge base. The chapter was organized around three themes: (a) terrorism from the Western and critical sociocultural theory perspective, (b) adult education and learning, and (c) knowledge gaps. A review of the literature on terrorism suggested a knowledge gap, that is, a missing theory
and practice grounding for understanding terrorism from a critical sociocultural perspective and an adult education and learning perspective. The use of critical discourse analysis as my methodology guides my analysis of looking at the term “terrorism” from a Western as well as a sociocultural critical theory and an interpretive constructive stance, geared towards understanding the interplay between language, power, and the sociocultural context.

In Chapter Three, I provide a detailed description of the research design that informed this research study.
Chapter Three: Research Design

Overview

In this chapter, I address the elements of the research design that guided this study. Design elements included: research purpose, research questions, ontological and epistemological underpinnings, theoretical framework, methodology and methods, data analysis, reliability and trustworthiness, and limitations and delimitations.

By expanding on my methodological choices, I illustrate how critical discourse analysis as a methodology is well suited to the exploration of the word “terrorism” as viewed from a Western worldview as well as sociocultural critical perspectives. I elaborate on the methodology and theoretical framework, particularly the tool of analysis used in this research study.

Research Purpose

The aim of this research was to explore the term “terrorism” in the context of a Western worldview. By tracing the historical and sociocultural development of the West and Islamic Arab World, my objective was to explain how the term “terrorism” emerged and became situated in current Western and critical perspectives and, secondly, how the related discourse takes place and is perceived. The topic is current, relevant, and significant.

The conflict in Syria and Iraq has inspired an unprecedented surge of foreign fighters joining jihadist terrorist groups. This trend has become a dominant security concern and considerable efforts are being made to understand what is happening (Dawson et al., 2016). Critical discourse analysis may be an avenue to understand how terrorism is understood and meaning made of it. The resultant analysis may reveal the role of adult education in overcoming terrorism challenges. From the interaction of the societal structures and the resulting discourse, how is terrorism understood? What historical, political, ideologic, socioeconomic considerations,
and social theories are relevant and at play in the understanding? Within the spheres of policy and power, the selection of data reflected the execution of power in Western society. Thus, I will rely on government policy documents and news media textual data that inform and guide the public in understanding and discuss the strategies of how to deal with terrorism. These documents and text data sources constitute the corpus of official texts outlining the vision, strategy, and recommendations of the respective governments to their respective citizens as well as sources of information to inform the public. Seen from a “critically discoursed” lens, a gap in the literature may be addressed.

**Research Questions**

**Primary Research Question**

This research was guided by the following primary research question: How is the term “terrorism” made meaning of when viewed from a Western worldview? This primary research question centered on how and why the meaning of the term is made when viewed through a Western worldview.

**Sub-questions.** Sub-questions to support the primary research questions include:

1. How is the discourse of terrorism being produced through Western hegemony?
2. What are the ways in which the state becomes implicated in this discursive production of terrorism?
3. How can Western and critical sociocultural views of terrorism be reconciled through adult education? What does this mean for adult education?

This dissertation examines the Western power paradigm and discourse regarding terrorism. The terrorism discourse of the Islamic Arab World could similarly be analyzed but this was not the aim of this research study.
Ontological and Epistemological Underpinnings

Metrics, processes, and models all have limitations. Further, the explanation of why and how individuals become terrorists cannot be fully understood or determined through quantitative measures. Stern (2016) explained that in the study of terrorism, most research undertaken has been quantitative in nature because data, metrics, measurement, processes, and models have been necessary to secure funding. Collected quantitative data was used to propose indicators and build models to try to predict “scientifically” the making of a terrorist. Data collected and models deduced occurred at the micro level of society. Quantitative research has provided clarity on “what” but falls short on explaining underlying root causes, the “why” and “how” or offering a different understanding.

A gap in understanding still exists. As described by Pinnegar and Daynes (2012), quantitative research rests in positivistic and post-positivistic assumptions, and adopts, as the purpose of research, prediction and control. Scholarly literature offered psychological, historical, identity, and sociocultural explanations to understand terrorism from a Western viewpoint. The cardinal paradigm was the post-positivist quantitative paradigm. The positivist paradigm embraced various fields of specialization that were thought to underpin terrorism. These included political, economic, social, and psychological forces (Kundnani, 2012). Quantitative scholarship resulted in indicators and factors that could be clustered and formed the basis of models that are used by law enforcement agencies to predict and foil current and future threats. Scholars generally talk of “factors” or “indicators” that are statistically associated with terrorism and which intelligence agencies can use in their effort to detect future threats (Kundnani, 2012). A structured process is the current method of understanding terrorism (Cohen, 2016; Haykel, 2016;
Korn, 2016; Kundnani, 2012; Selim, 2016; The White House, 2016). Such scholarship is relevant and informative but clearly based on a Western viewpoint.

A scholarly shortcoming occurs in analyzing terrorism terms and phenomena from a sociocultural critical perspective. Social life is the object of study in social science, particularly the relationship between spheres of social life and activity, the economic, the political, and the cultural (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Although it is recognized that terrorism can only be understood by “broad, multi-institutional social strategies” (Stern, 2016, p. 103), a macro level, looking from a critical lens might bridge a gap in understanding. How is terrorism as a term viewed when discoursed critically? By moving the spotlight from terrorism in a worldview, the Western, and viewing the term from a sociocultural critical perspective, processes affecting the individual at a micro level and the social context at a macro level might help explain the global terrorism discourse and the unequal power relations in the meaning-making of the term.

Governments funded quantitative research (Korn, 2016; Mirahmadi, 2016; Stern, 2016) to help law enforcement agencies and communities predict and solve terrorism issues. In contrast, qualitative research aims to interpret and understand with less focus on prediction, control and one truth, and more focus on understanding the context and possibly many truths. Abram (1996) noted that “phenomenology is the Western philosophical tradition that has most forcefully called into question the modern assumption of a single, wholly determinable, objective reality” (p. 31). Further, Abram suggested that the sciences overlook daily direct experiences which are “necessarily subjective [and] necessarily relative to our own position” (p. 32). Simons, quoting from Flyvbjerg (2006), declared that when studying human affairs, “there appears to exist only context-dependent knowledge [and such subjective understandings are part] of the strength of qualitative research” (p. 221). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) elaborated:
Human social life is meaningful, and it is essential to take these meanings into account in our explanations, concepts, and theories; furthermore, to grasp the importance of the values, emotions, beliefs, and other meanings of cultural members, it is imperative to embrace an interpretivist approach in our scientific and theoretical work. (p. 582)

Central to the interpretivist paradigm is the notion that all reality and interpretations are socially constructed (Bhattacharya, 2008). Mindful of the why and how, the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm seems particularly relevant to my study of terrorism and what the term means in a Western worldview. Ontology, the nature of reality (Creswell, 2013), and epistemology, or what counts as knowledge and how knowledge claims are justified (Creswell, 2013), “are linked inextricably in ways that shape the task of the researcher” (Steinberg & Cannella, 2012, p. 24). From a post-positivist research perspective, contextual influence is acknowledged but the intent is to control context in the search for a single reality (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2012). A single-reality perspective may not be sufficient to understand why and how terrorism takes place. “Facts have meaning only in context” (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 165) and an important limitation is that a propaganda source could define which facts are important, and which can be ignored and the context and meaning-making can be manufactured, resulting in disinformation.

The critical discourse analysis at the base of my research study questions recommended a methodological approach to reveal the connection between language and power by examining the analysis of textual products. Critical discourse analysis regards “language as social practice” (Wodak, 2001, p. 1). Knowledge is derived from discursive contexts into which people are born, live, and evolve (Jaeger, 2001). Jaeger (2001) suggested that discourses can be understood as unique “material realities” that serve certain ends “to exercise power with all its effects” (p. 34).
Exercising power invariably leads to polarization. State institutions and regulations exercise the power of discourse through policy documents, regulation of access to resources, and the media. For the terrorism discourse, an ideologically biased discourse could evolve and research “is often interested in the study of ideologically biased discourses” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 103). This would occur both at the global macro level and local micro level where “an overall strategy of ‘positive self-presentation and negative other presentation’” was discernable (p.103).

My lived experience continues to guide my passion for research and has shaped my own ontology that is guided by a multiple-truth interpretivist-constructivist paradigm. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), users of the constructivism paradigm pursue re-understanding the social world. A focal point for interpretivists is the “interests and values of the observer” (Bhattacharya, 2008, p. 459) and the implications of such influences on the research. Bhattacharya (2008) described a reality independent of the researcher’s interests as unintelligible and noted that “at some level, all social research is interpretive because all such research is guided by the researcher’s desire to understand (and therefore interpret) social reality” (p. 464). Smith (2008) explained that interpretivists “should drop their concerns about theories of knowledge [and] rethink the role of methods in the research process” (p. 459). Certain methods are not obligatory, however, as interpretive researchers must “make a case for the procedures they employed and did not employ” (p. 460) because “social and educational reality is always something we make or construct, not something we find or discover” (p. 460). The constructivist-interpretivist position seems particularly relevant to my study of terrorism using discourse analysis, as “the idea that all reality and interpretations are socially constructed is core to this paradigm” (Bhattacharya, 2008 p. 466).
As indicated, quantitative research alone leaves lacunae in deeper understanding. Using the Canadian (or any other governments’) network for research on terrorism, security, and social data alone may diminish some of the strength of qualitative research in general and interpretive research in particular. On the micro level, I have realized the importance of context-dependent knowledge and human experience in qualitative research. On the macro level, politics and power, as discoursed through media propagating a particular worldview, shape lifeworlds and are in turn shaped by it. The micro-macro relationship is likely to be elusive to a proprietary quantitative lens and can be explored using critical discourse analysis.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of this research study was Fairclough’s analytical framework for conducting critical discourse analysis. The main goal of this dissertation is to locate the term “terrorism” in Western discourse by looking at the role of language in social discourse as mediated by state power, particularly through government policy documents and news media issued to its citizens. The goal is not to provide solutions to deal with terrorism; rather, the research study sought to expose the dynamics of power inherent in language and social discourse. Using the literature of discourse analysis, I examined critical discourse analysis.

In the literature on terrorism, a qualitative critical discourse analysis of the term “terrorism” may help fill a current gap in the literature. In this research, I linked two bodies of knowledge, namely, (a) critical discourse analysis and a Western worldview, and (b) sociocultural critical theory to understanding the term “terrorism” and to explore gaps in the literature.
Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) starts with a prevailing social problem looking at perspectives of those who suffer most, and then critically analyzes the stakeholders who hold power and could solve the social problems (Wodak, 2001). Critical discourse analysis can be used as a method in social scientific research (Fairclough, 2001, p. 121). “CDA is analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 123). Fairclough (2001) proposed the following analytical framework:

1. Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect: a problem concerned with signs and/or signification of the process of creating meaning such as terrorism.

2. Identify obstacles to it being tackled through analysis of:
   a) the network of practices it is located in
   b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements in the practice(s) concerned
   c) the discourse (the semiosis itself)
   • structural analysis: the order of discourse
   • interactional analysis
   • interdiscursive analysis
   • linguistic and semiotic analysis.

3. Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense “needs” the problem.

4. Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

5. Reflect critically on the analysis, steps one to four.
Fairclough’s (2001) analytical framework was adopted for the research. Fairclough’s CDA approach fitted the needs of my dissertation because it (a) provides an understanding and analysis of how a social phenomenon such as “terrorism” is discursively constructed, (b) provides an explanation of how the mainstream discourse on “terrorism” through news media and government policy documents shapes and is shaped and made meaning of, (c) helps reveal the role of Western hegemony in the production of the discourse on terrorism, and finally (d) unveils ways in which adult education can reconcile Western as well as critical sociocultural views on terrorism.

In critical discourse analysis, choices must be made regarding elements for analysis that are relevant for the study of the social issue (van Dijk, 2001). There are multiple ways to analyze meaning. Critical discourse analysis concerns the study of ideologically based discourses and the polarization of what the discourse represents for opposing groups. For this research study, the Western worldview and sociocultural critical theory polarize and reflect different ideologies. They affect society at the macro level as well as individuals at the micro level. Critical discourse analysis oscillates between local and global meaning analysis, and the macro and micro levels, and was therefore relevant to the research study. Van Dijk (2001) noted that critical discourse analysis examined the “many forms of implicit or indirect meanings, such as implications, presuppositions, allusions, vagueness, and so on” (p. 105).

Although all critical discourse analysis involves social issues of power and language, each scholar has a different view. Fairclough (2001) based his critical discourse analysis on theories of society and power, drawing from Foucauldian, Marxian social conflict, dominance, difference, and resistance theories. Van Dijk (2001) had a distinctly sociopsychological and sociocognitive approach. Jaeger (2001) had an interest in materialistic theory as informing
critical discourse analysis in the larger context of society and power. Wodak (2001) pondered discursive strategies and linguistic means. Fairclough’s approach to power and language, looking at dominance, difference, and resistance was the chosen theoretical framework for the research study.

The relation between language and power was another area of study relevant to the research. As described, I use a Foucauldian approach to discourse. Rather than exploring the rules that govern meaning-making, critical discourse analysis discusses the relation between language and power to understand how historically and socially instituted sources of power construct the wider social world (Cook, 2008; Wodak, 2001). Statements play a constructive role; they come to constitute objects and subjects (Potter, 2008). For example, a discourse on national security may produce the objects “terrorist” and “radical” so that discourse works to produce identity. Such “discursive formations” were linked to social practice; critical discourse analysis explores the connection between the documents, the action taken, and the location of the action. The text, action, and sites of action all “express aspects of a discursive formation” (Prior, 2008, p. 231).

Foucauldian theoretical perspectives inform how texts are constructed. The order, their evolution, the social and historical context are the basis of the discourse and, in turn, “produce discursive-based understandings of aspects of reality” (Cheek, 2008, p. 356). Even the language does not have a universal meaning, but meaning is assigned by speakers and listeners depending on the situation (Cheek). In addition to assigned meaning, vague or transparent structural relationships of “dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 2001, p. 2) are analytical concerns of critical discourse analysis. Terrorism as a term can thus be analyzed in terms of meaning, dominance, power, and control because the term is
used in certain contexts and worldviews. Using a Foucauldian lens, a discursive practice would investigate historically evolving discourses that helped shape the development and understanding of what the terms “terrorist” or “radical” mean (Potter, 2008).

Critical discourse analysis understands power to be an effect of sociohistorical processes where proponents claim authority in certain settings and seek to exclude other discursive framings (Cheek, 2008). As alluded to earlier, Said lamented the “silence of the other” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 42) with Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010), Asad (2003), and Buck-Morss (2003) noting the lack of critical public debate in liberal democratic societies, resulting in the more powerful imposing the public discourse globally and hegemonically. In the context of different worldviews that evolved historically, with the Western worldview dominant, critical discourse analysis is particularly relevant in explaining the sociohistorical processes of how the discursive framing of terrorism is viewed and who is excluded and why. The effects of power can be illuminated. This method was particularly relevant in the critical-discourse analysis, qualitative-research approach chosen for my research study.

For the research, a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis would enable the exploration of how language is used by governments, its institutions, and the media, through policy documents and news reports to shape the views of its citizens with respect to the term “terrorism.” Aspects of reality that come to be viewed as natural can thus be challenged (Cheek, 2008). As a researcher I was interested in exploring the discourse to understand “how things have come to be the way they are, how it is that they remain that way, and how else they might have been or could be” (Cheek, 2008, p. 355). Critical discourse analysis assumes a critical approach and examines “how power is operationalized through language” (Cook, 2008, p. 217), thus enabling an exploration of the “power–knowledge nexus” (Cheek, 2008, p. 356) in looking
at terrorism from opposing worldviews. The objective of the critical discourse analysis research was “aimed at producing enlightenment and emancipation” (Wodak, 2001, p. 10)

Texts are written by many individuals who work in institutions with different power relations. While synthesizing a text, “discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which are themselves in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre” (Wodak, 2001, p. 11). Texts are sites of struggle that may shed light on discourses and ideologies struggling for dominance in shaping social life (Wodak). Critical discourse analysis tries to locate and examine such struggles for power and control in the text. Highly structured organizations hold most power and control, and influence lived experiences with language as an integral part of that control (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). The research looked at powerful government institutions and media which issue policy documents and news reports on how to deal with the threat of terrorism, inform the public, and increase understanding of the current global issue.

To summarize, my chosen theoretical framework, Fairclough’s (2001) analytical framework was adopted for the research study. The proposed framework analyzes language and elements of social practice (Fairclough, 2001). Elements of social practice relevant to exploring the term “terrorism” include ideologically based discourses and polarization, power, the construction of texts, and sociohistorical processes. The objective of the research was to understand “terrorology” (Stern, 2016, p. 102), which is a term meaning “terrorism” from a Western viewpoint. In the section that follows, I explain the rationale for critical discourse analysis and data analysis.
Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis

The primary research question was formulated with a social constructivism approach which regards language as an intersubjective system of meanings through which we understand reality. Language and the intersubjective system comprise several terms that require clarification. Bloor and Bloor (2007) defined “discourse” as “all the phenomena of symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation” (p. 6). Cheek (2008) noted that no absolute definitions delineate discourse from discourse analysis. Jaeger (2001) proclaimed that “discourse is a regulating body, it forms consciousness” (p. 35) and “[they] live a life of their own in relation to reality” (p. 36). Discourse analysis allows the systematic analysis of spoken or written text in social contexts (Fairclough, 1995).

Symbolic interactions take many forms and include spoken or written language or “via gesture, pictures, diagrams, films, or music” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 2). Fairclough (2001) used the term “semiosis” to include “all forms of meaning-making—visual images, body language, as well as language. We can see social life as interconnected networks of social practices of diverse sorts (economic, political, cultural, and so on). And every practice has a semiotic element” (p. 122). Text is written or spoken data; discourse refers to the “whole act of communication involving production and comprehension” (p. 7). As a product of discourse, text “needs to meet seven standards of textuality: cohesion, coherence, acceptability, intentionality, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 7).

“‘Discourse domain’ is the term for a socially recognized context within which the discourse takes place” (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p. 8). The collection of symbols and images in
society “is available with which we visualize a complete picture of societal reality and/or the political landscape of society, and through which we then interpret these and are provided with interpretations—in particular by the media” (Jaeger, 2001, p. 35). The discourse domain for the research study was government policy documents and news reports dealing with terrorism.

In using discourse analysis (DA) in research, study is based on the language and how it “works” or on how language and discourse are used in society to effect social change. Linguists are interested in language for its own sake (Bloor & Bloor, 2007) whereas critical discourse analysis is interested in how language is used for social maintenance and change (Bloor & Bloor, 2007; van Dijk, 2015). Cheek (2008) suggested that at any point in time “there are a number of possible discursive frames for thinking, writing, and speaking about aspects of reality” (p. 356) and as a result of power relations, “not all discourses are afforded equal presence or equal authority” (p. 356). The Empire and its state-centered U.S.-supported neopatriarchal client regimes of the Middle East, on one side, and Islamist political terror, on the other, are locked in a black and white binary discourse that produces Islamophobic discursive frames as reality. Thus, Bloor and Bloor (2007) declared that a deeper understanding of discourse is necessary in order to understand its role as a controlling force in society, and its role in persuading and manipulating individuals (the micro) and social groups (the macro). Van Dijk (2001) explained:

We may distinguish between local and global contexts. Global contexts are defined by the social, political, cultural, and historical structures in which a communicative event takes place. In critical discourse analysis, they often form the ultimate explanatory and critical rationale of discourse and its analysis. Local context is usually defined in terms of properties of the immediate, interactional situation in which a communicative event takes place. (p. 108)
In studying the term “terrorism,” this research study examines how language and discourse are used by holders of power to effect either social maintenance or change. In societies holding a Western worldview, the research examined (a) the way discourses are ordered to produce a certain reality, and (b) the role power relations play in effecting or producing the “final” reality. Government policy documents and news media (as data) will be analyzed to understand the term “terrorism” in the Western worldview.

Most of the discourse analysis models share three main features: (a) the organization of texts, (b) how sentences connect within the context of the text, and (c) the relations between linguistic and non-linguistic activity. Thus, discourse analysis can generally be placed within one of the following four approaches (Figure 2) championed by Norman Fairclough, van Dijk, Siegfried Jaeger, and Ruth Wodak (Fairclough, 2001; Jaeger, 2001; Meyer, 2001; van Dijk, 2001, 2015; Wodak, 2001). As noted earlier, Fairclough’s approach served as the theoretical framework of this research.
The method used in this research drew primarily from the tradition of critical approaches championed by Norman Fairclough as proposed in his five-step approach (Theoretical Framework). Critical discourse analysis generally sees its procedure as a hermeneutic process and hermeneutic circle, meaning one part can be understood only in the context of the whole, which in turn is only accessible from its component parts (Meyer, 2001). Practices are forms of production of social life, economic, cultural, and political. A practice is part of a network of
other practices and influences and is modified by that network. Practices are reflexive: “People always generate representations of what they do as part of what they do” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 22). This process includes written text such as government policy documents and news media publications. Strict “objectivity” cannot be achieved by means of discourse analysis (Meyer). Theory and methodology are eclectic and integrated to understand social problems under investigation. There is no standard accepted data-collection method; operationalization and analyses are problem-oriented and imply linguistic expertise (Meyer, 2001).

**Methods**

In the spheres of policy and power, the method of selection of data included representative cases of a Western worldview. Data could be anything that a researcher could read for meaning, including texts, picture, language, events, and objects. Thus, I opted for policy documents of governments representing a Western worldview which included Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. Likewise, news media from Canada, the United States, and Great Britain were represented. Al Jazeera English, an English-language news outlet based in Qatar was also included. I retrieved all the textual data from government websites and the Factiva database that all the news media outlets represented in the database. The Canadian Press, British Broadcasting Corporation, CNN, Fox News, and Al Jazeera English had textual data in the Factiva database and were prominent news organizations that have a role to play in the manufacture of national culture, influencing the sociopolitical and cultural scene. For the news media, articles from the years 2012-2015 when there was a spike in terrorism were selected based on occurrence on the list of proxies for the term “terrorism” listed in Table 3. The random selection based on the occurrence of the term “terrorism” and its proxies was selected in a way
that allowed the researcher to examine the phenomenon of terrorism and how a Western worldview constructs and engages in meaning-making for the reader. Besides news media articles and policy documents, the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy was included. An overview of the policy documents and thus textual data is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1

List of Data for Policy Documents and News Media Outlets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Documents</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Building Resilience Against Terrorism (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Terrorism and Violent Extremism Awareness Guide (2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>The Prevent Strategy (2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Partners to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States (2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United Nations</td>
<td>UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (2006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Media</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>The Canadian Press</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News Media</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Media</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Cable News Network (CNN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Media</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Fox News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Media</td>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>Al Jazeera English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Collection

Most critical discourse analysis studiesanalyze “typical texts” but there is no well-defined empirical method, rather a cluster of approaches so that “there is no typical critical discourse analysis way of collecting data” (Meyer, 2001, p. 23). The texts chosen represent policy documents dealing with terrorism threats posed to nations that adhere to a Western worldview. These texts can be understood as representing ways in which terrorism is viewed and has been socially constructed through policy by those governments and related media. Meyer (2001) suggested that critical discourse analysis studies “mostly deal with only small corpora which are usually regarded as being typical of certain discourses” (p. 25). Fairclough (2001)
proposed a five-step analytical framework which was used to focus on how the term “terrorism” is represented in the policy documents as a social problem, how the discourse is presented, and what the obstacles were. In the context of the research questions, the analysis was interested primarily in how the term “terrorism” is made meaning of when discoursed from a Western worldview and sociocultural critical perspective using government documents and news media. The text listed in Table 1 was scrutinized for linguistic composition (vocabulary, syntax, figures of speech), for the argumentative structures (claims, premises, support), for the mechanisms through which these choices (linguistic and argumentative structures) were legitimized for their function in relation to their intended audiences.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was influenced by the four elements crucial to any critical discourse analysis: (a) the topic under discussion, (b) the discursive strategy, (c) the linguistic means, and (d) the way in which the linguistic means are applied to certain contexts (Meyer, 2001). Fairclough (2003) noted the importance of meaning and context in attributing causal effects of text on action taken by social actors or recipients. Understanding the context and meaning-making requires “looking at texts dynamically, in terms of how social agents make or “texture” texts by setting up relations between their elements” (p. 12). Fairclough advised that “there are three analytically separable elements in processes of meaning-making: the production of the text, the text itself, and the reception of the text” (p. 10). In analyzing the government document text and news media text, for my research, text analysis was based on the production of the text rather than the reception and interpretation. I do not mean to imply that the reception of the text element was not as important, but I would like to stress that the focus was more on “texture” production rather than individual mental cognition.
In the context of the research question, how is the term “terrorism” made meaning of when viewed from a Western worldview? The analysis mainly concerned the relations established between the term “terrorism” and a Western worldview. These relations were subsequently analyzed from the perspective of Fairclough’s theoretical framework. The key relevance of the framework was the possibility of combining relational and dialectical elements.

Stage One in the framework tackled the problematic of terrorism. “What is problematic and calls for change is an inherently contested and controversial matter” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 125) but with critical discourse analysis having emancipatory objectives, the focus was on the “losers” in society. What themes are addressed when the problematic of terrorism is communicated by producers of the textual news? Is there a pattern among different articles and if so, why? Are any themes contested and controversial and are the themes depicted subjectively or objectively?

Stage Two examined relational elements and approaches of the problematic of terrorism by asking, “What is it about the way in which social life is structured and organized that makes this [terrorism] a problem which is resistant to an easy solution” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 125). The analysis considered the social network of practices, the relationship of semiosis to other social elements, and the discourse itself. Stage Two looked at texts dynamically. Fairclough (2003) proposed a “manifesto” (p. 191) that tackles key issues in text: social events, genre, difference, intertextuality, assumptions, semantic or grammatical relations between sentences and clauses, exchanges, speech functions, and grammatical mood, discourses, representation of social events, styles, modality, and evaluation. Guided by Fairclough’s (2003) textual analysis manifesto, my study analyzed the way social life is constructed on the problem of terrorism by using the questions summarized in the following textual analysis questions table.
Table 2

*List of Textual Analysis Questions* (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 191-194)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textual analysis issue</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Social events          | • What social event, and what chain of social events, is the text a part of? How is the term “terrorism” situated in the news text when produced? How does the term relate to the proxy terms?  
  • What social practice or network of social practices can the events be referred to or be seen as framed by?  
  • Is the text part of a chain or network of texts? |
| Genre                  | • Is the text situated in a genre chain? What social actions are evident? Do the actions follow a process? Are the actions placed in a particular context? Is there a pattern in different news articles?  
  • Is the text characterized by a mix of genres? Do the mix of genres constitute a pattern?  
  • What genres does the text draw upon, and what are their characteristics (in terms of activity, social relations, communication technologies)? Is there a pattern through different articles? News media outlets? |
| Difference             | • Which (combination) of the following scenarios characterize the orientation to difference in the text?  
  What particular words are used? What styles of... |
arguments are used? What is portrayed as the cause of the main problem and what solution is identified?

a) an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in “dialogue” in the richest sense of the term; b) an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power.

c) an attempt to resolve or overcome difference.

d) a bracketing of difference, emphasis on commonality, solidarity; and

e) consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and over norms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intertextuality</th>
<th>Of relevant other texts or voices, which are included, which are significantly excluded? Who are the key participants or producers of the text?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Were other voices are included? Are they attributed, and if so, specifically, or non-specifically? What perspectives were included or excluded?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are attributed voices directly reported (quoted) or indirectly reported?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How are other voices textured in relation to the authorial voice, and in relation to each other? Are the</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assumptions</td>
<td>• What existential, propositional, or value assumptions are made? Is there a case for seeing any assumptions as ideological? Is there an ideological pattern apparent in a text? Across different texts? In a media outlet? How do different media outlets compare with one another? With the government policy documents?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses</td>
<td>• What are the predominant semantic relations between sentences and clauses (causal: reason, consequence, purpose; conditional; temporal; additive; elaborative; contrastive, or concessive)? Who caused the problem and who provided the solution? • Are there higher-level semantic relations over larger stretches of the text (e.g., problem–solution)? • Are grammatical relations between clauses predominantly paratactic, with constructs given an equal role side by side? Or hypotactic with constructs playing an unequal role in a sentence, or embedded? Are particularly significant relations of equivalence and difference set up in the text?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Exchanges, speech functions, and grammatical mood | - What are the predominant types of exchange (activity exchange, or knowledge exchange) and speech functions (statement, question, demand, offer)?  
- What types of statement are there (statements of fact, predictions, hypotheticals, evaluations)?  
- Are there “metaphorical” relations between exchanges, speech functions, or types of statement (e.g., demands which appear as statements, evaluations which appear as factual statements)? What symbols were used and why? Are there any ideological and cultural elements that determined the selection of particular metaphors?  
- What is the predominant grammatical mood (declarative, interrogative, or imperative)? |
|---|---|
| Discourses | - What discourses are drawn upon in the text and how are they textured together? Is there a significant mixing of discourses?  
- What are the features that characterize the discourses which are drawn upon (semantic relations between words, collocations, metaphors, assumptions, and grammatical features – see immediately below)? |
<p>| Representation of social events | - What elements of represented social events are included or excluded, and which included elements are most salient? |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Styles</th>
<th>Modality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • How abstractly or concretely are social events represented?  
• How are processes represented? What are the predominant process types (material, mental, verbal, relational, or existential)?  
• Are there instances of grammatical metaphor in the representation of processes?  
• How social actors are represented (activated/passivated, personal/impersonal, named/classified, specific/generic)?  
• How are time, space and the relation between “space–times” represented? | • What do authors commit themselves to in terms of truth (epistemic modalities)? Or in terms of obligation and necessity (deontic modalities) |
| • What styles are drawn upon in the text, and how are they textured together?  
• Is there a significant mixing of styles?  
• What are the features that characterize the styles that are drawn upon (“body language,” pronunciation and other phonological features, vocabulary, metaphor, modality, or evaluation – see immediately below for the latter two)? |
| Evaluation | To what extent are modalities categorical (assertion, denial, etc.); to what extent are they modalized (with explicit markers of modality)? Are statements subjective and explicit, or objective and implicit?  
| Evaluation | What levels of commitment are there (high, median, low) where modalities are modalized?  
| Evaluation | What are the markers of modalization (modal verbs, modal adverbs, etc.)  
| Evaluation | To what values (in terms of what is desirable or undesirable) do authors commit themselves?  
| Evaluation | How are values realized: as evaluative statements, statements with deontic modalities, statements with affective mental processes, or assumed values? Who was setting the agenda and how? |
Table 3  
List of Proxies for the Term Terrorism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terrorism &amp; its proxies</th>
<th>1. The Canadian Press: Terrorism; terrorist; terror; radical.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC): terrorist;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community; violent; security; activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Cable News Network (CNN): terrorist; terrorism; terror;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>radical; community; violent; security; activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Fox News: terrorist; community; violent; security; activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Al Jazeera English: terrorist; violent; security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. All media outlets: terrorist and terrorism and terror and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>radical and community and violent and security and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>activity used, maximum eight search terms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To understand a text, it is necessary to compare and relate it to other texts and social practices. I tried to reveal whether the media text being analyzed was explicitly or implicitly drawing upon existing texts by discussing elements of intertextuality, textual reproductions, and textual transformation.

Help in the organizing the data was sought from a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analytics software, QSR International's NVivo 12 software. Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) packages have a thirty-year history and have been developed specially to support qualitative approaches to qualitative data (Saillard, 2011). NVivo tools were used for systematically organizing, coding, annotating, and visualizing data so that managing and exploring the data became easier. My research involved working with a large body of text. Quick transitions from one textual location to another is necessary to systematically analyze the large
body of textual data using Fairclough’s five-step theoretical framework. Text documents were imported into NVivo, and the software was used as a systematic tool for quickly sorting out, analyzing, and coding textual research data. I chose to use NVivo as my CAQDAS package because it allowed easy interaction with textual data (Saillard).

CAQDAS packages did not impose any methodological approach and allowed me to apply different analysis strategies such as inductive or deductive, interpretative, or systematic. NVivo tools were functional in using an interpretative process, giving me closeness to the data, ease of coding and memo-ing, and visibility of the interrelationship among the data, code, and memo (Saillard, 2011).

The NVivo interface had three sections: (a) import for data collection, (b) organizing for coding, and (c) exploring for data analysis (QSR International, 2019). As tools, those three sections allowed a document such as a compilation of news article or a government report to be viewed as a whole document and subsequently analyzed in detail using the document browser and code system windows (Saillard, 2011). The Explore section allowed further analysis. Memos and notes taken by the researcher throughout the research process were written into the sections. They concerned the whole project, the data in general, each data source or part of it, my analysis, and codes (Saillard). The Organize section was used by the categories I created for this research: Fairclough’s framework. For interpretative methods, the Memo function was helpful in exploring discourse patterns in the data and will help categorize large quantities of data. Codes can be ordered hierarchically and with the use of the Organize and Explore sections, relations between the codes were visualized (QSR International, 2019). Thus, word trees and charts were created to explore word count and word relationships.
In NVivo, memos were created and linked to the entire data source, or code, or to choose segments of data. Another tool in NVivo for memo-ing allowed me to add short notes to individual code assignations. My research analysis strategy was based on Fairclough’s five-step framework. By using NVivo, this was classified into two main analytical aspects (a) a systematic aspect that includes indexing, a coding approach; and (b) an interpretative aspect using cross-referencing and hypertext linking of the textual data (QSR International, 2019). Texts could be read line-by-line to understand what was said or done, and I made interpretations and could start with coding as the first step of categorization; highlighting ensured complete coverage of the textual data. In NVivo, this was simply done by selecting the text and right clicking on it to tie it to the appropriate code in Fairclough’s framework. In this way the contextual menu was opened, including the two options for coding: “Code NVivo” or “Code with a new code.” The coding system window stored all the codes, regardless of the way I created them.

The starting point of the analysis was the textual data from the identified sources between the years 2012 and 2015. The data was sourced on the internet from the respective government and Factiva database and then imported into NVivo using the data import function. The data was then coded, analyzed, and interpreted. The term “terrorism” and the list of proxies for the term “terrorism” listed in Table 3 were sought in the imported textual data. To preserve the context for the analysis of the term “terrorism” I tried to select complete sentences or phrases as a basic unit of analysis. I then analyzed them using Fairclough’s (2003) textual analysis manifesto and five-stage theoretical framework, aided by the analytical and interpretive tools of the NVivo software.

The aim was understanding the context and meaning-making and thus looking at the text dynamically, especially the production of the text, its texture and how the relations between the textual elements were produced by government policy documents and news media outlets. Since
critical discourse analysis has emancipatory objectives, interpretation using codes and 
categorization was on the “losers” in society. Using NVivo tools, discourse patterns in the data 
were explored and categorized. The texture of the documents using interpreted codes was 
ordered hierarchically or using NVivo Explore; relations between the codes were visualized and 
critiqued, shedding light on discourse patterns intended by the text producers on the problematic 
of terrorism. The interpretation, coding, and memo-ing of textual elements were guided by using 
the questions in Table 2, the list of textual analysis questions. I asked questions, seeking answers 
in the text. This approach shed light on the textual analysis issue that may be on particular social 
events, genre, difference, intertextuality, assumptions, semantic or grammatical relations 
between sentences and clauses, exchanges, speech functions, and grammatical mood, discourses, 
representation of social events, styles, modality, and evaluation. The social problem of terrorism 
with a semiotic aspect of meaning-making through text (Fairclough’s analytic framework, Stage 
1) was then interpreted. My decision to create a code and assign a textual data segment from the 
text to that code was an interpretative process (Saillard, 2011). Interpretation through coding and 
memo-ing may identify the obstacles to the issue being tackled by looking at the network of 
practices and relationship to other elements of the term “terrorism” where it is located and made 
visible by the interpreted codes and NVivo Explore, and relations between the codes 
(Fairclough’s Stage 2). CAQDAS packages of tools such as comments, memos, or annotations 
were of critical importance in interpretive analysis. Such textual analysis and relationships were 
made visible using my interpretation and the NVivo textual analysis tool, and were then used to 
inform Fairclough’s Stages 3-5, consideration of whether the social order “needs” the problem, 
identification of possible ways past the obstacle and, finally, a critical reflection on the analysis.
Limitations and Criticisms of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis views texts as constructed and constructing understanding of reality rather than describing it or the reality itself (Cheek, 2008). As such it can be perceived as not providing “a sufficiently rigorous methodology in which the reader is satisfied that the analysis has produced the only one possible reading” (p. 357). Results are criticized for not being generalizable (Cheek, 2008). The term “discourse” is vague and lacks a clear demarcation compared with “text” (Meyer, 2001).

Other criticisms include critical discourse analysis as being an ideological interpretation and thus not an analysis. This viewpoint includes a biased interpretation based on a prejudiced ideological commitment, selects texts based on preferred interpretation, and is open-ended with regard to results (Meyer). “Merely focusing on the production of meanings may not lead to ‘resisting and transforming the existing conditions of exploitation’” was another criticism noted (Kincheloe et al., 2018, p. 246). Wodak (2001) suggested further criticisms including the hermeneutic approach, the broad contexts used to interpret texts, the large theoretical framework, and the political stance used by the researchers.

Reliability and Trustworthiness

Critical discourse analysis is discourse analysis “with an attitude” and seeks to benefit dominated groups and challenge power abuse (van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). As a result, “strict objectivity cannot be achieved by means of discourse analysis” (Meyer, 2001, p. 30). The beliefs and ideologies of the analysts, prejudicing the analysis toward the analysts’ preconceptions, will affect reliability and trustworthiness. Jaeger (2001) suggested that the classical concepts of validity and reliability used in quantitative research cannot be applied to critical discourse analysis without modification. Validity and reliability, in addition to the classical criteria of
representativeness and completeness, could be achieved if new data revealed no new findings (Jaeger, 2001). The research looked at six government policy documents and four years of news media data, making a total of 174 news articles. The size of the data set may result in no new findings.

Another aspect of critical discourse analysis that supports its validity and trustworthiness is that it must be definite about how discursive violations occur. The aim of the critical discourse analyst is to show the way discourse is involved in reproducing dominance or power abuse at the macro level of groups, movements, institutions, and nation states (van Dijk, 2001). This means that critical discourse analysis “needs an explicit ethics” (p. 119). Since critical discourse analysis is interested in the discursive dimension of these abuses, it must “spell out the detailed conditions of the discursive violations of human rights” (p. 119). In addition, van Dijk (2001) proposed accessibility as a criterion for critical discourse analysis. Findings should be accessible and readable for the audience under investigation.

Wodak (2001) suggested triangulation procedures to ensure validity. Wodak’s triangulatory approach suggested looking at the data at four levels: (a) the immediate language, (b) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts, (c) the social level or context of the situation, and (d) the broader sociopolitical and historical context. By permanent switching between the different levels of data and evaluating the findings from these different perspectives, the risk of being biased is minimized (Wodak). Additionally, I attempted to reduce the perceived bias in my research through extensive use of the academic work of others. This is evident in a multitude of direct quotes of their work.
Limitations and Delimitations

Limitations

A limitation of the study is that the documents reflected selected government documents, the news media, and the United Nations body. During the data-gathering phase, the most recent policy documents were used. For the news media data, the analysis was limited to news media published between 01/01/2012 and 31/12/2015, the years that saw a spike in global terrorism.

Critical discourse analysis does not deal with “facts” that imply a “truth.” Rather, CDA views texts as constructed and constructing meaning rather than trying to identify reality. Constructed meaning can be interrogated. “Discourse” as a term is vague (Meyer, 2001) and critical discourse analysis can be perceived as not being rigorous enough as a methodology (Cheek, 2008) because it is open to multiple interpretations. As noted earlier, I do not intend to provide a model that can predict terrorism. Instead, I propose a particular form of interpretation, based on the analysis according to the theoretical framework in Chapter Three. Although the interpretation may propose “causes,” this causality cannot be generalized, a common criticism of critical discourse analysis (Cheek, 2008).

Delimitations

Delimitations include the number of policy documents and news media outlets listed in Table 1. A greater number of Western governments exist than those selected for the research and so do a larger set of terrorism-related policy documents. Another limitation is the four years, beginning 2012 to end of 2015, when the news media is analyzed because the discourse of terrorism took place before and after the analysis timeframe.
Summary

In this chapter, I provided details of the research design at the basis of this research study. I illustrated how I used critical discourse analysis to explore government policy documents and news media on the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview and I elaborated on Norman Fairclough’s five-step approach as a framework for data analysis. In Chapter Four, I discuss my findings and analysis of the research study.
Chapter Four: Findings and Analysis

Overview

In this chapter, I explore the ways in which the meaning of the term “terrorism” is linguistically constructed by analyzing government documents and news media outlets using critical discourse analysis. The aim is to examine the phenomenon of terrorism and how a Western worldview constructs and engages in meaning-making for the reader. Besides news media articles and policy documents, the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy is included. Data analysis was based on Fairclough’s five-step approach, the theoretical framework, and the textual analysis manifesto. Fairclough (2003) noted the importance of meaning and context to attribute the causal effects of text on action taken by social actors or recipients. The findings were organized in ways to answer the primary and sub-research questions of this study:

How is the term “terrorism” made meaning of when viewed from a Western worldview? This primary research question centered on how and why meaning of the term is made when viewed with a Western worldview.

Sub-questions. Sub-questions to inform the primary research questions included:

1. How is the discourse of terrorism being produced through Western hegemony?

2. What are the ways in which the state becomes implicated in this discursive production of terrorism?

3. How can Western and a critical sociocultural view of terrorism be reconciled through adult education? What does this mean for adult education?

The detailed analyses were presented on which discourses underlay the term “terrorism” in government policy documents and news media outlets and how they have been influencing
and shaping a Western worldview of the term “terrorism.” Through Fairclough’s analytical framework, I attempt to shed light on the discourse and its workings on the broader social level.

The policy documents were retrieved from the organizations’ respective websites and are listed in Chapter Three, Table 1. News media articles were identified using search terms in the Factiva database. The sample frame contained news media articles from five types of media and totalled 174 articles. The sampling procedure involved two steps.

First, search terms were identified using the NVivo Auto-coded Themes feature by searching for the top themes in the government policy documents sample set. The resulting eight terms (terrorist, terrorism, terror, radical, community, violent, security, and activity) were used as the search terms in the news media articles.

Second, the eight search terms were used as proxies in the Factiva database to source a sample size of at least 25 articles per news media outlet. The objective was to have a broad scope of news media outlets. The second objective was to keep the sample size at a feasible level. Additionally, in the Factiva database three filters were applied. First, the “Free Text Search” with the first filter, date range applied from 1/01/2012 until 31/12/2015 for a four-year search period. The second filter applied in the Factiva database was under “subjects” for “terrorism.” The third and final filter was under “source” for the selected news media outlets: The Canadian Press, British Broadcasting Corporation, CNN, Fox News, and Al Jazeera English.

Through the observation period and eight proxy search terms, 174 news media articles from five media outlets were identified. The Factiva database, produced by Dow Jones, included full text coverage of local and regional newspapers of the media outlets sought. The database allowed a search for the sources, the media outlets, as well as limitation of the date range January 1, 2012 – December 31, 2015. The dates of news coverage were based on the period when there
was a spike in terrorism. The search query was for the terms “terrorism,” “terrorist,” “terror,” “radical,” “community,” “violent,” “security,” and “activity” appearing anywhere in the text with the sample size baseline set to at least 24 articles and the eight terms used to reduce the database to a manageable set of articles. Between three and eight of the eight search terms were used to keep the size of articles for each media outlet ranging from 24 to 51 articles. The total number of articles was 174; the breakdown across all five news media outlets is shown in Table 4 below.

**Table 4**

*Number of Articles for Each News Media Outlet*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Outlet</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>NVivo Auto-coded themes used</th>
<th>Number of Factiva articles: MS Word pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Canadian Press</td>
<td>01/01/2012 to 31/12/2015</td>
<td>Terrorism, terrorist, terror, radical</td>
<td>28 (59 pages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Broadcasting</td>
<td>01/01/2012 to 31/12/2015</td>
<td>Terrorist, community, violent, security, activity</td>
<td>24 (112 pages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporation (BBC)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cable News Network (CNN)</td>
<td>01/01/2012 to 31/12/2015</td>
<td>Terrorist, terrorism, terror, radical, community, violent, security, activity</td>
<td>51 (697 pages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox News</td>
<td>01/01/2012 to 31/12/2015</td>
<td>Terrorist, community, violent, security, activity</td>
<td>33 (552 pages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Jazeera English</td>
<td>01/01/2012 to 31/12/2015</td>
<td>Terrorist, violent, security</td>
<td>38 (89 pages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>174 (1509 pages)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fairclough’s Framework for Media Discourse Analysis and Translation to NVivo**

**Coding**

The words and the way in which the government policy document and news media articles are written is what I seek to understand for Fairclough’s Dimension One. In Dimension Two, discursive practice is the way the texts are produced. In the form, and how the text draws on other discourses, what are the connecting threads? For Dimension Three, social practice
concerns the norms and traditions of how terrorism is viewed from a Western worldview. What is the structure of the discourse and how is the communication taking place? What is not being said or what is omitted? What is the “code” of the shared way of talking or creating texts about “terrorism” or the discourses of the “terrorism” topic that has evolved in a Western worldview on terrorism? What is the language or system of representation that has developed socially to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings for the term “terrorism?” Fairclough’s five-step framework was translated into codes that were then used to analyze the government policy documents and media articles.

Coding, as used here, is the process of identifying passages of text, words, phrases, or whole sections. Once identified, the textual data was allocated to a particular code as defined by Fairclough’s five-stage framework. The code could be a theme, a topic, a concept and observation, an attitude or behaviour, a keyword, a phrase, or an idea. Codes have been associated with Fairclough’s framework for textual analysis and created in the NVivo’s Organize section. Fairclough’s framework was “translated” into NVivo codes (see Appendix A, Table 6). The approach is a priori in that Fairclough’s conceptual framework was translated into NVivo and then the government policy documents, and news media textual data analyzed, and pieces of text allocated to the appropriate codes. Code strips in the NVivo tools were used to monitor coding progress in the 174 articles, 1,500 plus pages, that were treated as documents by media outlets. Similarly, the government policy documents were analyzed using the same conceptual framework. The policy documents and each news media outlet represented one lengthy document to which Fairclough’s framework was applied. Analyses were organized in ways that chronologically followed the five steps of Fairclough’s framework as detailed in the Data Analysis section in Chapter Three.
The methods of discourse analysis included the decryption, interpretation, and explanation of the five dimensions of the discourse on terrorism and their discursive relations at the micro local, and more macro institutional and societal domains. In employing Fairclough’s five-step framework, I analysed the discursive strategies and subtlety of ideologies and compared them to social practice, which would reveal the relation of language ideologies to the way terrorism is perceived and understood from a Western worldview. The discursive questions and features are shown in Table 2. *List of Textual Analysis Questions* in Chapter Three.

The findings are presented in the following three sections: (a) findings of Fairclough’s stages one and two as analyzed using the NVivo tool; (b) Fairclough’s stages three, four and five, interpretation; movement from a negative to a positive critique; and (c) critical reflection on Fairclough’s preceding four stages if present in the articles summarized. See Appendix B, NVivo number of codes summaries for the Textual data. Table 7. *Summary of Number of Codes* of Fairclough’s five stages for each of the Textual Data sample shows the number of codes for each data set in the sample. Samples from Fairclough’s Stages One and Two are summarized in Appendix C. Sample Codes for Textual Data Tables, with six tables, Tables 8-13, for each of the government policy documents and media outlets analyzed. Each data set followed the section sequence. Each of the media outlets had one segment that with government policy documents last for a total of six sections. Findings for each of the six sections start with an overview of the data set using NVivo’s mechanical tools. CDA does not compile quantitative data such as frequency of words or numbers of articles and numeric occurrences of particular items but highlighting these features in the data does provide some insight and contextual perspective of media interest in the issue of terrorism over the 2012-2015-time frame. Word frequency, themes, sentiment, and word tree tools were used and summarized to create a “broad brush, big picture”
of the textual data. Mechanical summaries were followed by the application of Fairclough’s five stages using the translation to NVivo codes, Appendix A, Table 6. *Translation of Fairclough’s Theoretical Framework* to NVivo Codes. Through Fairclough’s framework, CDA will provide deeper understanding of meaning in the texts and how these meanings may become a hegemonic interpretive framework for understanding discourse.

**Findings**

**Five Media Outlets’ Word Frequency, Themes, Sentiment, and Word Tree Data**

This section summarizes the five Factiva database-queried media outlets’ word frequency, themes, sentiment, and word tree tools summarized to build a “broad brush, big picture” of the textual data. Mechanical summaries were followed by the application of Fairclough’s five stages using the translation to NVivo codes. The following table summarizes the five media outlets’ data. All five outlets had a date range of 01/01/2012 to 31/12/2015. Any reference to religion was omitted. A word frequency search for the top 10 words with minimum length of four letters was carried out for each outlet. A thematic search of the textual data was conducted using NVivo’s Auto Code feature. Completing the mechanical data analysis was a text search using NVivo’s Word Tree feature on the word “terrorism” on the five words that preceded as well as followed the term, the tree “branches.”
Table 5

Summary of Word Frequency, Themes, Sentiment, and Word Tree Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Outlet</th>
<th>Words per article</th>
<th>Top ten words</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Terrorism Word Tree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Canadian Press</td>
<td>700-1100</td>
<td>Canadian, Canada, Press, terrorism, government, terrorist, people, police, terror, security</td>
<td>Security, terrorist, terror, national, groups</td>
<td>anti-, against, global, homegrown, international, act (verb), Act (noun), bill, and charges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)</td>
<td>300-17,000</td>
<td>Xinjiang, people, ethnic, also, government, region, state, development, international, and security</td>
<td>Areas, system, Xinjiang, ethnic minority, people, government, level, state, administrative, autonomy</td>
<td>anti-, against, counter, threatened by, and combating but against the fundamentalist Islamic, combating the spread of extremist, Islamic State supporters, Israel has proven it can, youth unemployment, tribalism, corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cable News Network (CNN)</td>
<td>2,000-10,000</td>
<td>Know, people, right, going, just, think, police, well, also, and, ISIS</td>
<td>Police, security, law enforcement, bombs, Tsarnaev, attack, state, people, today, communities</td>
<td>about-, against, counter, fighting, and Islamic, Islamist, countering-violent, stop-supporting, analyst, expert, in, investigation, suspects, and task force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox News</td>
<td>7,000-20,000</td>
<td>Know, people, think, going, right, just, president, hannity, news, well</td>
<td>Terrorists, gun, people, today, thing, visa, police, law, control, program</td>
<td>Islamic-, Islamist, Muslim, an act of, to fight, it’s, at war with, charged with, task force, investigation, and in (place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Jazeera English</td>
<td>1,000-4,000</td>
<td>Jazeera, English, security, people, police, attacks, attack, state, also, government</td>
<td>Security, attacks, military, state, fighters, force, media, group, police, website</td>
<td>fight against-, counter, to counter, (actor) of, related, and (the rule of law, security officials, Daesh), committee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the five media outlets, the words preceding the key word “terrorism” suggest tension or conflict, both at home and abroad. The words following the key word “terrorism” suggest that
something must be done about “terrorism” leading to charges and government action. A more
detailed view is through Fairclough’s five stages analytical framework.

**Fairclough’s Five Stages**

The 174 articles from the five media outlets were further analyzed using Fairclough’s
five stages. Fairclough’s framework was coded into NVivo 12 and the 174 articles were
reviewed and coded, by media outlet, into the framework. Details of the coded 174 articles are in
Appendix C, Sample Codes for Textual Data Tables, Tables 8-13. The following is an overview
of each of the Fairclough stages.

**Stage One: Problematic of Terrorism.** Terrorism is a problem with the terrorists
considered the “losers” in society (Appendix B, item 1a). Stage one examines the themes
addressed when the problematic (what is contested) of terrorism is communicated by producers
of the textual news. Samples from Fairclough’s Stages One and Two are summarized in
Appendix C. *Sample Codes for Textual Data Tables*, with six tables, Tables 8-13. The Canadian
Press, BBC Monitor, CNN, Fox News, and Al Jazeera English associated some of the search
terms “terrorism and terrorist and terror and radical” with Muslim religious terms “Islamic,”
“Islam” and “Islamic State Iraq and Syria (ISIS).” For Fox News, an additional problematic that
was unique to the Fox News outlet was linking the term “terrorism” to the religion of Islam.

Additionally, themes in the articles (Appendix B, item 1b) supported a tension-laden
binary of a war between Islam and the West. A threat to national security was also prominent and
therefore the need to fight terrorism. A key theme was that terrorism is an international
phenomenon with radicals returning to home countries creating a challenge for governments.
Other discourses included local politics and political parties’ perception of how to handle the
terrorist threat. In addition to the above themes, CNN concentrated on the terrorist and his
family, trying to understand why and how they were radicalized, and detailed terrorism-affected countries, U.S., France, U.K., Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, and Lebanon, and radical fighters, travelling to Syria to join ISIS. A theme unique to Fox News was local politics, particularly against the Obama administration. “He's gambling with our lives, is my argument. We now have a president that is incapable, seemingly, to recognize simple and basic and fundamental truths. He can't even use the term ‘radical Islam.’” Al Jazeera English is unique in the textual data when specific names are given to the organizations as they are known or call themselves. Al Jazeera uses fewer of the religious associations common in the other news media outlets in this research, which tended to associate the “losers” directly to Islam as a religion by using religious terms “Islamic,” “Islam” and “Islamic State Iraq and Syria” (ISIS). ISIS in the Al Jazeera textual data is referred to as ISIL which is later referred to as “Daesh.” Daesh has no association with a political group but is used more frequently in Middle Eastern news outlets because most Muslims distance the organization from their religion. The term (Daesh) in Arabic means one who steps or tramples on something beneath his feet.

The pattern of themes in different articles was based on government offices and sectors, state institutions or policies, security measures and challenges, national security, war, social fabric, radicalization, terrorist attacks, international terrorism, the role of the Muslim community, young people being vulnerable to terrorism, legislation to combat terrorism, legislation for more spy agency powers, local politics on handling terrorism, freedom of expression, tougher anti-terror measures, and terrorist funding.

The linked themes (Appendix B, item 1c) concerned key problematics (Appendix B, item 1d) that were contested between the losers of society (Appendix B, item 1a) and a Western worldview. Problematics could be categorized in areas of focus: war between Islam and the
West, incompatibility between Islam and the West, international terrorism, role of international institutions, what comprises terrorism in an international context, and how best to protect national security, homegrown radicalism and how to fight it effectively without compromising individual rights, local politics on what constitutes terrorism and what is an act of senseless violence, terrorism versus resistance, and the overblown focus on terrorism versus death through other causes. Al Jazeera English was alone in considering that terrorism and the government that is being fought against could be the West, China, or local autocratic regimes resulting in international terrorism. Accordingly, the reporting and description of the terrorist act itself, the response of international institutions, Western or local governments’ reaction to the acts of terror on Sharī‘atī

Findings of Fairclough’s Stages One and Two as analyzed using the NVivo tool:

- Fairclough’s Stages Three, Four and Five, interpretation, and movement from a negative to a positive critique and critical reflection on Fairclough’s preceding four stages if present in the summarized articles.
- Appendix B. NVivo number of codes summaries for the textual data.
- Table 8. Summary of Number of Codes of Fairclough’s five stages for each of the textual data sample, shows the number of codes for each data set in the sample.
- Samples from Fairclough’s Stages One and Two are summarized in Appendix C.
- Sample codes for textual data tables, with six different tables.
- Table 14, for the government policy documents.

Findings for the government policy document analysis starts with an overview of the data set using NVivo’s mechanical tools. CDA is not focused on compiling quantitative data (such as frequency of words or numbers of articles and numeric occurrences of particular items) but highlighting these features of the data does provide some insight and contextual perspective of
government policy on the issue of terrorism over the 2012-2015-timeframe. Word frequency, themes, sentiment, and word tree tools were used and summarized to “broad brush a big picture” of the textual data. Mechanical summaries were followed by the application of Fairclough’s five stages using the translation to NVivo codes (Appendix A, Table 6. Translation of Fairclough’s Theoretical Framework to NVivo Codes). Details of the number of codes used are in Appendix B. Summary of Number of Codes of Fairclough’s Five Stages for Each of the Textual Data Sample. A brief synopsis of the findings completed the analysis.

The five queried government policy documents ranged from an early date of 2006, the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy of the Most Recent Canadian Terrorism and Violent Extremism Awareness Guide (2006). Also included were Great Britain’s The Prevent Strategy (2008), the United States’ Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States (2011), and finally Canada’s Building Resilience Against Terrorism (2013). Collectively, the four documents represented the Western government worldview plus the global body, the United Nations. A word frequency search for the top 20 words with a minimum length of four letters in the five government policy documents textual data yielded the following word cloud:
In the five government policy documents, terrorism, Canada, violent, extremism, local, terrorist, government, security, also, and group were the top ten words with a count of between 496 and 262 occurrences respectively. Islamic comes up at 17th place with 192 counts. The policy documents ranged in number of pages in pdf format from nine, the United Nation’s UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy (nine pages), The United States’ Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States (18 pages), to Canada’s Building Resilience Against Terrorism (50 pages), to Great Britain’s The Prevent Strategy (76 pages), and finally Canada’s Terrorism and Violent Extremism Awareness Guide (140 pages).

The policy documents all had similar aims: that of fighting or countering terrorism. The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy was first adopted in 2006 and “is a unique global instrument to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism” and as a first among UN member states takes a common approach to fight terrorism taking practical
measures to strengthen vulnerable states as well as better coordinate the UN system’s counter-terrorism activities (UN, 2006).

Using NVivo’s Auto Code feature, coding by sentences, the five UN and government policy documents’ textual data for the top five most prominent themes were analyzed collectively. The top five themes were community (190 references), violent (165 references), terrorist (156 references), security (115 references), and finally, groups (105 references each). Auto coding by sentiment using NVivo’s built-in algorithm on “sentiment” being a positive or negative feature on the same textual data, again coding by sentences, shows the UN document had positive references 576 times versus negative references 1,358 times. A sample of positive references in the data: “Canada’s capacity to counter terrorist threats on all fronts has increased significantly;” “Together, these principles and elements serve as a means of prioritizing and evaluating the Government’s efforts against terrorism;” “As such, governments must keep pace with a changing cyber environment, the proliferation of more sophisticated weaponry—including weapons of mass destruction, emerging telecommunication trends, and the accelerated flow of people, resources, and ideas around the world;” and “Nevertheless, Canadians can expect that their Government will take every reasonable step to prevent individuals from turning to terrorism, to detect terrorists and their activities, to deny terrorists the means and opportunities to attack and, when attacks do occur, to respond expertly, rapidly and proportionately.”

A sample of negative references in the data include: “Therefore, there is no simple explanation or consensus about a typical pathway to radicalization leading to violence;” “On July 22, 2011 he killed eight people in Oslo to create a diversion for the massacre of 69 people on the island of Utoya in Norway;” and “Canada played a leading role in the international community’s efforts to assist Afghanistan to counter the terrorist threat, to promote global peace and security,
and to ensure terrorism does not threaten Canadian interests.” Although indicative, NVivo’s built-in algorithm lacked the ability to find appropriate contextual interpretation of the data.

A thematic search of the same textual data was conducted using NVivo’s Auto Code feature, coding within the Auto-coded themes. The top two themes in the government policy documents were for “action,” “terrorism,” and “violent extremism.” Action “themes” included actions by actors (police, terrorists) and description of type of action (violent, urgent, taking, specific, effective, positive). Terrorism was “international” and needed to be “countered.”

A text search for the word “terrorism” and for the five words that preceded and followed the term in the textual data yielded a large word tree, too large to fit here. Briefly describing the tree, key branches on the terrorism tree that link to the tree trunk were: “against,” “combat,” “counter,” “integrated,” “international,” “terrorist entities,” “efforts,” “act,” “federal agencies,” and “strategy” as the main branches. From the word tree the words “counter,” “against,” “countering,” “international,” and “support” occur before the word “terrorism.” “Reaffirming,” “recalling,” “act,” “activities,” “effort,” “efforts,” and “strategy” follow the key word “terrorism.”

Holistically, the words preceding the key word “terrorism” suggest tension or conflict and that tension is international in scope. The words “reaffirming,” “efforts,” “acts,” and “strategy” occurring after the word “terrorism” suggest that nation states should coordinate strategy, align recommendations, and affirm their common stance against terrorism. A more detailed view can be seen in Fairclough’s Five Stages Analytical Framework.

Fairclough’s Five Stages

The five government policy documents representing a Western worldview were further analyzed using Fairclough’s five stages. Fairclough’s framework was coded into NVivo 12, and
the five government policy documents were reviewed and coded into the framework: Appendix B. *Summary of Number of Codes of Fairclough’s Five Stages for Each of the Textual Data Sample.* The following is an overview of each of the Fairclough stages.

**Stage One: Problematic of Terrorism.** Terrorism is a problem with the terrorists the “losers” in society (Appendix B, item 1a). Stage One deals with the themes addressed when the problematic (what is contested) of terrorism is communicated by producers of the textual news. For government policy documents, losers in society were described as “homegrown,” *Sunni* extremists, “violent extremists,” “apologists for terrorism,” “someone who needs support to avoid becoming radicalized to violence,” “individuals who support or commit ideologically motivated violence to further political goals,” and “terrorists.” Mentions of the “terrorist threat” as well as “Islamist extremist groups,” “international terrorist groups such as Hezbollah; Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam,” and “issue-based domestic extremists; international and domestic extremist groups” as well as the naming of terrorists and a relative as an example of a post-terrorist act such as “Gilles Rouleau, father of Martin Couture-Rouleau.” The documents also mention those people around “terrorists,” “those closest to someone” as well as stakeholders on the pathway toward extremism “individual-level pathways into and out of violent extremism;” “former violent extremists as mentors to those seeking to disengage;” and “individuals looking for the support and skills they need to build a new life free from hate.”

In summary, the losers in society were individuals and groups, and the process that makes them losers was described. Some terrorist organizations were mentioned as examples but in general terms about people who might become terrorists or ones who do, covering the entire spectrum of the terrorism process or ladder. The terrorism process included: terrorist threat; identify terrorist activities early; it is a difficult target for would-be terrorists; issue-based
domestic extremists; “homegrown” Sunni Islamist extremists; "terrorists," Islamist extremist groups; international terrorist groups such as Hezbollah; Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam; international and domestic extremist groups.

Additionally, 15 themes occurred in the five government policy documents (Appendix B, item 1b). Themes could be classified as relevant at the micro societal level all the way up to the macro national and international level. From radicalization to violence, important indicators in the process, the extremist groups and terrorist entities are listed, and members of society are enticed to assist and report on such activities as a partnership between citizens and government. The government’s role in ensuring the safety and security of its citizens is a key priority both at home and abroad. Affirmation was consistent in the government policy documents that terrorism “cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group” and the recognition that “development, peace and security, and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing.” The government’s approach was to assure its citizenry that “counterterrorism activities are guided by the principles of respect for human rights and the rule of law, the treatment of terrorism as a crime” and the government’s role in making society resilient to a terrorist attack. Finally, the policy documents aim to help all stakeholders: “local authorities, the police and other partner agencies, including members of Local Strategic Partnerships and Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships, to take this work forward.”

Stakeholders should have the knowledge and tools they need to prevent individuals from supporting or committing an act of violence. Similarly, the themes of the UN policy document specify relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and guided by the “purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and reaffirming its role under the Charter, including on questions related to international peace and security.”
In summary, the five government policy documents consistently refer to the government institutions handling terrorism processes; the role of law and legal regulations to support its actions and in the UN, the role of the nation’s institutions and the importance of coordinating international activities to fight terrorism. The UN issued similar documents, but institutions become nation states and the law is the agreed humanitarian aspects of nation states. All stakeholder roles and expectations are addressed and partnerships with different stakeholder groups are explained. The pattern of themes in different sections of the government policy documents and between the documents (linkages, Appendix B, item 1c) that surfaced included reference to past terrorist attacks, the importance of partnerships of government institutions with civil society, use of established processes and metrics, the responsibility of citizens to follow government instructions for peace and security, and condemnation of all forms of terrorism, one of the most serious threats to peace and security. In summary, the documents point to the seriousness of terrorism to international peace and security, with governments and their respective citizenry working together in critical partnerships in government entities, states, provinces, down to communities. Reminders of the impact of terrorism are given together with terrorist incidents that occurred and which the policy is trying to prevent.

The linked themes (Appendix B, item 1c) were based on key problematics (Appendix B, item 1d) that were contested between the losers of society (Appendix B, item 1a) and a Western worldview, caused tensions in the five government policy documents. The focus of the problematics is the safety and security of citizens. The goal of the policies is to counter both domestic as well as international terrorism to keep citizens safe, in the face of “several Islamist extremist groups [which] have identified Canada as a legitimate target or have directly threatened our interests.” Prominent problematics were hints of war between Islam and the West
(international terrorism) and how best to protect national security in a decentralized terrorist-threat environment. The documents explained how global counterterrorism efforts have reduced al Qaida capabilities but other “Sunni Islamist groups affiliated with al Qaeda” have evolved and pose a “substantial threat” to the nation issuing the policy document, as well as the international community. After establishing the problem, the policy documents explain the importance of following the guidelines provided to citizenry to prevent, respond, detect, and deny individuals from engaging in terrorism on home soil. This action is accomplished by (a) emphasizing the priority of the government to keep citizens safe, and (b) providing instructions with a rationale on how to detect and help the government prevent terrorist attacks so that citizens are protected, and the country can quickly mitigate the effects of terrorist activity and return to ordinary life.

In summary, the first key problem for the government in its published policy documents is to protect the country and its citizens at home and abroad. That means protecting the physical security of the citizens “and their values and institutions” and “countering domestic and international terrorism to protect the country, its citizens, and the nation’s interests. The second key problem is to explain the framework and how it would work using the government institutions and the resources available, and the role of stakeholders in the framework to counter terrorism and maintain security. National government policy documents are written in line with the United Nation’s framework. The UN's framework has at its objective to protect “human rights” and the security of the global world order.

Producers of the textual news, besides the topics covered, linkages, and problematics, depicted some themes subjectively (Appendix B, item 1e, based on feelings, beliefs, attitudes, thoughts, and values) and others objectively (Appendix B, item 1f, based in fact, quantifiable and measurable data). Subjectivity was shown through words and phrases such as: “We cannot afford
complacency in the face of a complex and evolving threat,” “[we] firmly believe that it is therefore in our shared interest to understand the terrorist threat partnership between citizens and government,” “issue-based domestic extremists may move beyond lawful protest to threaten acts of terrorism,” “expect their government to respond to threats in a manner that preserves their freedom,” “reflected throughout the strategy is the fundamental belief that countering terrorism requires partnerships,” “citizens need to be informed of the threat in an honest, straightforward manner to foster a deeper understanding of why particular actions are needed in response to the threat,” and “a number of individual extremists from Western countries have attempted terrorist attacks, inspired by, but not directly connected to Sunni Islamist extremists abroad.”

The main themes depicted subjectively stated: “It will never be possible to stop all terrorist attacks,” “countering terrorism requires partnerships,” “strategy helps to focus and galvanize law enforcement and the security and intelligence community around a clear strategic objective,” “Canada must have strong capabilities for the collection, analysis, and dissemination of usable intelligence.” “We have a growing body of knowledge about the radicalization process from academic and government research and from case histories of those who have attempted or perpetrated terrorist attacks. From this data there is no single profile of a violent extremist or a single radicalization pathway. There are, however, factors and vulnerabilities which repeatedly appear in different cases, and which can leave a person more susceptible to exploitation by violent extremists,” and “through periodic review, assists in regularly taking stock of the nature of the terrorist threat and how Canada is dealing with it.”

Objectively depicted themes were facts based on when, where, and what terrorist events took place and what those involved said or did. For example, “the events of September 11, 2001,” “Air India bombing that killed 329 people, most of them Canadians,” or “[the] failed
December 2009 bombing of Northwest Airlines Flight 253 in Canadian air space.” “In 2006, 18 individuals were arrested in Ontario for participating in a terrorist group whose intent was to bomb a number of symbolic Canadian institutions,” or “Canadian, Mohammed Momin Khawaja, was found guilty in 2008 because of his involvement in a failed terrorist plot in the United Kingdom,” “listed under the Criminal Code more than 40 terrorist entities that are considered a threat, having either knowingly engaged in or facilitated international [terrorism].”

A second objectively depicted set of themes were based on government resources used to fight the threat of terrorism such as: “Canadian society is built on the rule of law as a cornerstone of peace, order, and good government” and “a number of Detect initiatives promote partnership and cooperation in collection. For example, the RCMP leads Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSETs), based in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal which bring together federal, provincial, and municipal police and intelligence resources to collect, share, and analyze information in support of criminal investigations and threat assessments,” “CSEC produces and disseminates foreign SIGINT to support government decision-making in several areas, such as national security,” “DFAIT provides assessments supporting government departments concerned with international affairs as well as supporting diplomatic missions, while DND/CF provide assessments on issues of concern to the defence community,” “FINTRAC provides strategic financial intelligence and tactical disclosures to the security and intelligence community. Financial intelligence includes analysis of trends, patterns, and typologies, and provides a detailed picture of suspicious monetary movements, establishing complex links between individuals, businesses, and accounts in support of law enforcement investigations and prosecutions of terrorism-related offences.”
A third set of objectively depicted themes involving examples of radicalized individuals who were engaged in terrorist activity listed their name(s), affiliation with terrorist organizations, crime committed, and status, either killed by security forces, still at large and wanted, or having served time due to crimes committed, and now released.

In summary, analyzing the five government policy documents using Fairclough’s Stage One revealed that the losers in society might be called anything from “jihadi terrorists” to “impressionable youths” with themes linked to one another on war between terrorists and the West, that terrorism is an international phenomenon, national security, and the challenges on maintaining national security in the West. The problematic that is contested is war between international terrorism and the free world. Policy documents engage in a de facto presentation, suggesting that “this is the government, trust us, this is what it is and here is what you have to do . . . no need to think about it or try to understand.” Objective facts are used to support subjective statements and opinions so that the narrative is taken in a certain direction, with all the government departments coordinating, towards a strategic goal to keep the citizenry safe. Documents were structured and process-oriented and read like a good business plan: here are the facts, this is the problem, here is our goal, and these are the resources we will use to achieve the goal, and the metrics and processes that will make our strategy succeed.

Stage Two: Textual Analysis’ Relational Elements and Approaches to Depiction of the Term Terrorism in Text. Stage Two’s textual analysis reveals key issues in text: social events, genre, difference, intertextuality, assumptions, semantic and grammatical relations between sentences and clauses, exchanges, speech functions, and grammatical mood, discourses, representation of social events, styles, modality, and evaluation.
For social events, the term “terrorism” is framed within and/or as part of a chain or network of texts of which there were 16 social events in the 28 articles (Appendix B, item 2a) a sample of which is the events of September 11, the war in Afghanistan, the Air India bombing, events in Norway, international terrorist groups such as Hezbollah or Tamil Ealam. Other social events were globalization and the use of technology, especially the cyber environment and fragile states that terrorists could use to conduct terrorist activities. Acquisition of financial and logistics support by terrorist and members of society supporting terrorists was also mentioned as a risk. The interdependence of nations means foreign policy planning is more important, particularly in stabilizing fragile states. Programs on conflict prevention, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding need to be strengthened. Collection of intelligence on the movement of people and finances needs to be coordinated locally and internationally, with international cooperation among law enforcement and security intelligence agencies being critical. Broadly, social themes shown in the government policy documents occurred in all possible conditions and contexts that could be conducive to the spread of terrorism and thus, using government capabilities would try to prevent occurrence at the source.

For genre (Appendix B, item 2b), social actions, process, and pattern, the term “terrorism” in government documents is consistent in that the threat is both global and domestic. In order to counter that threat, a structured approach that is coordinated at international, national, regional, and local levels, and institutional in outlook is necessary.

On orientation to difference (Appendix B, item 2c) in the government policy text regarding the term “terrorism” the five policy documents were aligned to goals, having government departments partnering with the community, having a strategy to achieve the goals, and an expected outcome of protecting the citizenry. The strategies in the government documents
reflect the ongoing and multifaceted activities of government departments and agencies that are involved in counterterrorism. In a coherent and unified format, the documents aim to show how proposed activities contribute to the government’s strategy for countering terrorism. Extremist groups, regardless of their ideology, have long sought to incite youth by exploiting existing cultural and moral grievances and capitalizing on the natural desire for adventure shared by many young people. On orientation to difference, governments accept the power difference and any terrorism “errors” need to be fixed using processes and metrics to guide all stakeholders towards a common goal.

Intertextuality (Appendix B, item 2d)—key participants of producers of texts, voices included or excluded, voices given equal treatment, weight or access to the agenda in the text regarding the term “terrorism” in the policy documents included all government agencies at all levels of government involved in counter-terrorism, all levels of civil society, security intelligence and federal, provincial, and municipal law enforcement agencies, the private sector, citizens, international partners, key allies, and organizations that may be involved in local partnership. They work at various levels such as social and cultural services, sports and leisure services, children’s and youth services, community representatives, and voluntary services.

The ideological pattern in the government policy texts (Appendix B, item 2e) can be divided into (a) violent, extremist ideologies represented by Islamist extremism and right-wing extremism on one hand; and (b) ideologies that tend to promote democratic values and liberal or socialist conceptions of society on the other hand. Extremist ideologies are a threat to open, liberal, and pluralist societies that promote national ideals because extremism seeks to harm such ideals by promoting patriotism, nationalism, fascism, or adherence to a counter-revolutionary ideology.
The semantic or grammatical relations between sentences and clauses was shown by looking at the text for how problem cause or solution source or relation between sentences were described (Appendix B, item 2f). Government policy documents agree on a national security threat harmful to society as a problem. They also agree that democratic societies need to work together in partnership with government to overcome the threat. Extremist ideologies have pushed vulnerable individuals towards radicalization and terrorism, and this is the cause of the problem. As one policy document summarizes: “The basic principle is that if something bad is predictable, it is also preventable.” The solution is for society to follow the government’s guidance to overcome the threat by following established policies and protocols that have been created by experts. By researching past terrorist activities, identifying the factors, and engaging all relevant stakeholders to formulate strategies to identify and counter possible terrorist activities, goals and policies have been established that might detect and mitigate any threat. For example, one policy document mentions: “Representatives from ten departments and agencies identified four necessary components: (a) infrastructure to coordinate and prioritize CVE activities across the federal government and with stakeholders; (b) clear responsibility, accountability, and communication internally and with the public; (c) broad participation of departments and agencies outside national security lanes; and (d) a process to assess, prioritize, and allocate resources to maximize impact.” Government policy documents use models to explain how radicalization occurs using Moghaddam & Marsella’s (2004) staircase model or models referring to a feeling of injustice. As the strategy is explained, examples are given on how certain policies are expected to work and why certain goals have been set. For example, terrorism-related cases may result in “long and complex trials, typically referred to as ‘mega-trials.’” To demonstrate the government’s commitment to improve the efficiency of terrorism
prosecutions, legislation has been passed that will streamline “mega-trials.” To support these efforts, the Public Prosecution Service of Canada (PPSC) is committed to developing guidelines for the prosecution of terrorism offences that reflect best practices. Other examples include (a) listing entities or individuals that support terrorism and the implications of the listing, (b) policies to protect critical infrastructure so there is a National Strategy and Action Plan for Critical Infrastructure, and (c) global aviation security through the Passenger Protect Program (PPP).

Textual analysis exchanges analyze text on activity, knowledge, statements of fact, predictions, hypotheticals, evaluations, symbols, and metaphorical relations (Appendix B, item 2g). Government policy documents remind citizens they have a responsibility to act and there are mechanisms for both monitoring the government’s efforts and for reporting progress to citizens. The policy documents remind citizens that the threat is from individuals and groups, is local and international, and includes “violent Sunni Islamist extremism” that uses the “single narrative that Islam is under attack by the West.” Radicalized citizens from Western countries have travelled abroad to global hotspots such as Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen to train or fight with Sunni Islamist extremist groups. Resilience to terrorist threats “depend on the adoption of a flexible and forward-looking approach that effectively adapts to the changing threat environment” so that a resilient nation can rapidly go back to ordinary life. Documents remind citizens that terrorist activities are criminal acts and that government agencies need to cooperate and share information. Resilience is enhanced by “producing effective narratives to counter” violent extremist ideology. “Leading citizens from their respective communities with extensive experience in social and cultural issues [need] to engage with the government on long-term national security issues” with programs in place to facilitate such engagement. Being informed
and having an increased awareness builds resilience. Policy documents suggest that “terrorists share one thing in common—they always go through phases of radicalization and planning of their violent actions. Throughout this process, indicators can be observed by friends, relatives, or various stakeholders.” The sharing of counterterrorism information with allies and multilateral agencies such as NATO and other partners is in place. Cyber security strategies to counter terrorists’ need to recruit, communicate, and facilitate operations, as well as qualified prosecutors to try terrorists, and public communications to maintain public trust and confidence are in place. Indoctrination as well as the circulation of conspiracy theories and narratives of “them against us” plus isolation of vulnerable individuals presents another cyber danger. Glorification of violence and sacrifice are other notable changes, indicators of radicalization to violence, that can be observed. Individuals are presented with a virtual radical alternative. Documents also remind readers that strategies will succeed only through effective partnerships with local authorities, law enforcement agencies, international organizations, other countries, the private sector, NGOs and the broader community. The UN’s global counterterrorism strategy urges member nations to cooperate, coordinate, and share resources and expertise based on their national strategies using the appropriate UN institutions, and keep making voluntary contributions to UN counterterrorism cooperation and technical assistance projects. Intensify cooperation as appropriate for “initiatives and programs to promote dialogue, tolerance, and understanding among civilizations, cultures, peoples, and religions, and promote mutual respect for and prevent the defamation of religions, religious values, beliefs and cultures.”

Discourses (Appendix B, item 2h) in the five policy documents were mixed and centered on prominent themes mentioned in Appendix B, item 1c linkages. The discourses included terrorist ideology and why a Western nation is a target, how it is an international issue, how is
has become a homegrown issue, and how it may be supported by foreign states to further their own violent objectives. Here, one policy document mentions: “Lebanon-based Hezbollah, a listed terrorist entity under the Criminal Code, has been implicated in international terrorist attacks and soliciting support from expatriate Lebanese communities around the world” and “Hamas, for example, uses political and violent means to pursue the establishment of an Islamic Palestinian state in Israel. Hamas has been responsible for several hundred terrorist attacks and continues to present an obstacle to regional peace, despite its position as the elected government of the Gaza Strip.” In 1990, Hezbollah “continued to fight, waging guerrilla warfare against Israeli troops stationed in southern Lebanon.” Not an occupying aggressor but the IDF happened to be stationed in Southern Lebanon. Similarly, Hamas seeks to establish an “Islamic Palestinian state in Israel,” not establish an independent Palestinian state in Palestine. Documents show that the belief in human rights is fundamental, and that security is a human right enshrined in their national charters and why they need to be informed about terrorist threats and why some government actions are necessary. Protection of borders includes: partnering with other border administrations, screening entrants, acknowledging the importance of partnerships, denying access to material that could be used to build weapons, listing terrorist organizations, denying access to finance that could be used by terrorists for weapons, training, and support networks, protecting critical infrastructure such as transportation systems, provision of expert advice to the government and its institutions in areas of intelligence, law, and policy, human rights, and civil liberties, emergency planning and management, public health emergencies, public safety, border security, cyber security, transportation security, critical infrastructure protection, and international security.
Representation of social events (Appendix B, item 2i) showed which social events were included or excluded, depicted in the abstract or concrete, how the process was represented and the time and space representation. The five policy documents referred to the September 11 attacks as well as other prominent international terrorist activity and local terrorist incidents as reminders of why terrorism must be fought. Challenges of local and international terrorism, the rise of homegrown extremism, and internet propaganda are contrasted with the “deep” attachment to democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and pluralism, openness to ideas and innovations and nations which reject intolerance and violent extremism. Security depends on these values and some terrorist organizations have developed sophisticated propaganda as alternative narratives. Public awareness of the threat is important, and citizens and communities should be empowered to develop and deliver messages and viewpoints that resonate more strongly than terrorist propaganda.

Next, writing styles for the five policy documents were similar (Appendix B, item 2j). All began by describing the issue of terrorism and hence the need for a counter-terrorism strategy. In fulfilling the strategy, policy decisions are required. As a result of policy decisions, recommendations are provided in the documents. Between the issue of terrorism and the strategy recommendations proposed, the policy documents propose an in-depth policy analysis using facts, metrics, and models. The three parts of issue, analysis, and recommendation were consistent in all five policy documents.

Regarding modality (Appendix B, item 2k) or the writer's attitude towards the world, epistemic modalities and deontic modalities, statements subjective and explicit, or objective and implicit, commitment is either high, medium, or low. For the government policy documents, the statements were objective and strong commitment was implicit.
Emphasis was placed on evaluation of the textual analysis values to which authors committed themselves and the person who was setting the agenda and how (Appendix B, item 21). Policy documents consistently emphasized national values and identity, democratic ideals, and the diverse and inclusive nature of society. Government entities were agenda setters with goals to increase public awareness of the threats of terrorism so that citizens and their communities were empowered to deliver and communicate narratives that are more powerful than terrorist propaganda. The agenda included informing citizens by providing indicators, explanatory models, and guides on resources by which to take action to ask for assistance and to help authorities. The strategy was necessarily comprehensive due to the multidimensional nature of the threat. The goal was to protect the country, its citizens, and interests. The purpose of government transparency in sharing information and providing relevant resources and guidelines was to build trust between the government and communities and enhance partnerships.

**Stage Three: Social Order Needs of the Problem of “Terrorism.”** Stage Three considers whether the social order (network of practices) “needs” the problem of terrorism to sustain itself (Fairclough, 2001). The question of ideology based on the Western worldview on the problematic of terrorism arises as far as it contributes to relations of power and domination. Would the way the government policy documents are built create support or refute the hegemonic worldview and the need to have terrorism as the “other” in the binary? The five policy documents were “pro” hegemonic worldview with no “critical” content in any of the strategies and policies. Content that promotes better understanding of faith, culture, and history especially in the Islamic context, was suggested to avoid misunderstanding because of ignorance. “Terrorism” was “bad,” not questioned or discussed as to why terrorism might take place.
Western social order needs the problem of “terrorism” to reproduce support for the hegemonic worldview.

**Stage Four: Positive Critique—Showing Contradictions, Gaps, Failures, and Resistance Within Domination.** Stage Four concerns dialectical elements and moves from a negative to a positive critique. It concerns identifying possible ways to go past the terrorism problematic by exploring unrealized possibilities: showing contradictions, gaps, or failures, or showing difference and resistance within the domination in the social order (Fairclough, 2001). The oscillation between the two stages enables “negative critique in the sense of diagnosis of the problem, positive critique in the sense of identification of hitherto unrealized possibilities in the way things are for tackling and overcoming these problems” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 125). None of the five policy documents, goals, and strategies contained criticality regarding national goals, policies, or strategies. If anything, more monitoring, awareness, and capture of terrorists is needed by strengthening government resources and enabling partnerships with citizens and communities. Better information on the “what” and less focus on the “why” terrorism occurs is a common expression in the policy documents.

**Stage Five: Critical reflection on Stages One to Four.** Stage Five critically reflects on the preceding four stages. Does the analysis contribute to social emancipation or is it compromised through its own positioning in academic practices or institutions closely networked with the market and the state? Does the discourse lead to social or cultural change by either being mixed in new “interdiscursive” ways or is the discourse mixed in a “conventional” way and added and mixed with existing discourses to reflect the stability of the dominant social order? Discourse in the five policy documents is structured and strategic to reflect stability and maintain hegemony. It is not open to discussion but written for implementation. Statements are
made without explaining background and cause, conclusions are drawn without a sociohistorical context and depicted as facts. Not discourse but facts are used to “sell” an idea.

Everyone is called upon to play a part. Government partnership with citizens is critical. Citizens need to be informed of the threat in an honest, straightforward manner to foster a deeper understanding of why particular actions are needed to respond to the threat. Working in local communities, citizens will also provide the most effective avenue to strengthen society to maximize resistance to violent extremism. Citizens have a responsibility to work with law enforcement and security personnel. In this way, government stands shoulder to shoulder with citizens in standing up to violent extremist ideology.

Deep understanding? Truth? Copious repetition of words and phrases occur, with no new in-depth information. A process-oriented problem and solution approach with deductions is the right thing to do. “Trust us, we know what we are doing.” Canadian institutions are heavily involved in managing and controlling risk, 21 in all. Legal frameworks showing that all the steps and processes have a legal basis is prominent in the documents. They also show the government institutions are working together; process style is detailed in those documents.

When people become radical, are they searching for their humanness? Do they see injustice in the system imposed by the Empire and want to fight it? The policy documents are written to entice readers to understand that this is how the problem is solved . . . and as a receiver, or customer, how to apply it. Tackle the problem of terrorism using the processes provided and the problem will be solved. In the Terrorism and Awareness Guide, “Although their ideologies, motivations, political convictions, and religious beliefs may differ, terrorists share one thing in common—they always go through phases of radicalization and planning of their violent actions. Throughout this process, indicators can be observed by friends, relatives, or
various stakeholders” (p. 22). I question the “always.” In sharing process-oriented “truth” with friends, relatives, or other stakeholders, their role is to observe and help. As in any good, reduced process there are indicators, metrics, observation, and the possibility of control and adjustment if there is any deviation from the processes. Processes and indicators are sold as unquestionable facts.

A consistent theme in the policy documents is to give instructions on how to do things. Trust the government to have done its analysis on the threats. The purpose of the policy documents is to establish an effective delivery framework with the notion that “structure serves function” in a true positivist worldview. Risk management and tracking progress and metrics are important in all five documents. The policy documents read like a business plan with terms and phrases such as “tracking,” “progress,” “evaluating success,” “effectiveness of mechanisms,” “performance management,” “arrangements should be in place to track progress and ensure that learning can be shared,” “process to assess, prioritize, allocate resources to maximize impact,” “ongoing strategic planning,” “train and accredit a group of peer mentors and other elements of sharing best practice with the central government the facilitator.” Organization and coordination between departments occurs by providing governance structures; validation of models is corroborated through academic research in the context of a Western worldview. The Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States noted: "CVE efforts will be informed by a rigorous, evidence-based approach to research and analysis that addresses all forms of violent extremism" (p. 5). This is contrasted with research to suggest we don't know the why and how but only the what. The document further proposes to "synthesize and share research findings with stakeholders," “increase the applicability of CVE research and analysis," and "ensure research and analysis informs CVE-
related training” (p. 6). The need is for systemic control rather than understanding the individual context, the causal why and how of terrorism. The document could be an output of a Fortune 500 organization that uses a business plan methodology and framework to plan, organize, lead, and control the achievement of set goals and objectives. “Long-term research efforts that provide objective and unclassified data can generate empirical metrics for CVE initiatives over time” (p. 6). Data and metrics are the basis to measure progress. Are the governments perhaps measuring the wrong thing and wasting billions of taxpayers’ money in the process? Documents seem to support Chomsky’s notion that the government needs to tell people what to think because people cannot be trusted to do the thinking themselves. This idea is reflected in the business-like structure to manage the fight against terrorism.

**Analysis**

The purpose is to provide a brief overview of the main outcomes of the textual analysis in the evidence extrapolated from the coding exercise using NVivo 12 and Fairclough’s five-stage framework using literature themes and concepts covered in Chapter Two. *Terrorism From a Western Worldview, Sociocultural Critical Theory, and Adult Education and Learning.* The textual analysis conducted on the news media and government documents was applied to documents that seek to present a particular version of the world, a Western worldview on terrorism and how those discursive practices extort power over people. How does the analysis support or contradict prevalent themes and concepts? As noted, CDA is important because it might shed light on social inequalities and how these are produced in certain discourses, but also see ways in which such discourses can be challenged and perhaps rectified.
Textual Analysis Results and Concepts on Terrorism from the Western Worldview.

In a Western worldview, post 9/11 research into “terrorology” has mainly been quantitative and incident-based or reactive (Stern, 2016). The West views violent extremism through a hegemonic lens with set processes and institutions interrelated to produce a discourse that results in the meaning-making of the term “terrorism” from a Western worldview. The government policy documents conform to those claims by theorists mentioned in Chapter Two. Chomsky’s notion is somewhat supported because in the modern secular age, a nationalist social arrangement with related “emotionally potent oversimplifications” (p. 33) and propaganda that does not allow reason but is based on emotions, allows the masses to stay obedient and be kept under control (Chomsky, 1989a). What was also evident in the policy documents is that a Western worldview sought to “rationally” track down the roots of terrorism. The West suggests that the established reality is a neo-liberal paradigm or worldview that prescribes risk management. The aim is how to improve security and minimize the risk of terrorist attacks. Beck’s (2006) theory that “modern society has become a risk society in the sense that it is increasingly occupied with debating, preventing, and managing risks that it itself has produced (p. 332) reveals evidence in the data. Law enforcement agencies need to be guided by statistically relevant factors and indicators and, as Haykel (2016) suggested, sought to “cultivate good relations with members of the Muslim communities” (p. 80) because “they can help to identify potential terrorists” (p. 80) and Maskaliūnaitė’s (2015) suggestion that it was in immigrant communities that “the birth of a terrorist was sought” (p. 10). Neumann’s (2013) policy approaches, the Anglo-Saxon approach followed by the United States and Britain, and the European approach followed on the continent were evident in the data. Descriptions of the terrorist attack by journalists and voices in the discourse locating the source of terrorist violence
in the identity, psychology, and ideology of individuals and groups as radicalization was thought of as a precursor to terrorism. Data also confirmed Selim’s (2016) statement that the radicalization challenge has become globalized with mentions of challenges in other Western countries besides Canada. Mention in the data included the United States, France, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Not mentioned in the data were the military strikes on Third World countries that were taking place, routinely killing many civilians, and Flores’s (2017) suggestions that the current challenges of violent extremism “are the pedagogical product of—often unintentionally—America’s foreign and domestic policies” (p. xvi).

The policy document data that was analyzed conformed to “current mainstream” one-true-story discourse with the five policy documents being consistent with the mainstream discourse. The binary notion of “one man’s radical (or terrorist) is another man’s freedom fighter” and the discourse of “us versus them” comes up in the policy document. It appears that righteousness is part of Western democratic values and norms, with no explanation of the “other.” That critique served to maintain Western hegemony and the binary satisfying Western political and cultural norms. Herman and Chomsky (2002) noted that the U.S. military, economic, and diplomatic support of recipient, Israel, is generally portrayed by the U.S. media as the victim of terrorism. This view is partly correct but “its own role as a major perpetrator of state terrorism [invasion of Lebanon, targeting civilians, villages, cities and treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories] is consistently downplayed or ignored in accordance with the general principle . . . that violence employed by ourselves or by our friends is excluded from the category or terrorism, by definition” (p. 77). Herman and Chomsky seem vindicated in their suggestion that resistance to an invasion of Lebanon and the resulting Lebanese resistance is considered “terrorism” by the policy documents. Hezbollah, viewed as a resistance movement
against Israeli occupation by most Lebanese, is listed as a terrorist organization in some policy documents.

Flores (2017) suggested that labelling a person a terrorist “is a political way to reidentify oppressed people in order to fulfil other political purposes” (p. 28) and this could be interpreted as fulfilling the binary. Another applicable sociocultural critique comes from Herman and Chomsky (2002) who explained that since the fall of communism, U.S. business and the upper class needed a “refurbished Red Menace” (p. 47) to retain and control the masses. The refurbished Red Menace could be the “constructed terrorist” as Neumann (2013) suggested, to serve a political agenda.

Analysis of the policy documents supported Buck-Morss’s (2003) stance that the politicization of Islam has shifted discourse from one of opposition and debate dealing with issues of social justice, legitimate power, and ethical life to one that is perceived in a binary to challenge the hegemony of Western political and cultural norms. All policy documents invariably refer to national values and democracy as being challenged by terrorism. The former discourse could enable the “other” to come to the fore and, through debate and critique, challenge humanism and human relationships. This would enable the identification of Sukarieh and Tannock’s (2016) deep social and economic structures of injustice, inequality, oppression, exploitation, and exclusion, social challenges that could have been addressed.

**Textual Analysis Results and Concepts on Sociocultural Critical Theory.** Analysis of the data suggested that support of Chomsky’s fifth freedom and Huntington’s reduction facilitated the discourse to view binary oppositions between a Western worldview and the critical Islamic Arab world. In the West, the construct of terrorism is about morality, law, Western values, and democracy, with the rules of war and government policies protecting the West
against terrorism. This was supported by discourse in the five policy documents. As noted in Chapter Two, Chomsky (1989) remarked that the four freedoms of speech, worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear contradict the fifth freedom to exploit and dominate. The U.S. government’s doctrine and practice in the world is based on applying the fifth freedom. Such action entails that “the state must spin an elaborate web of illusion and deceit, with the collaboration of the ideological institutions that generally serve its interests” (p. 8). [The government needs] hegemony and power to exploit and dominate. This power can be exercised by any kind of institution, such as the multitude of government institutions, using its defined tools and rational goals which have been accepted by society (Foucault et al., 2017). Chomsky (1989a) explained that the interests of governments, corporations, and their elites need to be served. Chomsky further noted that, regardless of the facts, the role of academic historians and politicians was to “deceive the public, for their own good” and, as such, engage in “historical engineering” and “explaining the issues of the war that we might the better win it” (Chomsky, 1989, p. 8). The selective and objective facts, the addition of subjective elements, and the use of standardized processes in writing the policy documents in the three-part format of: (a) issue or problem, strategy to fight terrorism; (b) analyzing the issue using indicators, models, metrics and processes; and (c) recommending a strategy that will work were all five policy documents consistent. Thus, from a government perspective, the issue of terrorism and how to beat it is explained and resourced. The outcome of such historical engineering and managed explanations affects a reader of the policy documents. As noted in Chapter Two, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) suggested that identities and their differences are established through the diverse ways in which people interpret and make meaning of texts and subsequently incorporate them into their own practices. Policy documents guide decision-maker citizens and communities at the
operational day-to-day level. Identity search or validation, regardless of whether it is Islamist or secularist, takes place in the politico cultural space being contested and dominated by the hegemonic West (Sharabi, 1992). As a result, Asad (2003) suggested that the “discourse of terrorism is dependent on a constructed object (not an imaginary object) about which information can be collected” (p. 27). Kincheloe et al., (2010) spoke of an “Islamophobically constructed 21st century” (p. ix). Due to lack of criticality in policy documents’ discourse on terrorism, Asad, Sharabi, Kincheloe, Steinberg, and Stonebanks’ ideas are corroborated. As a reminder, the policy documents revealed Muslim religious terms associated with the term “Islamic,” which comes at 17th place with 192 counts.

Topics that sociocultural critical theorists identified as viable causal explorations included alienation, disenfranchisement, and cultural divides (Flores, 2017) but none of the policy documents went into any explorative depth. Kundnani (2012) noted a lack of consideration for deep anthropologic ties that people have to their society, culture, and language. In contrast, Herman and Chomsky’s (2002) suggested that the U.S. support and hostility in the Third World is primarily a result of business criteria and, second, military convenience. Victims of Western military units operating in the Third World were never mentioned. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2010) and Priest and Arkin’s (2011) notion that Americans are not informed of “covert U.S. military operations and U.S. economic policies” and “hurtful activities of the American Empire are invisible to many of the empire’s subjects,” according to the data, are substantiated concerns. Oppression due to control by a superior hegemonic authority, a Western power, or an elite regime installed and supported by a Western power, and according to Flores (2017), the resultant alienation, disenfranchisement, servitude, humiliation, shame, disgrace, and inferiority, did not find a discursive space in any of the five policy documents.
The discourse in the policy documents on what constitutes terrorism and how it should be resourced and fought supported Tibi’s (1998) position that the West needed the enemy it identified to be Islam “so as to ensure the continuity of its political and military unity and hegemony” (p. 2). Herman and Chomsky (2002) declared that national security (as an acceptable cover for contracts to exploit resources which during the age of terrorism have national media disseminate inflated claims as news without serious criticism) is necessary to fight the evil. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) noted that a discourse can be “appropriated and transformed in diverse and unpredictable ways, and undesirable ways, from the perspective of those who are selling the commodity” (p. 45). They also noted that “there is always a dialectic of colonization or appropriation” (p. 45), with the outcome dependent on how the moment of discourse is dialectically connected to other moments in a particular social practice. Connections of the discourse in policy documents use past terrorist activities as facts with the term “terrorism” the most frequent term (467 counts) and “terrorist” in sixth place (377 counts), followed by “government” (360 counts) in seventh place, and “security” (295 counts) in eighth place.

Textual Analysis Results and Concepts on Adult Education and Learning.

From the data in the policy documents, the role of adult education is limited at best, non-existent at worst. If we assume that the role is to encourage a healthy non-politicized debate on terrorism, there are major gaps in the policy document discourse. Tibi (1998) pointed out that Islamic perspectives on issues of social justice, legitimate power, and ethical life are key Islamic values but they are never discussed in policy documents. Freire’s (Flores, 2017) critical pedagogy was a method to teach the oppressed “to learn the value of their humanness” (p. 1). Perhaps the oppressed would be better understood, and the oppressor would be better educated, if Islamic perspectives were debated in a non-hegemonic public sphere which would challenge the
hegemony of the West. The policy document data does not contain elements that attempt to understand the non-Western context of terrorism. Tibi (1998) clarified that Islamic fundamentalism is not “simply an intra-Islamic affair, but rather one of the pillars of an emerging New World disorder” (Tibi, 1998, p. 2). As Edward Said noted, “because the nature of culture itself is diversity and hybridity and mixtures, rather than one thing” (Ali, 2006, p. 103), keeping their respective discourse separate is really “about maintaining the status quo” (p. 104). By not including any hybridity elements and using indicators, processes, models, and metrics to manage and control the process, discourses are kept separate, thus facilitating the maintenance of the status quo. The gap in the policy documents is therefore necessary. By not mixing Western with non-Western discourses, racism and fear is propagated. Such discourse can reach targeted audiences through the media, political or religious speeches, or formal educational texts. By not discoursing the non-Western views, the public remains ignorant of the “why” and the “what” which can then be used to instil fear in the public.

Criticality by questioning norms in the positivist narrative (Moules, 2015), and negotiating “truth” through dialogue (Angen, 2000), so that joint or common understanding on truth can be achieved was not evident in the textual data of policy documents. This finding points to the strong influence of the knowledge economy on adult education. The resultant establishment of the predominantly Western neo-liberal paradigm appears hegemonic and discoursed as the overriding “true reality,” which has created a gap in adult education.

As things stand, the current adult education paradigm and approach aligns with a liberal knowledge economy and Paulo Freire’s (2000) banking-education concept is validated. Banking education means removing criticality from a learner’s repertoire. It facilitates alignment with the prevalent liberal education, its hegemonic objectives, and acceptance of the oppressor’s social
framework. The policy documents use the system’s social framework to inform the public about terrorism and what to do about it. The educational system reinforces the idea of oppression and prevents any opportunity for critical thinking to better humanity. The oppressed are deprived of the opportunity to solve their problems and become aware of their own humanness and how they fit into society. They are “forced,” instead, to accept the oppressor’s social framework.

Education, and government institutions, and experts the government works with to produce the policy documents reinforce one another to support Western hegemony. Flores (2017) noted that “language associated with violent extremism is hostage to an individual’s unique consciousness of his world as developed through an educational process that began in the highchair” (p. 4).

Post-K-12 education does not enhance criticality through debate. Without debate, beliefs and attitudes based on ideology are not available to individuals and so may be difficult to question. Individuals make up society, so ideology becomes socially significant and harder to question. Flores (2017) used the idea of banking to represent a systematic global mechanism to maintain hegemonic power. Those resisting hegemony turn to violent extremism. Ideology influences policy which might be blinded “by unbending ideology” (p. xviii).

The criticality hinted at in the policy documents suggested that the texts had input from experts and research institutions. They used experts and community leaders, so the critique was within reasonable limits. Chomsky (1989a) noted that such discussions on terrorism, if bounded appropriately, can be tolerated. By leaving out Islamic perspectives on issues of social justice, legitimate power, and ethical life from the policy documents on terrorism, the strategies and policy recommendations remain within “proper limits.” Such criticality might challenge the strategies and the underlying mechanisms by which the powerful elite are able to dominate the flow of messages and limit the space of contesting parties (Herman, 2018). Kincheloe and
Steinberg (2010) and Asad (2003) believed the lack of public debate in liberal democratic societies is substantiated. As a result of the lack of critical discourse, the more powerful argument dominates public discourse and tries to impose the discourse globally and hegemonically. Disinformation centers on efforts to reduce criticality and thus allow leading media enterprises to define reality for the public. “The less you know, the easier [you are] to manipulate” (Ali, 2002, p. 255). The gaps in the policy discourse on “terrorism” suggest that adult education should appropriate the challenge to fill the gap in the global public sphere through more equitable public debate on the topic of “terrorism.”
Chapter Five: Discussion and Recommendations

Overview

It is important to draw attention to the aims of the study before addressing the questions that guided this research. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), using Fairclough’s (2001) analytical framework, sought to criticize discourses to show power relations and the boundaries of what can be said and what is “forbidden” knowledge. The aim of this research is to contest and interrupt the dominance of traditional media discourses and contribute to the resolution of injustice and giving voice to the “other.” The data analyzed for this research included government policy documents and four Western and one Middle Eastern news media textual data: The Canadian Press, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN), Fox News, and Al Jazeera English were retrieved from the Factiva database. The Factiva database, produced by Dow Jones, included full-text coverage of local and regional newspapers of the media outlets sought. The database allowed a search for the sources, the media outlets, as well as limitation of the date range January 1, 2012 to December 31, 2015. The discussion and recommendations draw from the findings of Chapter Four and are organized in ways to answer the primary and sub-research questions of this study:

How is the term “terrorism” made meaning of when viewed from a Western worldview? Sub-questions to inform the primary research questions include:

1. How is the discourse of terrorism being produced through Western hegemony?

2. What are the ways in which the state becomes implicated in this discursive production of terrorism?

3. How can the Western and critical sociocultural view of terrorism be reconciled through adult education? What does this mean for adult education?
Chapter Five is organized into the following sections: towards informed stakeholders, an explanatory contexts section, organizing the response to the research questions and drawing conclusions from the analysis of the textual data, a proposed dissertation model as a construct of criticality, contributions, and recommendations, and finally, a limitations and further study section. The next section suggests who the audience of the proposed research might be and why they might care about this study.

Informed Stakeholders

Terrorism is an ever-present, global concern. Considerable efforts and resources are spent by relevant government institutions to understand the phenomenon and engage in mitigating terrorist activity. Academia has immersed itself in the study of “terrorology.” We may ask, “Are the acts of terrorism objects constructed by a hegemonic system?” Alternately, “Are they acts of resistance against repression by inhabitants of the ‘lifeworld’ that need to be mitigated?” This research sought to understand how the discourse on the term “terrorism” influences the global phenomenon from the Western worldview. My intention was to add an adult learning perspective to the prevalent terrorism discourse in academia and inform all stakeholders where terrorism is a challenge. The stakeholders include me, the victims, the losers in society and their family members, friends, non-actor stakeholders involved in the direct or indirect fight against terrorism, government departments, NGOs, community leaders, social workers, and adult educators; in short, anyone affected by terrorism. As stakeholders, are we to accept what is fed to us by a hegemonic social system, or are we to use human criticality to think through and arrive at a “non-hegemonically constructed” truth?
Explanatory Contexts

Before addressing the questions and drawing conclusions from the analysis, we must establish what discourses underlie the term “terrorism” in government policy documents and news media outlets. We also need to establish how they have influenced and shaped the Western worldview on the term “terrorism” under four topics: (a) CDA, (b) Macro Focus, (c) Habermas’s conception of society (Edgar, 2005), and (d) Nussbaum’s (1998) cultivation of humanity. These provide the context and a foundation for the discussion at the societal macro level.

Nussbaum’s (1998) three capacities for the cultivation of humanity correlate with Habermas’s (Edgar, 2005) dialogue and communicative action. Both conceptions are oriented towards reaching a consensus in an uncoerced and free exchange and the creation of spaces that may be of one humanness, without the coercion of the state-corporate complex. Nussbaum’s three capacities and Habermas’s dialogue and communicative action could be correlated in a dissertation model. This study included myself as the researcher, a social critic, and fulfilled several criteria including: (a) thought mediated by power relations with historical roots, (b) facts do not make sense without context and values, (c) role of capitalist production and consumption as a key mediator between concept and object, (d) language as central in the formation of subjectivity, (e) conscious and unconscious awareness, (f) elites as subordinating elements in any societies with hegemony realized through acceptance by the oppressed, and finally, (g) mainstream researchers implicated in the capitalist production and reproduction in the system of repression (Kincheloe et al.; & Monzo, 2018). Nussbaum (1998) put forward three capacities towards the cultivation of humanity in an increasingly globalized and complex world. The capacity for (a) critical examination, (b) world citizenship, and (c) narrative imagination would produce “Socratic citizens, capable of thinking for themselves, arguing with their traditions, and
understanding with sympathy the conditions of lives different from their own” (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 302). Kincheloe (2008) spoke of a critical pedagogy as an empowering way of thinking and acting, enabling the critical thinker to take back agency on condition that the thinker take a stance on the various forces that affect the human condition. Chapter Five reviews the key pillars of a dissertation model to examine the topic of terrorism by first reviewing the methodology of the research, CDA and the macro or societal focus. This is followed and contextualized by Habermas’s concept of society as a system and the lifeworld, to be followed by Nussbaum’s three capacities towards the cultivation of humanity. These inter- and cross-disciplinary topics exemplify an amalgamated dissertation model. The chapter concludes with limitations and further study, and contributions of the research.

**Critical Discourse Analysis and the Macro Focus.**

CDA is concerned with how power is exercised through language with language (as used in discourse) as a source of social practice. Fairclough assumed that the use of language is a communicative event. Fairclough’s (2001) model is based on three dimensions: (a) text (speech, writing, images, or a mix of all three); (b) an analysis at word level, discursive practice (production or constitution of text, analysis takes place at the text level); and (c) social practice (standards or organization in society, analysis of the social norm levels). Fairclough’s approach assumes that language helps create change and can be used to change behaviour, thus becoming a power tool. By choosing certain words when we write or speak, we show our attitude to the subject. For example, newly arrived immigrants in Canada could be foreigners for some, resources that provide economic benefits for others, or danger that could challenge Canadian culture to a third group.
There can be no neutrality. A traditional researcher would expect to be neutral and objective. In Freirean terms, “critical research, as much as teaching, was a tool that created conditions for the oppressed to become empowered and to find the hope necessary to act toward liberation” (Kincheloe et al., 2018, p. 238). Becoming more fully human, humanization (Freire, 1994, 1990) requires (a) a problem-posing education, (b) continuous learning, (c) a continuous criticality, with liberation occurring through cognitive acts (Freire, 1990). Such a problem-posing approach in which students are challenged about their relationship with the world requires a dialogical setting and an interrogation of complex problems that intersect in several specializations: the psychological, political, theological, and social (Freire, 1990, 1985, 1994b).

I would further argue that critical “research” is imprisoned in the Ivory Tower of academia and thus kept from the masses. Freire (2000) suggested that the work of human liberation “is for radicals” (p. 37) with “radicalization, nourished by a critical spirit, always creative” (p.37). We must all remain immersed in our community and our reality; where injustice is perpetrated, we need to resist, take courage, and act. Empowerment towards removal of oppression means taking action to confront structures of oppression primarily by liberating the mind through a pedagogy based on mutual trust and respect. It must be based on the “ability to recognize the ‘other’ as human, knowledgeable in diverse ontologies and epistemologies, and capable [of leading] us toward our common liberation” (Kincheloe et al., 2018, p. 238). For example, when we choose words to describe someone as a terrorist or freedom fighter, we express our attitude and help shape perception. Discourse is about language as a community; the words we choose make us feel that we are part of a community, part of society. Since research is “formally” conducted in institutions of higher learning that are part of the “system,” criticality is captured and imprisoned by holders of academic titles or wardens that, much like wardens in
prisons, hold prisoners to keep society safe, so academics, hold “criticality” prisoner to keep society “safe” from “thinking” humans and uncovering “forbidden knowledge” that would liberate them. The current neoliberal view of education can be characterized as the marketization of education. In this way, students are viewed as commodities, teachers as mechanical functionaries, and the primary purpose of schooling is tied to the economic growth of the community (Kirylo, 2013).

CDA concerns textual analysis, and any text contains interpretations, so textual production is not apolitical but also object construction. By confronting a state-corporate complex via critical discourse it might be possible to recognize the “other” as human and perhaps unknown to us citizens of the state-corporate complex. We might understand the “other’s” oppression. Such understanding would liberate both the unknowing supporters of oppression as well as the oppressed.

Through CDA we realize that language can be a bearer of change. The words we use and how we compose our sentences might change our view of a particular subject such as terrorism. Text is almost always subject to interpretation with its language neither neutral, nor innocent. Language contains values, attitudes, and assessments that the writer of the text conveys to the reader. Writers of news media and government policy documents choose to include or exclude certain themes and social events. They mix and link the objective and subjective themes to provide a certain pattern or interpretation, to network social events, to include or exclude stakeholders and expert opinion, to draw conclusions and have an expository, descriptive, persuasive, or narrative style. The writer has a certain attitude that might be strong or weak in commitment and/or subjective and explicit, or objective and implicit. In describing the role of the school system, media and other institutions, Donald Macedo uses the term “stupidification”
(Macedo, 2006). Thus, the writer can construct what “terrorism” should mean and, as a non-critical reader, help in the “stupidification” of the masses. As Donaldo Macedo (2006) noted “what we have in the United States is not a system to encourage independent thought and critical thinking” and he further suggested that there is not difference between “the more or less liberal Trilateral Commission position on schooling and Adolf Hitler’s fascist call against independent thought and critical thinking” quoting Adolf Hitler “what good fortune for those in power that people do not think” (p. 36). As readers, writers characterize our attitudes, creating social relationships and practices in the process. Thus, language is associated with power and is part of our communication as a social event with language and the choice of words, forming the context of our social community and the location of our selves within society. Society has its social norms and traditions that influence culture.

In the social sciences, a discourse is an institutionalized way of thinking, a social boundary defining what can be said about a topic, affecting our views and choice of vocabulary, expressions, and the style appropriate to communicate. Thus, perhaps there is a discourse on “terrorists” and another on “freedom fighters.” In Foucauldian tradition, CDA concentrates on post-structuralism with the focus on linguistic resources and what people have available to them in the form of news media outlets and government policy documents. To validate or refute a theory, transcripts are often used to illustrate the theory. The basis for validating the theory is the work done on the discourse and transcripts. Interpretive repertoire in CDA means the use of metaphors, terms, phrases, symbols, and elements of Western culture that make up the Western worldview. Understanding the subject’s position (who is the repressed and who is the repressor) is important in understanding our own position in a discussion and determining agreement or disagreement. Kincheloe et al. (2018) noted that racism and gender oppression “serve to
reinforce and compound the material relations shaped by capitalism and the economic exploitation that is the motor force of any capitalist society” (p. 238). Darder and Torres (2003) put forward the idea of race as a social construct that functions to create division and conflict among groups of people whose very division subjects them to exploitation and domination in capitalist economies. Drawing from Stuart Hall, Lin and Kubota (2021) noted that “‘the West’ is not a fact of geography, but a historical construct discursively produced and reproduced in colonialist discourses and it functions to classify societies and people into different simplified and fixed (i.e. essentialist) categories” (p. 193). The West was superior, the Rest inferior with the constructs discursively manufactured into binary categories of cultural ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ with ‘race’ a concept constructed in colonialist discourses (Lin and Kubota, 2021). The terrorism construct can be added to those labelled terrorists in the Middle East who are being exploited by the hegemony of the state-corporate complex.

Foucault (1972) used discourse as a precursor to understanding systems representing knowledge about a particular subject matter. Production of knowledge through language and representing knowledge about a topic in a particular historical moment influences the way in which ideas are put in practice. For the textual data analyzed in this study, the term “terrorism” is made meaning of by way of the news media outlets and government policy documents which represented what terrorism is and therefore put into practice ideas to counter violent extremism and fight the “War on Terror.” The same discourse that characterizes a way of talking or thinking in a state of knowledge at any one time can cross a range of texts that may lead to different forms of conduct in different institutional sites in a society. Whenever the discourses come together and refer to the same topic, possessing the same style and following the same strategy, a discursive formation results. Western countries took a distinctly different approach from non-Western
countries in interpreting and acting upon the meaning-making. With discursive formations built up over time, for the subject of this research the starting point was 9/11. It was the major terrorist incident, causing the institutionalization of a particular way of thinking and acting about a certain topic. The “War on Terror” has been going on ever since. The nationalism and self-righteousness of the Empire strongly influences the Western worldview’s understanding of terrorism.

Underlying the discourse was a particular political ideology or institutional way of thinking. With criticality and some knowledge “forbidden,” and intelligence services free to act without the oversight of democratic institutions in the course of maintaining “national interest,” law enforcement and security institutions follow process-oriented ways of thinking guided by nationalism and duty to country. Meaning and meaningful practice is manufactured through constructed objects via discourse.

Discourse concerns what meaning and/or action is attached to that object. Terrorism as an object exists but has no fixed meaning. As such, terrorism takes on meaning and becomes institutionalized through the language attached to terrorism and the social practices that accompany meaning-making. Meaning only comes through discourse. Objects and practice produce knowledge, a way of thinking about and acting on things, that then becomes institutionalized. Media and government policy documents on the object of terrorism give meaning to the term. The power accorded to discourse is like that given to language by other cultural theorists: the power to define how the world is categorized and perceived. Foucault believed individuals give meaning to objects and events. The media is NOT a transparent conduit of reality. In fact, discourse was a rejection of absolute truth and meaning, so portraying an object or an event reflects journalistic and other stakeholder interpretation and ways of thinking and seeing. As Kincheloe et al. (2018) noted:
We need to ask questions of all knowledge, Freire argued, because all data are shaped by the context and by the individuals that produced them. Knowledge, contrary to the pronouncements of many educational leaders, does not transcend culture, history, or social structure. (p. 239)

It is discourse on terrorism, not the subjects who speak it (the journalists, politicians, experts, academics, and terrorists themselves) which produces knowledge and meaning on terrorism. Media outlets and government departments produce texts but operate within the discursive formation, the regime of truth of a particular period and culture. The period between 2012-2015 saw a spike in terrorism and the meaning-making of terrorism was framed in that period. It is also framed by the data set as an object that was produced in that period and so must submit to the rules and conventions of the discourse, the disposition of power and knowledge. The subject can become the bearer of the kind of knowledge which discourse produces. The different stances of the media outlets differ slightly on what terrorism is as an object, so terrorism can become the object through which power is relayed. But the meaning-making of terrorism cannot stand outside power and knowledge as its source and author. The more absolute stance of Fox News contrasts sharply with Al Jazeera’s stance on the constructed object, terrorism. The Fox News construct insists on tying terrorism to Islam. Al Jazeera, in contrast, noted in their construct that terrorism can be a label for fighting repression.

Since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do, all practices have a discursive aspect. Understanding the world occurs through discourse and meaning-making, influencing and constituting it at a particular historical moment. All social practices should be understood by discursive construction where discourse constructs the object or event itself. This both allows and limits the possibilities of understanding the object and
enables and constrains what can be said, by whom, where and when. Teachers may be oblivious to the “political inscriptions embedded in their practice” (p. 242). A dissertation model could be a useful process to enhance pedagogical praxis for educators who need to adopt critical pedagogy first, and then the process of details, the “nuts and bolts” of contextual meaning-making. For example, for the term “terrorism,” a particular understanding constructed the term (terrorist) via security, community, and legal discourses. Individuals are then “positioned” as being “terrorists” and seen as dangerous, illegal, and needing to be captured and punished. So, the discourse on terrorists defines, allows, and limits a construction on the subject and understanding through discourse. The perspective and context of the “other” is not at all part of the dialogue. As consumers of the media and government proclamations, which we do not critique, we position ourselves, the subjective self, by accepting practices or discourses and the ideas that go with them, locating ourselves on that conceptual map and taking on roles defined by the state-corporate complex. Then we think of ourselves in those terms. By adopting subject positions that make our identities or selves, the discourses create the subjective experience of ourselves.

What we need to liberate ourselves (first, our mind, and second, the oppressed) is criticality. This would allow us to challenge the state-corporate output of constructed objects and challenge, challenge, challenge. We must become more critical, and as noted by Kincheloe et al. (2018), we need:

[To abandon] the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality and the social locations of other researchers and the ways they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge. (p. 244)
As Dewey (1916) reminded us, education is a continuous reconstruction of experience. Education is life itself and enables every human to participate in the social consciousness of humanity. As part of humanity, we adapt our activities, resulting in social reform and progress (Dewey, 1897). We must all become “researchers.” Everyone. Not just academics, the wardens overseeing knowledge prisons in Ivory Towers. So, the previous quote needs to read: we need to abandon the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of our position in the web of reality and the social locations of fellow humans and the ways in which they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge.

Discourses are tied to power. Knowledge is put to work via discursive practices to regulate people’s conduct. For example, discursive constructions of “terrorism” in law enforcement terms results in legal control. In countering violent extremism, law enforcement uses models and processes to control and fight terrorism. Thus, we must understand how power or knowledge serves to allow and limit certain social practices. The law enforcement and legal knowledge of terrorism comes with power, the discourse of law enforcement. In legal terms describing “terrorism” comes with power and ways in which people’s conduct and behaviour can be regulated and controlled. It also limits some social practices. Power is not just controlling, preventing, repressing, censoring, concealing, or constraining. For Foucault (1972), power also produces reality, domains of objects, and rituals of truth. The meaning of “terrorism” is a ritual of truth. Power is both enabling and constraining. Perhaps by enabling the “haves” and constraining the “have nots,” the tension of “one man’s terrorist is another’s freedom fighter.” This enables the “haves” and constrains the “have nots” with the tension resulting in struggle on either side of the binary. Certain discursive practices can be privileged and become dominant discourses. In time, they might become so entrenched that they become common sense. Such
complacency needs to be averted as it results in oppression. Alternatives are always possible as discourses are produced and refuted over time. They are not eternal, they come and go; they have a history and a genealogy. At a certain historical moment, a discourse about a topic can shame meaning-making and behaviour. In adopting criticality and realizing the natural complexities of human situations and social relations, humans will have a much more active and less oppressed role, and more agency.

Institutions are producers of discourse and, with time, discourses on topics are embedded in those institutions through institutional practice—ways of organizing, regulating, and administering social life. If someone is suspected of being a terrorist in a law enforcement discourse, the individual in question becomes an object of legitimate interest to law enforcement agents and police officers and may be subject to surveillance, monitoring, questioning, and even arrest as part of the practice of law enforcement. Discourses are bound up with institutional practices (ways of organizing, regulating, and administrating social lives) that come with different professions, politics, and the media.

Macro-level analysis, with large-scale objects such as policy documents and the media, examining how people (and terrorists), are positioned, a stance is taken to undermine oppressive discourses. Interest will turn to the macro level, the topics, and themes, rather than going into the minute detail, the grammar. Nevertheless, the interest remains in the content. Use of my own cultural knowledge and lived experience is expected. Kincheloe et al. (2018) reminded us that a critical scholar or researcher “attempts to use their work as a form of social or cultural criticism” (p. 237). There are many discourses on the same topic and objects may be constructed in contradictory ways since the discourses are historically and culturally situated, so asking how those discourses arose is important. Is the discourse in part supporting a binary? How are the
discourses being used and who gains or loses from a particular subject position? How are people
categorized and what kind of action is possible and/or prohibited? Almost everything is
discourse: text, image, video, symbols, anything that has embedded in it discourses or created
discourses and comes to influence our meaning-making. Thus, it structures our experience of the
world. Institutions play a major role in producing and supporting discourses and, therefore,
reproducing power relations. It is necessary to take a stance when evaluating gains and losses.
Followers of Foucault argue that it is impossible to be apolitical. What kind of moral and
political stance is depicted in the terrorism discourse. Who is labelled a terrorist and who is not?

I was mostly interested in the macrostructure of texts rather than the microstructure and
discursive psychology. Discourse structures, cognitive structures, and social structures are
important for van Dijk. Rather than examining subjective mental models of the participants of a
discourse or the deciphering of a discourse, the spotlight was on the production of the text that
would eventually reach the discourse participants. I was interested in how words create and
convey meaning to decipher whether some groups are marginalized or dominated by other
groups in society. Groups might be the Empire, governments, or a client state of the Empire.

CDA argues that people can be oppressed in particular ways using different discourses
and the objective is to expose the ideologies that underpin discourses, namely that of “terrorism.”
I examined broader social and cultural issues, which involves the analysis of texts that are
circulated more widely (such as news media articles and government policy documents) on the
topic “terrorism.” This is more important that analyzing one person’s “terrorist” experiences.
When we read the newspaper, we learn about terrorism in general because mental models are
created about terrorism, attacks, and bombs; generic abstract knowledge of the world and new
knowledge on terrorism is created.
The interest, then, was on the textual data that seek to present a particular version of the world: a Western worldview on “terrorism” and how those discursive practices might exhort power over some people. CDA is important in that it can shed light on social inequalities and how these are produced through certain discourses, but also see ways in which such discourses can be challenged and perhaps rectified. Understanding the complexities as well as being inherently critical of texts produced by the state-corporate complex helps us understand the reality “as it is” rather than the reality as it is constructed. Discursive practices can be explained using a macro conception.

In contemplating the macro level and placing discourse and its impact on society as an organizing concept is necessary. Habermas’s concept of society as a system, as historically constructed and currently dominated by the West, and society as the lifeworld, the more cultural non-systemic aspects appear.

**Habermas’s Concept of Society as a System and the Lifeworld.**

The system is described by Habermas who introduced a “two-level” concept of society differentiating between society as lifeworld, and society as system (Baynes, 2016). Society as lifeworld “is defined to contain the background of shared meaning that makes ordinary symbolic interaction possible and, further, it now explicitly includes also those structural components (institutions, normative structures, and social practices) that make social reproduction possible” (Pusey, 1987, p. 106). Society as a system is that part of society that “uncouples from communicatively shared experience in ordinary language and [is] coordinated, instead, through the media of money and power” (Pusey). Here is where the lack of criticality of citizens may result in hegemony taking hold of citizens through the discursive sphere being controlled by the media, money of corporations, and power, the state-corporate complex. Large areas of the
lifeworld such as the public sphere, education, and citizenship have been “mediatized,” dissolved and then reproduced as imperatives of the economic sub-system (Pusey). Taking control of the discourse and manufacturing objects at moments that serve the economic sub-system are a translation of power into objects that, if it goes unchecked by reality, become hegemonic. Gramsci (1971) explained that the method by which a capitalist state maintains control and power over its citizens occurs through the dominance of cultural aspects, processes, and norms. The ideology of the elite becomes subtly and overtly accepted by the ordinary citizens who normalize the ideology through their daily engagement and practice. Subordinated groups internalize the elite’s ideology, not realizing it is against their own best interests. According to Habermas, the state is a system guided and organized by power. The state system is at odds with the lifeworld through which ordinary people give meaning to their world and formulate their opinions and values (Edgar, 2005). Human dignity and naturally inquisitive minds may be at odds with the exercised hegemony of the state-corporate complex.

The Habermasian framework offers a comprehensive multi-dimensional view of the interaction of societal structures. According to Sitton (2003), “Habermas employs a conception of society as a lifeworld” (p. 62). Society is a lifeworld “in which participants are immersed and which they reproduce in a characteristic way” (p. 61). Cultural continuity, sustenance of social relations, and socialization are key elements that keep the lifeworld coherent (Sitton). Reproduction of the lifeworld “revolves around the three structural components of culture, society, and personality. In those structural components, learning and meaning-making take place.

Habermasian theory offers a multi-dimensional view of politics and conflicts that arise in the political institutions of modern society (parliament, trade unions, political parties, formal
associations, and interest groups). National challenges (such as national security, economic development, law and order) can be systematically investigated by looking at causal effects of changes and disturbances in the sociocultural order with those that arise in the economy and the state. Society can be experienced as a constraining force that directs individual members, or as a meaningful cultural realm (Edgar, 2005). The Habermasian framework enables the exploration of conflicts or tensions that arise between the interaction of the system and the lifeworld (Pusey, 1987).

No person is apolitical or ahistorical. No community, system, or institution is apolitical or ahistorical. Knowledge creation and academic institutions are political. In the system we are all trained to contribute commercially and hegemonically. In agreement, Kincheloe et al. (2018) proclaimed that a “good life,” as propagated by a Western worldview came to mean capital accumulation, unrestrained growth, increased productivity, and consumer culture” (p. 246). When we go back home to our family and friends, we join our own “circle of trust,” our lifeworld. In the hegemonic system, universities and learning institutions could be seen as part of Habermas’s system—an institution that generates graduates who meet employers’ needs and are programmed to contribute commercially. To challenge the programing and hegemonic aspects of universities’ contribution to society, Kincheloe et al. (2018) suggested “critical praxis orientation of critical pedagogy by engaging researching in learning from and within these communities” (p. 246) was necessary. This view challenges the Western notion that “knowledge is only produced in the academy” (p. 246). Can we not say the same of the creation of political ideas, ideologies, and perhaps societal objects, such as “terrorism?”

One of the practical effects of emancipatory theory is to advance the “interest of reason in human adulthood” (Welton, 1995, p. 136). Dialogue and communicative action oriented to
reaching a consensus in an uncoerced and free exchange (study circles, tutorial classes) has
historically been pivotal to the adult education movement. Advancing the interest of reason may
be limiting in Habermas’s system if reason is captured in static institutional processes so that
processes must be followed, and stakeholders of those processes are left without individual
agency to contribute. Some hegemony is tied to the established institutional processes. Built-in
neutrality is part of the institutional processes at universities, “an ideological phantom, meant to
create complacency” (Kincheloe et al., 2018, p. 247). The yoke comes off when we go back
home to our family and friends, join our own “circle of trust,” our lifeworld, in which individual
agency is restored, criticality is enabled, and hegemony lifted at the much less powerful
individual level. In contrast to their built-in neutrality, what universities should be, Ignacio
Ellacuria noted, are cultivators of truth and knowledge. The university should analyze and resist
social ills such as poverty and oppression. A favourite phrase of Ignacio Ellacuria was that the
university should serve as the “critical and creative conscience of society” (Beirne, 1996, p. 43).

Again, the quote needs to be socialized to encompass not only the academic elite, but
every free member of society that needs to learn evolving criticality and being comfortable with
“the existence of alternative ways of analyzing and producing knowledge” (Kincheloe et al,

Sitton (2003) noted that “in order to comprehend the dynamic social life, society must be
conceived as both a meaningful whole and as a self-maintaining system constituted of
subsystems fulfilling various functions” (p. 61). “Institutions are the indispensable source from
which our character and identity is formed and reformed, and one can differentiate institutions in
the lifeworld: institutions for socialization (family, schools); social integration (groups,
collectives, associations); cultural reproduction (religion, art, science); from those within the
domain of the system” (Welton, 1995, p. 134). Through the subsystems and institutions, we belong to as citizens, and through communicative action and discourse that takes place in those institutions, we construct objects and, in turn, influence the constructs. Powerful media and corporations influence the constructs in our social system and lifeworld, especially if criticality is not enabled and discursive spaces are limited by the power of the media.

Jarvis (2006) leant towards Habermas’s “system” view. As noted earlier and citing Lyotard, Jarvis noted that “the transmission of knowledge is . . . to supply the system with players capable of acceptably fulfilling their roles at the pragmatic posts required by its institutions” (n.p). “The instrumental ends of learning, that is learning certain knowledge or skill, actually deflect our thinking from the fact that it is the person who learns—the whole person” (p. 206). Jarvis continued, “Beliefs and values have not been treated as very important, so we have not been given as much opportunity to reflect upon them or to articulate them as we have on other forms of knowledge and skill; after all, they are not assessed and carry no certification” (p. 207). In Adult Education and the State, Jarvis (1993) noted that “abstract intellectualism does not find a great deal of favour with conservatives, so the universities’ traditional freedoms and functions have suffered greatly, especially in the manner that philosophy departments have become regarded as optional extras to the university scene” (p. 27). Reflection on and articulation of beliefs and values in the university setting need to be challenged. Giroux (2001) believed that educators must be free to explore the hidden curriculum, uncover assumptions, and interrogate culture because education is both embedded in society and influences social practices and mores. Critical pedagogy is vital to maintaining democracy by developing students into engaged citizens who question practices, people, and policies, and affirm the value of diverse knowledge and opinions. Rather than being limited by age level or academic discipline,
curriculum, in Giroux’s view, must negotiate areas of cultural content that transcend classrooms and borders (Giroux, 2001; 2011). In support, Apple and Beane (2007) challenged educators worldwide to implement transformative education to nurture epistemological spaces essential to freedom, democracy, and social justice. They reminded educators to maintain their movement toward critical consciousness while confronting issues of power and privilege. These issues need to be repositioned in an evolving criticality; the capitalist “yoke” must come off.

In Habermasian terms, ordinary people, through beliefs and values, would give meaning to the lifeworld. The state system, guided and organized by power and the media, have become at odds with the lifeworld. Jarvis’s notion of the instrumentalism of pragmatism supports the Habermasian view. “We live in a pragmatic society in which things have to be practical and . . . we legitimate contemporary knowledge by its performativity. Everything is about practical ends—it is instrumental” (p. 208). What used to be called objective knowledge might best be understood as data and information, but until these are learned subjectively, they do not become personalized knowledge that may then influence beliefs or values, and so on. Until learned subjectively, learning and action may not take place. Knowledge, beliefs, and values, etc., are always subjective and have to be learned—as do emotions. It is these that form the basis of our motivation to act as well as the knowledge itself, although the actions are also still learning situations. Such notions are essential in creating the personal lifeworld (Jarvis, 1993).

Perhaps this is where the Western worldview and its focus on systems, objectivity, and processes fails to understand the “what” and “how?” Reductionist objects created by the media, if unjust, are still unjust and will not affect the beliefs of those familiar with the lived context or experience. Such injustice and transgression of human dignity might entice action, even action to violence. A fight to recover human agency might be the cause of the action. Terrorism might
then be an unfortunate path for some. Other unfortunate conditions may take place as well.

Kincheloe et al. (2018) explained:

> The bricolage is dealing with a double ontology of complexity: first, the complexity of human subjectivity, the production of human “being.” Such understandings open a new era of social research where the process of becoming human agents is appreciated with a new level of sophistication. (p. 249)

Welton (1995) declared that the colonization of lifeworld has taken its toll:

> [The anti-normative inversion of human life] desiccates the communicative contexts of our common life and depletes non-renewable cultural resources. . . . This invasion of the lifeworld generates several disturbing pathological conditions: personalities are destabilized; sources of meaning dry up, and communal bonds erode. Those with money and power stave off despair, those in the underclass drop into an ever-deepening morass of violence, drugs, alcoholism, and criminality. (p. 147)

In such a reductionistic context, “human agency is erased by the ‘laws’ of society” (Kincheloe et al., 2018, p. 249). Subjective knowledge in addition to practical instrumental knowledge must have a place in the workplace and learning. Welton (1995) further posited that:

> If we understand that the fundamental task of critical adult educators is to preserve the communicative infrastructure of the lifeworld and extend communicative action into state or economic institutions, then we can speak in determinate and realistic ways about the enlightenment and empowerment of persons who occupy different roles with different potential for collective self-determination through communicative action. (p. 156)

Kincheloe et al. (2018) explained, “The complex feedback loop between an unstable social structure and the individual can be chartered in a way that grants human beings insights
into the means by which power operates and the democratic process is subverted” (p. 249).
Perhaps these are critical links between society and the lifeworld. Criticality and the insights
generated therefrom would return agency to the lifeworld. Would-be terrorists do not agree with
society and the power of the state–corporate complex. The discursive space does not permit
criticality. Agency is taken from some citizens and controlled by institutional processes such as
legalese influenced by power; in a sense they feel shut out of an unjust, hegemonic society.
Humanity needs to be cultivated more effectively and needs to go beyond a neo-liberal binary of
“us versus them.” In the end we are all humans and part of humanity.

**Cultivation of Humanity.**

Nussbaum’s (1998) three capacities towards the cultivation of humanity correlate with
Habermas’s dialogue and communicative action. Both conceptions are oriented towards reaching
a consensus in an uncoerced and free exchange and the creation of spaces that may enable the
production of global citizenship. Nussbaum suggested three capacities towards the cultivation of
humanity in an increasingly globalized world: (a) the capacity for critical examination, (b) world
citizenship, and (c) narrative imagination would produce “Socratic citizens, capable of thinking
for themselves, arguing with their traditions, and understanding with sympathy the conditions of
lives different from their own” (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 302). Citizens capable of thinking for
themselves, with criticality, have the power to draw on a common humanity and counter the
state–corporate power.

Nussbaum (2010) strongly criticized “education for profit” in defence of “education for
humanity” in her book, *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities*. She explained
“education for profit” in terms of “a growth-oriented paradigm.” Here, growth means “economic
growth of a nation,” representing a nation’s quality of life. Nussbaum criticized the growth
model of education because it ignores other social and educational problems such as
“distribution and social equality, the preconditions of stable democracy, the quality of race and
gender relations and the improvement of other aspects of a human being’s quality of life that are
not well linked to economic growth” (Nussbaum 2010, p. 14). Other, non-Western aspects of a
human being’s quality of life and worldview might be based on humanism and moral principle as
captured by religions such as Islam (Ahmed, 2004; Buck-Morss, 2003; Tibi, 1998), where on the
community level the fight with full moral force is for economic justice, equality, and social
harmony” (Buck-Morss, 2003, p. 50). Such a fight could be labelled “terrorism.”

Criticality is of paramount importance. Socratic self-examination is based on four
premises: (a) Socratic education is for every human being, (b) it should be suited to the pupil’s
circumstances and context, (c) it should be pluralistic and include a variety of different norms
and traditions, and (c) it requires ensuring that books do not become authorities (Nussbaum,
1997). Education in general strengthens reasoning, which every human being possesses, so that it
can be universalized and strengthen democratic political community. Education should be suited
to the student’s circumstances and context so that it is personal and able to overcome the
obstacles between the student and their attainment of self-scrutiny and intellectual freedom.
Education should be pluralistic and challenge a student’s neutral, necessary, and own natural
ways. Confrontation with the different will enable students to see how other societies do things
differently. Coupled with continuous scrutiny, an excellent tradition will survive. Education
should not package everything into books, giving students “a false conceit of wisdom”
(Nussbaum, 1997, p. 34). Since books are not “alive,” students “having internalized a lot of
culturally authoritative material may come to believe they are very wise” (p. 34). To Nussbaum
(1997), world citizenship is a good citizen who “holds that thinking about humanity as it is
realized in the whole world is valuable for self-knowledge” (p. 59); that is “unconstrained by narrow partisanship” (p. 60). Here the binary could be broken. If K-12 education and later adult education are permitted discursive spaces, and such spaces freely and in a non-power-influenced space can discuss local affiliations and loyalties to ethnic, religious, linguistic, historical, professional, and gender identities, these human elements need not be given up but discoursed, and transcended, Education becomes multicultural, so the history and culture of many groups are learned. Binaries of the world, “either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” as President Bush said, can then be neutralized and world citizens will be able to develop sympathetic understanding so that mutual respect will ensue between different cultures.

Narrative imagination is a prerequisite for moral interaction in nourishing habits of empathy and cultivating “a sympathetic responsiveness to another’s needs, and understanding the way circumstances shape those needs, while respecting separateness and privacy” (p. 90). Literature plays a key role in narrative imagination and, according to Nussbaum (1997), “the great contribution literature has to make to the life of the citizen is its ability to wrest from our frequently obtuse and blunted imaginations an acknowledgement of those other than ourselves, both in concrete circumstances and even in thought and emotion” (pp. 111-112). In the new globalized world, literature is no longer enough. Media has taken over discursive space to shape citizens’ worldview as dictated by the “system” as it takes over the “lifeworld.”

**Meaning-Making at the Macro Level**

Habermasian theory provides a useful macro-level organizing framework within which to view society’s meaning-making of the term “terrorism.” This framework can be combined with the need to cultivate humanity and criticality as practiced by CDA. The Habermasian framework, with its multiple elements, captures values and cultural elements through the lifeworld, and
economic imperatives, politics, and power through the social systems component. It is necessary to understand how societal structures interact in complex systems and how they are underpinned by society, history, culture, and institutions. Habermasian theory offers a multi-dimensional view of politics and conflicts that arise in the political institutions in modern society. Using CDA, humanity, and the Habermasian framework, disruption of the positivist narrative and the questioning of systemic truths is possible. This dissertation model has developed to understand the neo-liberal “terrorism” construct. The dissertation model is a construct of evolving criticality, emancipatory in intent, complex in its components and their relationships, with the intent of giving back agency to citizens. It may enable the disruption of the positivist narrative and contextual understanding of the term “terrorism” which could provide a deeper understanding at the micro level. The dissertation model is depicted in Figure 3.

**Figure 3**

*Dissertation Model*
The role of adult educators is to point out all aspects of the discursive moment’s six elements in an issue at hand (such as the issue of terrorism): (a) discourse/language, (b) power, (c) social relations, (d) material practices, (e) institutions/rituals, and (f) beliefs/values/desires, commodification of that moment with the resultant information fitting into a discursive space that is critically dialogued. Edward Said described the effect of power of the media as “the usurpation of the public space” (Said & Viswanathan, 2001, p. 205), of the common space, by the media and the corporations—so a rebalance is necessary with adult education as the discipline perhaps best positioned, and with interest in all areas of the discursive moment’s six elements, to facilitate the discursive space situated at the interface between Habermas’s society as a system and society as a lifeworld.

As noted earlier, Habermasian theory suggested that the lifeworld is constantly subjugated to mediatized colonization by the economy and the state, in particular, money and
market, power, and bureaucracy (Pusey, 1987). Edgar (2005) added that in complex Western societies, individual freedoms are compromised. Social processes “take over” and restrict the actions of members of the lifeworld. “In Habermas’s terminology, this is the process by which society as a ‘system’ intrudes into society as a ‘lifeworld’” (p. 185) and colonizes the lifeworld and possibly how Western hegemony is enabled democratically. As a reminder, according to Chomsky, the West’s guiding principles are: (a) freedom of speech, (b) freedom of worship, (c) freedom from want, and (d) freedom from fear. Chomsky described a fifth freedom “the freedom to rob, exploit and to dominate, to undertake any course of action to ensure that existing privilege is protected and advanced,” and this is achieved hegemonically, theoretically, and democratically.

**Contributions and Recommendations**

One of the motivations of this research, as stated in Chapter One, was to address the gap in the literature by looking at sociocultural critical perspectives overlooked by the Western worldview which views violent extremism through a hegemonic lens without considering deep anthropologic ties people have to their society, culture, and linguistics. Using the Habermasian concept of society, this research acknowledges the interrelatedness between political, media, corporate, and academic discourses. As such, CDA fulfilled the objective to contest the dominant discourses on the term “terrorism” and the way in which the state–corporate nexus dominates the meaning-making to citizenry, filling a partial void in the literature. Further, this research demonstrated how media and government policy shape discourses and realities and how objects such as terrorism are socially constructed. Crucially, the silent “other” that was excluded in the discourse is given discursive space through criticality. An area of further research would be to explore the possibility of pulling in the silent “other” in the context of a more critical Western
citizenry and indicate how the current Habermasian “system” needs to evolve to accomplish such an inclusion.

Another major contribution of this research was the interdisciplinary approach, using contributions from various fields crossing traditional subject specialization boundaries. Sociocultural critical perspectives drawing from social sciences, politics, linguistics, psychology, history, economics, law enforcement, and cultural fields was the basis of this research. Such interdisciplinary research enables a wider conversation among media, government, historians, politicians, and political scientists to engage in debate on the War on Terror and terrorism and perhaps bridge the gap on the binary in new interdiscursive way. An area of further research and exploration would usefully be how the traditional fields and specializations could enhance their criticality and make it more mainstream, thus educating citizens and prompting the need for adult education to be adult learning. Further research into politics and the role of politicians in society is needed. One area of exploration could examine how politicians should become adult educators in the current Habermasian system.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the contribution of this study is to emphasize humanness and criticality. As humanity, our wants, and needs are the same. We share the planet. Peace is disrupted by power differentials in nation states vying for global dominance. As this research has demonstrated, discourse may manipulate and construct knowledge to serve the needs and interests of the state–corporate complex rather than humanity. If René Descartes is famous for his argument of 500 years ago, “I think, therefore I am,” and Niccolò Machiavelli’s *The Prince* is used as an instruction guide for new princes and royals on how to acquire and maintain political power, is it not time for humanity to move on and evolve to something like: “I am critical, therefore I am human,” rather than living only in a personal lifeworld as a human
being and a non-critical, accepting follower in a large undemocratic society? Critical literacy prevents the packaging of information by challenging the information. Existing power structures can be challenged in a better-informed post-structuralist discourse, another area of research that requires further exploration.

**Limitations and Further Study**

In addition to the limitations of the scope of this research, the critiques of CDA, and questions regarding reliability and validity which have been addressed in Chapters One and Three, other issues emerged in the conclusion of the study. The research questions examined how the term “terrorism” was made meaning of when viewed from a Western worldview. It was centered on how and why meaning of terrorism is made when viewed through a Western worldview. Such discourse required the analysis of an important data set to conduct a meaningful contextual analysis that would offer valuable insights into outcomes and understanding of the why and how. What emerged from the analysis were broad macro-level patterns explaining how a Western worldview is shaped, and meaning made, in the context of the information provided in news coverage and government policy documents. The great number of articles meant they had to be reduced to make the research feasible. It would be valuable to extend the CDA to a larger and broader sample of newspaper articles because it would explain whether the results of this research would align with the extended sample.

A similar study from the non-Western worldview analyzing textual data from non-Western newspapers may shed light on how discourse is made meaning of in the non-Western context. Comparing meaning-making of the contrasting worldviews would explain how media shapes the context of meaning-making for the general public, how the state–corporate nexus
influences the understanding of constructed objects, and how hegemony is practiced on a non-critical citizenry.

Critical discourse analysis researching contextual and textual data is a highly interpretive process and the researcher was required to prioritize some texts over others so that other discourses are embedded in the text. The researcher was guided by his experience; prioritizing the textual data as well as awareness of discursive features is likely guided by lived experience. CDA is largely interpretive and strict methodology occurs at the expense of alternative approaches.

The War on Terror is ongoing, so continuous textual data can be analyzed in the coming years. As a result, many of the findings of this research may be either challenged or validated, giving further insight into the meaning-making of the term “terrorism” and the role of government and the media. More scholarship is likely to be available and can be drawn upon.

The aim of this study was on meaning-making of the term “terrorism” as informed by the media and government policy documents. In the context of Habermas’s concept of society, this study gives only a partial picture of the strength of discourse in society. Further exploration is necessary into how particular discourse is formed and impacts policy, public dialogue, and societal stakeholders such as government figures, academia, corporations, NGOs, and other stakeholders affected by the meaning-making of the term “terrorism.”
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## APPENDIX A: TRANSLATION OF FAIRCLOUGH’S THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO NVIVO CODES

Table 6
Fairclough’s Theoretical Framework Translated to NVivo Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fairclough’s theoretical framework Stage</th>
<th>Stage Description</th>
<th>NVIVO Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Stage One: Problematic of Terrorism     | Terrorism is a problem with the terrorist the ‘losers’ within society. Focus of Stage One is the themes addressed when the problematic (what is contested) of terrorism is communicated by producers of the textual news. | 1a. Losers within society  
1b. Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated (via NVivo auto coding – themes as guide)  
1c. Pattern of themes among different articles (linkages)  
1d. Problematic that is contested  
1e. Themes depicted subjectively (feel, believe, attitudes, thoughts, values, feelings, or beliefs of person)  
1f. Themes depicted objectively (based in fact, quantifiable and measurable data) |
<p>| Stage Two: Textual analysis’ relational elements and approaches to depiction of the term terrorism in text | Key issues in text: Social events, genre, difference, intertextuality, assumptions, semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses, exchanges, speech functions, and grammatical mood, discourses, representation of social events, styles, modality, and evaluation. | Textual analysis items 2a to 2l |
| Social events                          | 2a. Textual analysis Social events – Social events the term terrorism is framed within and/or part of a chain or network of texts |
| Genre                                  | 2b. Textual analysis Genre – Social actions, process, pattern the term “terrorism” is placed within an article and/or across different news articles |
| Difference                             | 2c. Textual analysis difference – orientation to difference within the text with regards to the term ‘terrorism’: 2(c1) openness to difference “dialogue;” 2(c2) accentuation of difference; 2(c3) attempt to resolve or overcome the difference or, 2(c4) bracketing of difference/solidarity/commonality, 2(c5) consensus/ a normalization and acceptance of power differences |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intertextuality</th>
<th>2d. Textual analysis intertextuality – key participants of producers of texts, voices included/excluded, voices given equal treatment/weight/access to agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions</td>
<td>2e. Textual analysis assumption – ideological pattern in the text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses</td>
<td>2f. Textual analysis assumption – semantic relations between sentences and clauses (problem cause and solution source)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchanges, speech functions and grammatical mood</td>
<td>2g. Textual analysis exchanges – activity, knowledge, statements of fact, predictions, hypotheticals, evaluations, symbols, metaphorical relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourses</td>
<td>2h. Textual analysis discourses – Mixing of discourses, relations and mixing of words, metaphors, assumptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation of social events</td>
<td>2i. Textual analysis representation of social events – included/excluded, abstract/concrete; process representation; time and space representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Styles</td>
<td>2j. Textual analysis styles – what writing styles (expository, descriptive, persuasive, and narrative) are used and how are they mixed. News writing (investigative, news, reviews, columns, feature writing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modality</td>
<td>2k. Textual analysis modality – writer's attitude towards the world, epistemic modalities and deontic modalities, statements subjective and explicit or objective and implicit, commitment are high, median or low?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>2l. Textual analysis evaluation – values authors commit themselves to, who was setting the agenda and how?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stage Three: Social Order's needs of the problem of 'terrorism'**

Stage Three considers whether the social order (network of practices) 'needs' the problem of terrorism to sustain itself.

- 3a. Social order needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’ – (3a) to reproduce support; (3b) to refute hegemonic worldview

**Stage Four: Negative to positive critique to overcome the problem**

Stage Four is about dialectical elements and moves from a negative to a positive critique, identifying possible ways past the terrorism problematic.

- 4a. Positive critique – showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance within domination

**Stage Five: Critical reflection on Stages One to Four**

Stage Five critically reflexes back on the preceding four stages.

- 5a. Discourse conventional to reflect stability
- 5b. Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways
## APPENDIX B: NVIVO NUMBER OF CODES SUMMARIES FOR THE TEXTUAL DATA

### Table 7
Summary of Number of Codes of Fairclough’s Five Stages for Each of the Textual Data Sample, Shows the Number of Codes for Each Data Set in the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fairclough's Stage</th>
<th>NVIVO Codes</th>
<th>Government Policy Documents</th>
<th>The Canadian Press</th>
<th>British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)</th>
<th>Cable News Network (CNN)</th>
<th>Fox News</th>
<th>Al Jazeera English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stage One:</strong> Problematic of Terrorism</td>
<td>1a. Losers within society</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1b. Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1c. Pattern of themes among different articles (linkages)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1d. Problematic that is contested</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1e. Themes depicted subjectively (feel, believe, attitudes, thoughts, values, feelings, or beliefs of person)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1f. Themes depicted objectively (based in fact, quantifiable and measurable data)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stage Two:</strong> Textual analysis’ relational elements and approaches</td>
<td>2a. Textual analysis Social events – Social events the term terrorism is framed within and/or part of a chain or network of texts</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2b. Textual analysis Genre - Social actions, process, pattern the term ‘terrorism' is placed within an article and/or across different news articles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2c. Textual analysis difference – orientation to difference within the text with regards to the term ‘terrorism’: 2(c1) openness to difference ‘dialogue’; 2(c2) accentuation of difference; 2(c3) attempt to resolve or overcome the difference or, 2(c4) bracketing of difference/solidarity/commonality, 2(c5) consensus/ a normalization and acceptance of power differences</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d. Textual analysis intertextuality – key participants of producers of texts, voices included/excluded, voices given equal treatment/weight/access to agenda; Voices in or out</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2e. Textual analysis assumption - ideological pattern in the text</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f. Textual analysis assumption - semantic relations between sentences and clauses (problem cause and solution source)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2g. Textual analysis exchanges – activity, knowledge, statements of fact, predictions, hypotheticals, evaluations, symbols, metaphorical relations</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2h. Textual analysis discourses – Mixing of discourses, relations and mixing of words, metaphors, assumptions</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2i. Textual analysis representation of social events - included/excluded, abstract/concrete; process representation; time and space representation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2j. Textual analysis styles – what writing styles (expository, descriptive, persuasive, and narrative) are used and how are they mixed News writing (investigative, news, reviews, columns, feature writing)</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2k. Textual analysis modality – writer's attitude towards the world, epistemic modalities and deontic modalities, statements subjective and explicit or objective and implicit, commitment are high, median or low?</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2l. Textual analysis evaluation – values authors commit themselves to, who was setting the agenda and how?</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stage Three: Social Order’s needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’

| 3a. Social order needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’ – (3a) to reproduce support; (3b) to refute hegemonic worldview | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int |

Stage Four: Negative to positive critique to overcome the problem

| 4a. Positive critique - showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance within domination | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int |

Stage Five: Critical reflection on Stages One to Four

| 5a. Discourse conventional to reflect stability; Hegemony | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int |
| 5b. Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways; Change | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int | Int |

Interpretive = Int
## APPENDIX C: SAMPLE CODES FOR TEXTUAL DATA TABLES

### Table 8

The Canadian Press, Summary of Coding of Fairclough’s Five Stages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Discourse/Code/Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Losers within society</td>
<td>“fighters involved with terrorist groups”, “impressionable youths”, “radical Islamic figures”, “groups inspired by the al-Qaida message”, “the possibility of young Canadians becoming radical followers”, “dual-nationals who engage in the most serious crimes”, “young men and women who later end up joining violent causes”, “suspected extremist's”, “men believed to be influenced by radical Islam”, “Jihadi terrorists”, “jihadist movement”, “terrorist group”, “radical ideologues”, “extremists”; and “jihadi-inspired, lone-wolf attackers”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated</td>
<td>“War between Islam and the West”, “the West targeting Muslims in a Muslim country”, “war against radical Islam”, “and the threat to national security terrorist-related security threats”, “homegrown terrorism”, “terrorist attack in Quebec”; “Conservative government is a proud partner in the global fight against terrorism”, “The Combating Terrorism Act”, “legislation that would allow for Canadian citizenship to be revoked from dual-nationals”, “Combating Terrorism Act”, “Canada's first counterterrorism strategy _ a four-pronged approach to prevent, detect, deny resources”, “radicalization online”; “home-grown terrorist cell”; “legislation to give Canada's spy agency more powers new anti-terror legislation”, “confidentiality in personal information”, “what might cause people to support terrorism”, “serious problems to the Muslim community in Canada”, “forbidding the glorification of extremists to protect the Canadian way of life; counter-narrative”, “a fine line between legitimate religious expression and inciting terrorism”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>Pattern of themes among different articles</td>
<td>National security; war, social fabric; radicalization; terrorist attack; International terrorism; Muslim community; young people vulnerable to terrorist; Combating Terrorism Act; legislation for more spy agency powers; homegrown terrorist act; local politics on handling terrorism; Freedom of expression; suite of tougher anti-terror measures; terrorist funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>Problematic that is contested</td>
<td>war between Islam and the West; International terrorism; national security, homegrown radicalism and how to fight it effectively without compromising individual rights, local politics on what constitutes terrorism and what is an act of senseless violence, terrorism versus resistance; overblown focus on terrorism versus death through other causes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 11e   | Themes depicted subjectively | “the al-Qaida message might carry out attacks independently of the terrorist network's centre will almost certainly reinforce his iconic
image and the righteousness of the AQ cause”; “Some experts suspect
that Tuesday's attack was inspired by the Islamic State group's call to
supporters to wage terror in their home countries”; “Obviously there
are some malevolent religious influences that can add to the process
of radicalization towards violent extremism, and we have to be extremely
mindful of that”; “Jihadist terrorism is not a future possibility, it is a
present reality”; “agency's new powers are not as scary as their critics
contend”; “outreach, including counselling and community liaison,
were preferred means of dealing with fundamentalist threats. The
effect of these options is unclear and unproven”; “The committee says
some foreign-trained imams have been spreading extremist religious
ideology and messages that are not in keeping with Canadian values,
contributing to radicalization”

| 11f | Themes depicted objectively | “pointing to an April bomb blast in a Moroccan square popular with
tourists”, “the suspects -- 30-year old Chiheb Esseghaier and 35-year
old Raed Jaser”; “Abassi had travelled from Canada to the U.S. in
mid-March, where he was arrested at JFK airport on April 22 _ the
same day Canadian authorities arrested Chibeb Esseghaier and Raed
Jaser, 35 of Toronto”; “He said Laval University is co-operating with
authorities in the investigation”.

| 22a | Social events | Bin Laden, whose terror network perpetrated the 9-11 attacks, role of
special forces, University students becoming radicalized, the treats of
International terrorism to society, homegown terrorism, radicals
returning home and turning violent, and the role of government in
protecting society using elected officials to propose bills and acts to
take preventive measures in combating terrorism through providing
resources to relevant government institutions, what measures other
countries such as the UK, France, Australia are taking against terrorist
activity

| 22b | Textual analysis
Genre – Social
difference
actions, process,
pattern the term
‘terrorism’ is
placed within | A federal counter-terrorism strategy, description of tragic events as a
result of terrorism with background and ‘bystander’ explanations,
International terrorist attacks and how those impact Canadians,
governments’ response with including community leaders’ opinions,
prevention of radicalized Canadian’s from returning to Canada to
protect Canada, protecting the home front from within through
implementation of radicalization program, Terrorism as a threat on
Canadians and governments responsibility to protect its citizens, what
constitutes terrorism with political parties interpretations discourse
and governments role to protect its citizens without compromising
individual freedoms, what other countries are doing to counter
terrorist activity, and finally putting terrorism in perspective with
regards to casualties versus other disasters.

| 22c | Textual analysis
difference | 2(c1) openness to difference ‘dialogue’ – 1 occurrence
2(c2) accentuation of difference – 8 occurrences
2(c3) attempt to resolve or overcome the difference – 8 occurrences
2(c4) bracketing of difference/solidarity/commonality – 1 occurrence
| 22d | Textual analysis of producer of texts, voices included/excluded | government entities, experts, stakeholders impacted by acts of terrorism, and the perpetrators or losers in society, the terrorists. Voices included those of government institutions such as intelligence services, ministries (The French government; The Australian government; the British government; opposition parties; Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS); Western intelligence agencies; Public Safety Canada; Canada's intelligence agencies; Foreign Affairs in Ottawa; like-minded allies, The R-C-M-P, Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird; Kenyan officials; Kenya's Red Cross, Intelligence and security services in the U.K; MPs; the Commons public safety and national security committee; Parliament; Public Safety Minister Steven Blaney; Federal political leaders; Privacy commissioner Daniel Therrien; The Senate security and defense committee; Public Safety Canada; European Union Foreign Policy Chief Federica Mogherini; international community; World Health Organization; French President Francois Hollande), experts (historian Wesley Wark, a security expert who teaches at the University of Ottawa; NDP public safety critic Randall Garrison; Liberal public safety critic Wayne Easter; A political analyst with the American University of Beirut), government officials (Presidents, Prime Ministers, Ministers, MPs), affected stakeholders in terrorism attacks (French citizens; Hundreds of thousands of people; Marie Tardif-Drolet, a student in mechanical engineering; A Moroccan-born civil engineering student; Muslim community; Muslim community in Canada; Canadians; Media reports and Facebook users; Desloges, a 29-year-old diplomat; The Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers; leader of a Somali group; president of the Edmonton-based Canadian Somali Congress; prominent imam of the Islamic Supreme Council in Calgary; Imam Syed Soharwardy; spokesman for the public safety minister; Jeff Yaworski, CSIS's deputy director of operations; the imam at the mosque; Cindy Barkway, whose husband Dave died in the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York). |
| 22e | Textual analysis of assumption – ideological pattern | Islamic radical: “Islamic radicalism”; “Islamic radicals returning to Canada”; “radical group ISIL”; “terrorist ideology”; “radical Islam”; “radical Islam”; “radical form of Islam”; “the ideology of Islamist fundamentalism”; “radical thinking”; “radical ideologies” Western almostview: “the Canadian way of life”; “like-minded allies”; “our very values as a civilized democracy”; “Conservatives are the only party that can be counted on to protect the security interests of Canadians”; “to protect; a civilized society to diminish and defeat a most uncivilized force”; “humanity's response” |
| 22f | Semantic/grammatical relations between | “The CSIS assessment, written the day after his death, suggests groups inspired by the al-Qaida message might carry out attacks independently of the terrorist network's centre”; “(ISIL) is a bigger
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentences and clauses: (problem cause and solution source)</th>
<th>threat, because they have been more successful in recruiting more westerners, more young people, more educated people&quot;; &quot;I really don't want to use this incident specifically to sort of justify that. We can do a lot of 'what-ifs' and 'wish-I-could'ves,' but in terms of bringing conditions, in our submission what the government is providing that we've asked for is a lowered threshold in respect of peace bonds, which is not terribly unreasonable, in terms of demonstrating a person's radical aberrant behaviour, and saying that we need to put some conditions on this person's movement, and then supporting that with the proper oversight.&quot; _ Paulson when asked after the hearing whether the government's proposed new anti-terror legislation would have helped prevent the attack&quot;. “As recently as this past weekend, Harper plugged the anti-terror bill in a speech to Canadian troops in Kuwait, telling them that it will give security agencies greater powers to thwart terrorist plans&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22g</td>
<td>Textual analysis exchanges – activity, knowledge, statements of fact, predictions, hypotheticals, evaluations, symbols, metaphorical relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22h</td>
<td>Textual analysis discourses – Mixing of discourses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22i</td>
<td>Textual analysis representation of social events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
young vulnerable Canadians being recruited and how best to counter such recruitment was a debate within government institutions, experts, and community leaders; Other debates were the balance between freedom of expression and security, legitimate religious expression and inciting terrorism. Other Western governments’, that of France, Australia, UK reaction and measures taken to counter violent extremism internationally

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22j</th>
<th>Textual analysis styles writing (expository, descriptive, persuasive, and narrative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Expository writing trying to explain a concept and import information to a wider audience; Reviews based journalism, partly fact based and partly opinion X16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Expository writing trying to explain a concept and import information to a wider audience; News journalism, Facts are relayed without flourishes or interpretation X4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>News journalism, Facts are relayed without flourishes or interpretationX7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Review, partly opinion and partly fact based to accomplish two things: One, accurately describe or identify the subject being reviewed, and two, provide an intelligent and informed opinion of the subject, based on research and experience. Persuasive writing is the main style of writing, the writer is trying to convince the audience of a position or belief X1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22k</th>
<th>Textual analysis modality – writer's attitude towards the world</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One modality type, high commitment occurring in 18 articles, low in 9 articles, and median in one article.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22l</th>
<th>Textual analysis evaluation – values authors commit themselves to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“government needs to be more precise in defining the threat to Canada from both the remnants of al-Qaida and homegrown extremism”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“CSIS excised much of the content for security and confidentiality reasons”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“general chatter from radical Islamist organizations” such as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant”, Elizabeth May, of the NDP party commented “If I were a betting person I would put money on these being the acts of isolated, disturbed and deeply troubled men who were drawn to something crazy,&quot; she told the Commons, prompting some audible grumbling from the Conservative benches”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>33a</th>
<th>Social order needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interpretive</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>44b</th>
<th>Positive critique – showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interpretive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within domination</td>
<td>Discourse conventional to reflect stability – Hegemony</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55b</td>
<td>Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Summary of Coding of Fairclough’s Five Stages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Discourse/Code/Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Losers within society</td>
<td>“Islamic State”, “A terrorist group, which is sometimes called ISIS and at other times as ISIL”, “the new generation does not see any meaning in the old narratives”, “growing radicalism among the young people”, “religious preachers with radical and extremist views”, “Islam and Muslims”, “terrorist organizations”, “suspected extremist's”, “Muslim Brotherhood”, “radical Islamists”, and “terrorist groups based in the Middle East”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated</td>
<td>“religious extremism”, “violent extremism”, and “extremism hiding”, and “fighting extremism” as well as “extremist ideas”, “extremist views”, “Islamic extremist”, “potential extremist individuals”, “radical extremists”, and “religious extremists”. As a theme, threat to security was also prominent “deadly bomb attack”, “firearms attack”, “mpeketoni attack”, “gikomba attack”, “grenade attack”, gruesome attacks”, imminent attack”, and vitriolic attacks” and therefore the need to fight fighting terrorism: “internal security forces”, “international information security”, “international security bodies”, “security measures”, “security threat”, and “serious security challenges”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>Pattern of themes among different articles</td>
<td>government offices and sectors; state institutions or policies; security measures and challenges; criminal and terrorist activity; religious, violent, and fighting extremism; terrorist, dirty, jihadist, organizations, and confessional, guerilla, terrorist, and radical fighters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>Problematic that is contested</td>
<td>Incompatibility between Islam and the West; International terrorism; what comprises terrorism in an international context; what nations are challenged; international institutions (UN, BRICS), coordinating, how best to protect national security; International radicalism and how to fight it effectively; what constitutes terrorism within nations; terrorism versus resistance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 11e   | Themes depicted subjectively | “The nightmare of terror”, “gruesome attacks in Paris”, “ethnic groups in Xinjiang have maintained close relations with each other, trusting and depending on each other and sharing weal and woe together. They have worked hard to build Xinjiang, to safeguard border stability, national unification and ethnic unity, and to promote the development and progress of China.”, “29,300 clerical practitioners, basically sufficient to meet the religious believers' needs for normal religious activities.”, “We believe that the national agenda should not be discussed with terrorism”, “Both sides have excelled in their defensive strategies. Israel astounded Hamas and the world at large with its ability to provide an almost hermetic response to Hamas' rocket attacks, which have hit the proverbial brick wall in the form of Israel's Iron Dome”, “could only increase vigilance”, and “Ironically, the
| 11f | Themes depicted objectively | “As many as 129 people were killed in one day alone in the French capital”, “bigger than Al-Qaeda which in 2001 destroyed the Twin Towers in the heart of the United States, leaving 2,752 people dead”, or “Based on the data that the Kosovo Police possesses, since the beginning of the conflict in Syria in 2011, the number of Kosovars who travelled to the conflict zone is 300. Of them, around 50 have been declared killed in the zones of conflict” and “Xinjiang was documented as forming part of China's territories as early as 60 BC, and went on to become an integral part of the unified and multiethnic country” |
| 22a | Social events | Specifics on terror attacks internationally (Balkans, France, Somalia, Kenya, and the US among others), historical and developmental trends within nations, Balkans, Kenya, and China, citizens becoming radicalized, the threats of International terrorism to society. What measures international bodies such as the UN, BRICS, and governments are taking against terrorist activity |
| 22b | Textual analysis Genre – Social actions, process, pattern the term ‘terrorism’ is placed within | Scope largely international and showed attempts at an international counter-terrorism strategy, description of tragic events as a result of terrorism with background and expert opinion, defensive stances of China and Pakistan in their relationship or handling of terrorism, explanations on the background, history, and causes of terrorism. |
| 22c | Textual analysis difference | 2(c1) openness to difference ‘dialogue’ – 0 occurrence 2(c2) accentuation of difference – 14 occurrences 2(c3) attempts to resolve or overcome the difference – 1 occurrence 2(c4) bracketing of difference/solidarity/commonality – 0 occurrence 2(c5) consensus/ a normalization and acceptance of power differences – 9 occurrences |
| 22d | Textual analysis intertextuality – key participants of producers of texts, voices included/excluded | Government and international institutions such as security services, ministries, and spokespersons (Kosovo Government; The Kosovo Police; Kosovar Intelligence Agency; National Security Council; UN Security Council; BRICS; Chinese People's Liberation Army, the provincial government of Xinjiang; Deputy Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa; counter-terrorism structures of the UN, UNODC, UNDP, UNIDO, FAO, international financial institutions, regional economic commissions of the United Nations), experts (Professor Veton Latifi teaches international relations and political sciences at the Southeast Europe University; Michael Foessel, one of France's most eminent French philosophers of the time; philosopher Gerard Miller, who is a professor at the Paris 8 University; A religious leader, sociologist, and political sciences scholar; Sociologist Gezim Selaci), government officials (Foreign Office spokesperson Qazi Khalilullah; Prime Minister Mustafa [of Kosovo]; Delegations from the Government of
Syria and opposition groups, MPs), interested institutions or centers of study (The London-based Syrian Network for Human Rights (SNHR); Oytun Orhan of Ankara-based Centre for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM); credible source of the Statista.com, a global statistical portal).

From the losers of society, the mentions were made of heinous terrorist; Abu Muqatil speaks with a Kosovar accent. His message was addressed to "disbelievers"; Hamas; Hizbollah; radical opposition activists; Muslim Brotherhood

<table>
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<tr>
<th>22e</th>
<th>Textual analysis assumption – ideological pattern</th>
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</table>
|     | The Islamic radical explicitly mentioned (“in the name of "jihad"; “extremist and violent ideologies”; “war within Islam to make it accept Western modernity”; “ideologies and known for their terrorist and violent behaviour”; “more radical terrorist organization than al-Qaeda”; “Formed by religious extremists, including leader Ahmatniyaz Sidiq”; “Bosnian mujahidin, Al-Qa'idah cells, Islamic terrorism.”; “ideology of terrorism and violent extremism”; “Radical Islam”; “political Islam is in itself dangerous, because it threatens to jeopardize security in the country by using violent, terrorist means”) and the call to fight injustice, either assumed or specifically mentioned (“They and many other militants from all over the world responded to an initial call to fight against Bashar Al Assad's murderous regime.”; “totalitarian vision of Castro-Chavism”)
|     | The need to peace, security, and cooperation in a democratic world (“promoting peace, security and cooperation on the regional and global levels”; “country of democratic normality”; “the ethics of democracy” “Global Development Agenda”; “calling for efforts to build a socialist Xinjiang featuring unity and harmony, prosperity and vigor, civility and progress, and peace and contentment for its people” |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22f</th>
<th>Semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses: (problem cause and solution source)</th>
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</thead>
</table>
|     | “According to the document approved by the government, Islamic extremists and groups of Serb and Albanian nationalists who oppose the existing borders are seen as a potential source of terrorist activity.” Another example, “This is also confirmed in a study of the Kosovar Centre for Security Studies, which concludes that violent and extremist ideas in Kosovo are embraced by a small group of people; however, considering their ideological principles, they still may pose a threat to Kosovo's state institutions and citizens”; “The American thinker Fukuyama said that the West's current conflict is not simply against terrorism, but against the fundamentalist Islamic faith that stands against Western modernity and against the secular state. Adding that this ideology represents a greater threat than communism, he suggested that what is required is a war within Islam to make it accept Western modernity, secularism and the Christian doctrine or principle: "Give what is Caesar's to Caesar and what is God's to God"”; “In contrast to the cliched statement that there is no military solution to terrorism, Israel has proven it can solve systemic terrorist threats against it militarily. Nonetheless, the political solution is
always to be preferred. The long-term political solution for Gaza is the continued weakening of Hamas -economically, politically, and militarily -and the creation of better political alternatives for both the Palestinians and Israel”; “A second round of talks in Geneva between the regime and opposition delegations will begin on Monday in search of a resolution to the conflict that has gripped Syria since 2011, when a peaceful uprising against President Assad escalated into civil war following a violent government crackdown”; “According to information by Bosnia-Hercegovina's police agencies, Ikanovic, before embracing Islam, had been involved in illegal purchase and distribution of narcotics and had a tendency towards various forms of "petty crime." The public learned about him for the first time in the second half of 2005, when the FUP [B-H Federation Police Administration] arrested him together with several other domestic and foreign Wahhabis suspected of plotting a terrorist attack”; “there is a growing wave of radicalism, which has already gone beyond the region provoking a dangerous sectarian tension in the world, creating favorable conditions for attracting of new supporters in terrorist groups, especially young people”; “Disturbing tendencies of escalation of terrorist threats and challenges reinforce the need to find new ways to strengthen international cooperation against terrorism”; “Germany's former capital narrowly escaped a deadly bombing last week when a device placed on a train station platform failed to detonate. The authorities suspect radical Islamists”; “Corruption, mismanagement, land disputes and the lack of aid for victims or punishment for troublemakers have all fueled tensions, especially in Nigeria's "Middle Belt", where the mostly Muslim North meets the largely Christian south, it said”

| 22g | Textual analysis exchanges – activity, activity, knowledge, knowledge, statements of fact, predictions, predictions, hypotheticals, hypotheticals, evaluations, evaluations, symbols, symbols, metaphorical relations | “there are certain religious preachers with radical and extremist views who have major influence among those communities, and who use this situation to propagate extremism and intolerance, and sometime violent ideas, as we have already seen”
“Over the past years Kosovo has faced a threat from terrorism in the same way as most European countries. One of the arguments supporting these conclusions is seen in the growing radicalism among the young people and recruitment to participate in religious conflicts in the Middle East and other countries. Therefore, the major threat to Kosovo comes from the radical fighters returning home that have an interest in causing harm to Kosovo as a multiethnic and multi-religious society with a laic government”.
“Violent and terrorist crimes are punished severely in accordance with the law. Since the 1990s, the three forces (ethnic separatism, religious extremism, and violent terrorism) working from bases both inside and outside China have planned and staged a series of incidents of terror and violence, such as explosion, assassination, poisoning, arson, assault and riot, in Xinjiang and elsewhere, causing great loss to the
lives and property of innocent civilians of all ethnic groups”….and “judicial organs in the autonomous region have always upheld the principles that everyone is equal before the law and any crime shall be punished; they strictly distinguish commonplace criminal offenses from violent and terrorist crimes and handled them accordingly to firmly maintain social equality and justice”

“In Egypt, the most heinous terrorist, the military coup commander, killed thousands of peaceful unarmed people, burnt some of them alive, injured thousands more, and arrested tens of thousands. He certainly deserves trial as a war criminal. However, he is taking advantage of current regional conflicts, demanding the world stand with him in his own alleged war against terrorism, to convince the world community that there is terrorism in Egypt besides his own real terror, or that of his security agencies”

“Asymmetrical strategic equilibrium: After nearly three weeks of confrontation between Israel and terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip, during which some 1,500 rockets have been fired at Israeli cities and towns and Israel has undertaken some 3,500 aerial strikes on Gaza, there is a strategic equilibrium, albeit essentially asymmetrical, between Israel and Hamas”, suggested that those fighting from Gaza are terrorist organizations that have fired 1,500 rockets at Israeli cities prompting 3,500 aerial strikes on the terrorist, the bloody binary in action-reaction. Another example, “The committee has to prepare and periodically revise lists of movements and organizations that threaten the religious, ideological, intellectual, political and national security of the country. The recommendations have received royal approval, and will come into force from March 8. The committee warned Saudi citizens and expatriates not to get involved with organizations inside and outside the country that promote extremist views… The ministry said the Saudi government would punish those found guilty of violating these orders, including holding them accountable for past actions. On Friday, Egyptian Foreign Ministry spokesman, Badr Abdelatty, reportedly said that Cairo approved of Riyadh's move to declare the Brotherhood a terrorist organization. "We hail it, we welcome it," he said. "It is in the right direction." The royal order also gave Saudis fighting abroad another 15 days, from the date of this statement, to hand themselves over to the authorities”

| 22h | Textual analysis discourses – Mixing of discourses | International scope of terrorism and an attempt at international counter-terrorism strategy, description of tragic events as a result of terrorism with background and expert opinion, defensive stances of China and Pakistan and government institutions in their relationship or handling of terrorism’s threats on security, and explanations on the background, history, and causes of terrorism. |
| 22i | Textual analysis representation of social events | Security incidences included across a large time span including events of 9/11, mix of concrete facts and abstract deductions, following a set process by national security services and government institutional |
processes with events reported and referenced from reports of security services and academia experts. Preventing radicalization and young vulnerable local youths being recruited and how best to counter such recruitment was a debate within government institutions, experts, and community leaders. Other debates were on the meaning of jihad and its’ representation in the Kosovo Government documents as “armed violent war” while a jihadi is portrayed as “a Muslim who has opted to use force at the service of his or her faith”. Measures taken by European governments to counter violent extremism internationally

| 22j | Textual analysis styles writing styles (expository, descriptive, persuasive, and narrative) | (1) Expository writing trying to explain a concept and import information to a wider audience; Reviews based journalism, partly fact based and partly opinion X7  
(2) News journalism, Facts are relayed without flourishes or interpretation X5;  
(3) Persuasive writing is the main style of writing, the writer is trying to convince the audience of a position or belief X11 |
| 22k | Textual analysis modality – writer's attitude towards the world | One modality type, high commitment occurring in 11 articles, low in five articles, and median in seven articles. |
| 22l | Textual analysis evaluation – values authors commit themselves to | One article using expository writing used facts, security threat, experts, government, community leaders and academia, experts in explaining terrorism in the Kosovo context. The mix used critique from both sides for a balanced discussion. Critical voices within the discursive space were present in the form of the local community leaders.  
The 11 persuasive texts used persuasive writing is the main style of writing, were the writer is trying to convince the audience of a position or belief. The writer set the agenda and in the 11 article sample were the Chinese government, Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Israeli government, Kenyan government, Turkish government, Russian government, Saudi government, and the Lebanese Hezbollah Organization. |
<p>| 33a | Social order needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’ | Interpretive |
| 44b | Positive critique – showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance within domination | Interpretive |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Discourse conventional to reflect stability – Hegemony</th>
<th>Interpretive</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways</td>
<td>Interpretive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage</td>
<td>Discourse/Code/Description</td>
<td>Examples</td>
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<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Losers within society</td>
<td>“terrorism database”, “extremists who go abroad and are trained abroad”, “knockoff jihadis”, “civilian casualties as collateral damage from the bombing”, “Islamic Jihad Union”, “Muslim terrorist”, “self-radicalized Jihadists committing so-called lone wolf attacks or self-starters”, “radical Islamists”, “3,000 foreign fighters, many of them Westerners”, “violent extremist groups”, “ISIS”, and “radical Islamist networks”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated</td>
<td>terrorists incidents, lawmakers’ handling of homegrown terrorism issues, post-terrorism impact on communities, terrorists families information on the terrorists and their beliefs, survivors of terrorism and their stories on the attacks, links to prior terrorists incidents and how the recent one is similar or different, the psychology of the attacker, Western leaders stances on terrorism and how to defeat it, number of homegrown terrorists and radicals joining ISIS, terror cells in Europe and the US, and regional players supporting terrorism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>Pattern of themes among different articles</td>
<td>the terrorist and his family, why and how was he/she radicalized; state institutions or policies; security measures and challenges; criminal and terrorist activity; religious, violent, and fighting extremism; homegrown terrorism, terrorist cells, international terrorism, affected countries, US, France, UK, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, and Lebanon, and radical fighters, traveling to Syria to join ISIS.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>Problematic that is contested</td>
<td>incompatibility between Islam and the West including social integration and identity challenges, International terrorism and its occurrence in several countries and continents, the rise of homegrown terrorism, radicalization in home countries and how to fight and explain it, and what countries support terrorism and facilitates terrorism internationally</td>
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</table>
| 11e   | Themes depicted subjectively | “I think I would be -- no, I don't have any direct knowledge that he's here in the Boston area. But we don't think he would get much further. His ties seem to be here” “So Gilbert Junior telling me today, he thought that this young suspect was on drugs. He was acting so irrationally. He also told me he had wrapped with guilt now after learning that it is this 19-year-old who is wanted in the horrendous attack here in Boston on Monday” “There are reports that they had suicide vests on. You don't learn that overnight. I personally believe that this man received training when he was over there and he radicalized from 2010 to the present. Then nine months after he comes back from the Chechen region he pulls off the largest terror attack since 9/11” “One of the two believed to have trained with Al Qaeda in Yemen”, “All this money, exactly, Erin. All this money. Think about the 9/11
operation that cost half a million dollars. This is a group with tens of millions of dollars of cash reserves. They can recruit people. They've got the funds to organize as there was a whole logistical network behind this as well as they're trying to take down”
“The assessment in this White House letter to Congress is based on physiological samples adding that the weapons very likely have originated with the regime of Syria's leader Bashar Al-Assad”

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<th>11f</th>
<th>Themes depicted objectively</th>
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<tr>
<td>“We took to social media and we took to our yearbooks, and just wanted to confirm that the names matched up, that photos were, you know, matching up”</td>
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<td>“As we are on the air at 11:00 p.m., we learn a 26-year-old police officer from MIT has been shot and killed”</td>
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<td>“At 1:26, Boston police tweet that 60 percent of the search is done. At 3:42, investigators find a significant amount of explosives.”</td>
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<td>“Sydney on alert this morning, a day after a madman held 17 people hostage inside a cafe. Two of the hostages and gunman now dead”</td>
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<td>“The French government says that massive security measures are in place, with more than 2,000 soldiers and police officers deployed along the march route”</td>
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<td>“The U.S. intelligence community estimates more than 19,000 foreign fighters have traveled to Syria. Hundreds of them may be with ISIS, which has vowed to send loyalists to the West to attack”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“ISIS is claiming responsibility for its first apparent attack in Afghanistan. It happened in Jalalabad, about 150 miles away from the capital city of Kabul”.</td>
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<tr>
<th>22a</th>
<th>Social events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specifics on terror attacks internationally, history of terrorist attacks in the U.S. as well as internationally, the threats of International terrorism to society, and the training of terrorists in fragile states in the Middle East</td>
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<tr>
<th>22b</th>
<th>Textual analysis</th>
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<tr>
<td>Genre – Social actions, process, pattern the term ‘terrorism’ is placed within</td>
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<td>The scope was largely focused on where a current terrorist event is taking place, the main theatres were Boston, Belgium, and Paris, the chronology of the particular terrorist event with focus on what is happening, with experts, academics, friends and family brought in to try to explain what had happened. The process of how radicalization takes place, at home, the internet was explored mainly with experts, academics, family, and friends. Finally, the source of terrorism was located to be in the failed states of the Middle East with focus on the growth of ISIS and how, through social media and the internet, ISIS is attracting youth to travel via Turkey to Syria to fight alongside their ranks and the emerging refugee crisis.</td>
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<th>22c</th>
<th>Textual analysis difference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2(c1) openness to difference ‘dialogue’ – 0 occurrence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2(c2) accentuation of difference – 44 occurrences</td>
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<tr>
<td>2(c3) attempts to resolve or overcome the difference – 0 occurrence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(c4) bracketing of difference/solidarity/commonality – 0 occurrence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(c5) consensus/ a normalization and acceptance of power differences – 7 occurrences</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22d</td>
<td>Textual analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22e</td>
<td>Textual analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>22f</td>
<td>Semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses: (problem cause and solution source)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22g</td>
<td>Textual analysis</td>
</tr>
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<td>22h</td>
<td>Textual analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td>Mixing of discourses</td>
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<tr>
<td>22i</td>
<td>Textual analysis representation of social events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22j</td>
<td>Textual analysis styles writing styles (expository, descriptive, persuasive, and narrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22k</td>
<td>Textual analysis modality – writer's attitude towards the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22l</td>
<td>Textual analysis evaluation – values authors commit themselves to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33a</td>
<td>Social order needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’</td>
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<td>Positive critique – showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance within domination</td>
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<td>Discourse conventional to</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways</td>
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Table 11
Fox News, Summary of Coding of Fairclough’s Five Stages

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Losers within society</td>
<td>“radical Islamists”, “Islamic supremacists”, “Just do it’ Jihadists”, “lone wolf terrorist”, “violent imams”, “radical Islamic terrorists”, “Islamist extremists”, “tech-savvy terrorist running the social media arm of ISIS”, “Major Hasan. This was Hasan the coward. This was a man who shot and killed 13 of our best and brightest. And this was the man who wounded over 32. He was Hasan the coward, Hasan the terrorist”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated</td>
<td>“religious extremism”, “violent extremism”, and “extremism hiding”, and “fighting extremism” as well as “extremist ideas”, “extremist views”, “Islamic extremist”, “potential extremist individuals”, “radical extremists”, and “religious extremists”. Threat to security “Now, this is now the single -- single deadliest terrorist attack in American soil since 9/11”, “We have 72 people on the watch list that work for the Department of Homeland Security”, “More people died in Paris shootings this year, than the entire admit during the administration, the Obama administration and over 500 people maimed or murdered in Paris since last year”, “It is delusional for President Obama and Hillary Clinton and anyone else to say that climate change is our near term most severe security threat”, “They think essentially your SUV in the driveway is a greater threat to our security than is ISIS”, “there is a war, France has already declared war on ISIS, if we declare war on ISIS, if we invoke article 5 of NATO , then it's getting everybody together to fight ISIS”, and “Civilization is threatened by the evils of ISIS, and it's not just Christians under attack. Anti-Semitism is on the rise in Europe, with Jewish cemeteries both in France and Germany being vandalized”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>Pattern of themes among different articles</td>
<td>Political parties, the presidency, alliances with Europe and the Middle East, government offices and sectors; state institutions or policies; security measures and challenges; criminal and terrorist activity; religious, violent, and fighting extremism; terrorist, dirty, jihadist, organizations, and confessional, guerilla, terrorist, and radical fighters.</td>
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<td>11d</td>
<td>Problematic that is contested</td>
<td>Incompatibility between Islam and the West (International terrorism), local politics, specifically against the Obama administration “He's gambling with our lives, is my argument. We now have a president that is incapable, seemingly, to recognize simple and basic and fundamental truths. He can't even use the term ‘radical Islam’”, Security, how best to protect national security Local and International radicalism and how to fight it effectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11e</td>
<td>Themes depicted subjectively</td>
<td>“And the U.S. intelligence community is scrambling to determine if ISIS really is behind the horrific crash. And just the idea that the brutal terror group could be responsible does have the world on edge”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
`````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````````
| 22b | Textual analysis |
| Genre – Social actions, process, pattern the term ‘terrorism’ is placed within | International Islamic terrorism and the peace and security of the United States, International incidents were dissected on how they impact national security, Insistence that the terrorist threat is Islamic, necessity military action was praised with non-military action questioned on effectiveness, terrorist events were described, sometimes in graphic detail and linked or related to other terrorists incidents drawing in expert opinion with explanations on the background, history, and causes of terrorism always drawn to the religion of Islam |

| 22c | Textual analysis difference |
| 2(c1) openness to difference ‘dialogue’ – 0 occurrence |
| 2(c2) accentuation of difference – 33 occurrences |
| 2(c3) attempts to resolve or overcome the difference – 0 occurrence |
| 2(c4) bracketing of difference/solidarity/commonality – 0 occurrence |
| 2(c5) consensus/ a normalization and acceptance of power differences – 0 occurrences |

| 22d | Textual analysis intertextuality – key participants of producers of texts, voices included/excluded |
| Government entities and related personnel, experts, stakeholders impacted by acts of terrorism, and the perpetrators or losers in society, the ex-terrorists, government and international institutions such as security services, ministries, and spokespersons (James Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, Lindsey Graham, South Carolina Sentator, The Republican chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee, Michael McCaul, Sen. John McCain, Retired Seal Team Six Commander Congressman Ryan Zinke, John Kerry, U.S. Secretary of the State, Barack Obama, President of the United States), experts (Newt Gingrich, Fmr. Speaker of the House, Fox Contributor, John Bolton, Fmr. US UN Ambassador, Walid Phares, Terrorism Expert, Lt. Col. Oliver North, Fox Host, War Stories, Sebastian Gorka, Marine Corps University), and Fox News Journalists (Sean Hannity, Host, Lis Wiehl, Fox News Legal Analyst, Bret Baier, Fox News Chief Political Anchor, Jennifer Griffin, Fox News National Security Correspondent) |

| 22e | Textual analysis assumption – ideological pattern |
| Islamic radical explicitly mentioned (“radical Islamists”; “violent Islamic extremists”; “Islam is breeding radicalism”; “we're at war with an ideology, radical Islam”, “the spreading of the propaganda, the jihadi's ideology”; and local politics on the Obama administration, Fox News noted leftist ideology” Obama’s leftist ideology. He has persistently tried to deny the threat, deflect attention away from it, so he could continue his fundamental transformation here at home, until he could no longer do it anymore” “the assault on an institution of freedom in the West”, “secular society”, “motivated by his hatred for America”, and the possible reasons behind the terror threat “Are we too open with people that come from societies where there are huge cultural divide with our
| 22f | Semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses: (problem cause and solution source) | “I think every investigation the FBI does when its involving a Muslim will involve some type of terrorist investigation.”, “We have investigations of people in various stages of radicalizing in all 50 states. I tell my state and local partners this is about all of us being connected tightly to each other. This isn't a New York phenomenon or Washington phenomenon -- this is all 50 states”; “Anything of any importance. The idea behind it is the president wanted to assuage the feelings and the anxieties of the Muslim community here and around the world. This is a good thing to do, but that it is a three days worth thing to do at a time when Christians are under savage attack throughout the Middle East, where this is the biggest ethnic cleansing since at least the Balkan wars, where communities who have lived in the Middle East longer than Islam has existed for 2,000 years are being wiped out, enslaved, executed, crucified, and that the Christian presence, which has been there for 2,000 years in the Middle East is at stake, is this the number one priority of this administration and an administration that supposedly is the bulwark against these savages? I find it extremely bizarre”; “Islam is breeding radicalism which is quite dangerous for everybody." And that's true. Just today, Belgium authorities shot it out with some jihadists, killing two men who were heavily armed. Apparently the men had ties to Syria. But no matter how many jihadist incidents take place, it's tough to convince the left wing zealots to see things clearly”; “Well, I think it requires deciding whether we are at war with terrorism or if what happened today was just a more tragic version of knocking over the local grocery store. This is not a law enforcement question. It's a war. And if you want to protect your civilian population against this kind of terrorism, you have to go where the base camps of the enemy are. They are in places like North Africa, Yemen, and ISIS in Syria and Iraq, none of which our administration has shown any indication of doing. Whatever the French or the British or the other Europeans think, they simply don't have the capacity without American leadership to do it effectively. So I think the spotlight is where it should be, which is on that big chair in the Oval Office”; “The war was sparked by Bin Laden masterminding the 9/11 attacks, and the way the president is marking the first anniversary of the terrorist death may only intensify Republican charges he's politicizing it, especially since the White House has been inconsistent” |
| 22g | Textual analysis exchanges -- activity, knowledge, statements of fact, predictions, | “There's almost a modern day holocaust, if you look at the Yazidis, the Syrian Christians that are being slaughtered and systematically removed from that part of the world. We haven't taken in many refugees. But this president is going to take in 250,000 Syrian refugees, Iraqi refugees. How do we ascertain whether or not they are members of ISIS or tied to ISIS? James Clapper says they will
hypotheticals, evaluations, symbols, metaphorical relations

infiltrate the refugee community. Is it a danger to take even one person?”

“I'm not sure which side we'd fall on, Colonel. It's getting to the point where, you know, the three-state solution -- Sunni, Shiite, and Kurd may not be such a horrible idea”,

“We’re announcing today that combat training has begun for a company sized group from the new Syrian forces. This program is critical and a complex part of our counter ISIL efforts. We expect a second group to begin training in the next few weeks”,

“What you're looking at is a major terrorist organization, ISIS, and the Iranians, which are now about to get all kinds of money from the United States in this nuclear deal, two of the greatest terrorist entities that have ever existed. They're now going to be in control as they break up the country of Iraq. It will be a Kurdistan, a Sunni-stan and a Shia-stan. Baghdad will be the capital but it will be a federation. You know who said this before? Joe Biden”,

“Instead of Americans patrolling the valleys of Afghanistan, we've trained their security forces, who've now taken the lead, and we've honored our troops' sacrifice by supporting that country's first democratic transition. Instead of sending large ground forces overseas, we're partnering with nations from South Asia to North Africa to deny safe haven to terrorists who threaten America. In Iraq and Syria, American leadership, including our military power, is stopping ISIL's advance. Instead of getting dragged into another ground war in the Middle East, we are leading a broad coalition, including Arab nations, to degrade and ultimately destroy this terrorist group”,

“Let me turn to the Muslim side of this question because the president has come under fire, Mike Ghouse, repeatedly for saying the Islamic State is not Islamic. Yes, it is Isla-mic! We have Boko Haram. We have the Islamic Jihad. We have ISIS. We have al Qaeda. We have Hezbollah. We have Hamas -- all in the name of your religion, which I know bothers you. This is happening in the name of Islam!”

22h Textual analysis

discourses –
Mixing of
discourses

The discourses included the international scope of terrorism and an attempt at international counter-terrorism strategy, description of tragic events as a result of terrorism with background and expert opinion, weakness of the Obama administration in the handling of terrorism’s threats on security, and explanations on the background, history, and causes of terrorism linking those discourses to Islam.

22i Textual analysis
representation of
social events

Security incidences included across a large time span including events of 9/11, mix of concrete facts and abstract deductions, mainly by experts with military backgrounds, following a set process by national security services and government institutional processes with events reported and referenced from reports of security services and academia experts. Perceived weakness of the Obama administration in handling the terrorist threat, preventing radicalization and young vulnerable local youths being recruited and how best to counter such recruitment was a narrow debate that generalizes the solution as best to shut out the Islamic faith. Measures taken by European
governments to counter violent extremism internationally was also included to serve as comparison benchmarks.

| 22j | Textual analysis styles writing styles (expository, descriptive, persuasive, and narrative) | (1) Expository writing trying to explain a concept and import information to a wider audience; Reviews based journalism, partly fact based and partly opinion X0 
(2) News journalism, Facts are relayed without flourishes or interpretation X0; 
(3) Persuasive writing is the main style of writing, the writer is trying to convince the audience of a position or belief X33 |
| 22k | Textual analysis modality – writer's attitude towards the world | One modality type, high commitment occurring in 33 Fox News articles. |
| 22l | Textual analysis evaluation – values authors commit themselves to | Fox News journalists and experts in addition to government entities with news writers drawing selectively on experts and other stakeholders impacted by acts of terrorism |
| 33a | Social order needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’ | Interpretive |
| 44b | Positive critique – showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance within domination | Interpretive |
| 55b | Discourse conventional to reflect stability – Hegemony | Interpretive |
| 5 | Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways | Interpretive |
## Table 12
Al Jazeera English, Summary of Coding of Fairclough’s Five Stages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Discourse/Code/Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Losers within society</td>
<td>“Armed group, Hizb-e-Islami”, “opposition fighters”, “terrorist group”, “Bahraini authorities have revoked the citizenships of 31 people”, “terrorist gang”, “fighters operating in Xinjiang”, “terrorist cell”, “Islamic State group in Iraq and Syria (ISIL)”, “the self-declared jihadist fighters”, “al-Qassam Brigades, the armed wing of the Palestinian faction Hamas”, “Samantha Lewthwaite, was on Interpol’s most wanted list”, “White Widow”, and “rehabilitating former jihadis”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated</td>
<td>Description of the attacks as they occurred and why they occurred; stakeholders that perhaps became terrorists; role of international institutions in addressing the issue of terrorism; government declarations on their stance or actions on terrorism; impact and actions of terrorist or the terrorist organizations; impact on terrorism on the Homefront</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>Pattern of themes among different articles</td>
<td>Government officials and departments, state and international institutions or policies; local and international security measures and challenges; criminal and terrorist activity; religious, violent, and initiatives to fighting extremism or radicalization at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>Problematic that is contested</td>
<td>Incompatibility between terrorism and the government that is being fought against, this could be the West, China, or local autocratic regimes resulting in International terrorism, specific reporting and descriptions on the terrorist act itself, the response of international institutions, Western or local governments reaction to the acts of terror on the Homefront, and historical links attempting to explain what had led to the act of terror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11e</td>
<td>Themes depicted subjectively</td>
<td>“Al Jazeera’s Zeina Khodr, reporting from Beirut, said many people believed the latest developments had brought the Syrian conflict to a turning point”, and expert opinion “Sunday's bombing was the first time since the outbreak of the anti-regime revolt that Qamishli witnessed such a violent attack, Observatory director Rami Abdel Rahman said”, or a contributor’s opinion published in the newspaper “Mythologising terrorists obscures an unpalatable truth: that they are just people”</td>
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<tr>
<td>11f</td>
<td>Themes depicted objectively</td>
<td>“Violence killed at least 107 people across Syria on Thursday, the SOHR said, and forced hundreds of Damascus residents to flee their homes for safer neighbourhoods”, “More than 200 people, mostly civilians, were killed on Wednesday, including 38 in Damascus, where rebels are pressing an all-out offensive, according to the SOHR”, or “Yemen’s army website said on Monday that Shihri, a Saudi national, was killed, along with at least five other fighters, in a military operation in the remote Hadramawt province in eastern Yemen” and “A suicide car bomber has killed 12 people, nine of them...”</td>
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foreigners, officials said, in an early-morning attack claimed by an armed group which said it sent a female attacker to avenge an anti-Islam film.”

| 22a | Social events | Specifics on terror attacks internationally (France, Nigeria, Syria, Iraq, and the US among others), historical and developmental trends within nations that may have led to the violence, citizens becoming radicalized and/or communities that have integration challenges in their adopted countries, and the threats of International terrorism to society and respective actions taken by the International bodies, namely the United Nations Security Council. |
| 22b | Textual analysis Genre – Social actions, process, pattern the term ‘terrorism’ is placed within | International and explained the terrorist event, ‘what’ happened, who the key actors were, and provided some context as to what might have led to the terrorist action. The terrorist action was described, background information and expert opinion provided. |
| 22c | Textual analysis difference 2(c1) openness to difference ‘dialogue’ – 22 occurrence 2(c2) accentuation of difference – 0 occurrences 2(c3) attempts to resolve or overcome the difference – 9 occurrence 2(c4) bracketing of difference/solidarity/commonality – 7 occurrence 2(c5) consensus/ a normalization and acceptance of power differences – 0 occurrences | |
| 22d | Textual analysis intertextuality – key participants of producers of texts, voices included/excluded | Government entities and related personnel, experts, journalists, NGO’s, stakeholders impacted by acts of terrorism, and the perpetrators or losers in society, the terrorists. Voices included those of government and international institutions such as security services, ministries, and spokespersons (UN Security Council, Navi Pillay, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Bashar al-Jaafari, Syria's permanent representative to the UN, top regime officials, Alain Juppe, the foreign minister, William Hague, the British foreign secretary, Prime Minister Sheikh Khalifa bin Salman al-Khalifa, Public security chief Major-General Tariq al-Hassan, Foreign ministers from the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC), International Federation for Human Rights, Ministry of Public Security, US intelligence officials), experts (Alexei Malashenko, a Moscow-based analyst), NGO’s and activists (A former radio journalist-turned-civil society activist; Activists; a UK-based rights group has said; Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR)), stakeholders impacted by terrorism including terrorists and combatants (terrorist organisations, rebel Free Syrian Army (FSA), Government troops, NATO's US-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), three suspects for a knife-wielding railway station attack, Islamic State - an al-Qaeda splinter, Brotherhood, Egypt's largest political opposition group, declaring it a "terrorist" organisation). |
| 22e | Textual analysis assumption – | “violent extremist ideology” and “violent extremist radicalisation” “Israel is a terrorist state”, “violent settler communities”, and “The
<table>
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<tr>
<th>22f</th>
<th>Semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses: (problem cause and solution source)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Pillay expressed serious concern that the deliberate stirring of sectarian tensions could plunge Syria into civil war and appealed for Assad's government to be referred to the International Criminal Court”; “The intensity of ongoing fighting in Damascus was underscored on Wednesday by a devastating bomb attack at the heart of Syria's senior command that killed at least three of President Bashar al-Assad's top brass”; “The attack came a day after protests turned violent for the first time in Afghanistan over the film Innocence of Muslims, as hundreds of angry men hurled stones at a US military base, clashed with police and shouted ‘Death to America’”; “The Iranian foreign ministry responded on Monday, saying that Canada was ‘using the issue of terrorism as a tool and violating its international commitments’”; “US President Barack Obama has authorised air strikes against Islamic State group targets inside Syria for the first time, pledging to destroy its fighters &quot;wherever they exist&quot;. In an address to the nation on Wednesday, Obama also announced an expansion of strikes in Iraq, saying he would be dispatching nearly 500 more US troops to the country to assist its besieged security forces”; “Another, suggested by several community workers and counter-extremism analysts I have spoken with in the past, is that security forces actually need to develop trust, not antagonism, with communities”; “When I spoke with Arun Kundani, author of &quot;The Muslims Are Coming!&quot; - a critique of counter-radicalisation strategies, in September last year, he said: &quot;The danger here is that you end up losing human intel because you've demonised the whole community. Rather than be seen as a potential source of useful information, the whole community is criminalised instead.&quot;”</td>
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<tr>
<th>22g</th>
<th>Textual analysis exchanges – activity, knowledge,</th>
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</table>
|     | “That military campaign on Homs prompted the Arab League to ask the United Nations for a joint Arab-UN peacekeeping mission to Syria”; “The lawlessness has alarmed the US and Yemen's much bigger neighbour Saudi Arabia, the top world oil exporter, which view
| 22h | Textual analysis discourses – Mixing of discourses | International scope of terrorism, a focus on the source of terrorism, description of tragic events as a result of terrorism with background and expert opinion, diverse scopes of terrorism with the label travelling to democratic Israel, and government and international institutions in their relationship or handling of terrorism’s threats on local and international security |
| 22i | Textual analysis representation of social events | Security incidences included across a large time span including events of 9/11 and other terrorist events, mix of concrete facts and abstract deductions, voices given to those that consider terrorist incidents by autocratic rulers of Western client states, terrorism by Israel |
| 22j | Textual analysis styles writing styles (expository, descriptive, persuasive, and narrative) | (1) Expository writing trying to explain a concept and import information to a wider audience; Reviews based journalism, partly fact based and partly opinion X10  
(2) News journalism, Facts are relayed without flourishes or interpretation X28;  
(3) Persuasive writing is the main style of writing, the writer is trying to convince the audience of a position or belief X0 |
| 22k | Textual analysis modality – writer's attitude towards the world | Three Modality’s types were identified in the text of 38 articles with one modality type, high commitment occurring in ten articles, low in five articles, and median in 23 articles. |
| 22l | Textual analysis evaluation – values authors commit themselves to | Primarily government entities with news journalists drawing selectively on experts and other stakeholders impacted by acts of terrorism with the media outlet drawing on expertise opinion; Western powers, the Israeli, Russian, Turkish, Saudi governments opposition voice from a local party or professional group such as human rights or lawyers; local community leaders |
| 33a | Social order needs of the problem of ‘terrorism’ | Interpretive |
| 44b | Positive critique – showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance within domination | Interpretive |
| 55b | Discourse conventional to reflect stability – Hegemony | Interpretive |
| 5 | Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways | Interpretive |
Table 13
Government Policy Documents, Summary of Coding of Fairclough’s Five Stages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Discourse/Code/Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Losers within society</td>
<td>“homegrown” Sunni extremists”, “violent extremists”, “apologists for terrorism”, “someone who needs support to avoid becoming radicalized to violence”, “individuals who support or commit ideologically-motivated violence to further political goals ” and “terrorists”; “terrorist threat”; “Islamist extremist groups”; “international terrorist groups like Hizballah; Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam”; and “issue-based domestic extremists; international and domestic extremist groups”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Themes addressed when ‘terrorism’ is communicated</td>
<td>Government institutions handling or addressing terrorism processes; the role of laws and legal regulations to support its actions and in the UN, the role of the nation’s institutions and the importance to coordinate international activities to fight terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>Pattern of themes among different articles</td>
<td>Reference to past terrorist attacks, the importance of partnerships of government institutions with civil society, use of established processes and metrics, responsibility of citizens in following government instructions for peace and security, and condemnation of all forms of terrorism, one of the most serious threats to peace and security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>Problematic that is contested</td>
<td>Safety and security of citizens, goal of the policies is to counter both domestic as well as international terrorism to keep citizens safe, with ; International terrorism and how to protect national security in a more decentralized terrorist threat environment; how global counter-terrorism efforts have reduced al Qaida capabilities; evolution of terrorist entities; importance of following guidelines provided to citizenry to prevent, respond, detect, and deny individuals from possibly engaging in terrorism on home soil; national government policy documents are in line with the United Nation’s framework to protect ‘human rights’ and security of the global world order.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 11e   | Themes depicted subjectively | “we cannot afford complacency in the face of a complex and evolving threat”, “firmly believe that it is therefore in our shared interest to understand the terrorist threat partnership between citizens and Government”, “issue-based domestic extremists may move beyond lawful protest to threaten acts of terrorism”, “expect their government to respond to threats in a manner that preserves their freedom”, “reflected throughout the Strategy is the fundamental belief that countering terrorism requires partnerships”, “citizens need to be informed of the threat in an honest, straightforward manner to foster a deeper understanding of why particular actions are needed in response to the threat”, and “A number of individual extremists from Western countries have attempted terrorist attacks, inspired by but not directly connected to Sunni Islamist extremists abroad”; “It will never be possible to stop all terrorist attacks”, “countering terrorism requires
partnerships”, “Strategy helps to focus and galvanize law enforcement, and the security and intelligence community around a clear strategic objective”, “Canada must have strong capabilities for the collection, analysis and dissemination of usable intelligence”, “We have a growing body of knowledge about the radicalization process from academic and government research and from case histories of those who have attempted or perpetrated terrorist attacks. From this data it is clear that there is no single profile of a violent extremist or a single radicalization pathway. There are, however, factors and vulnerabilities which repeatedly appear in different cases and which can leave a person more susceptible to exploitation by violent extremists”; “through periodic review, assists in regularly taking stock of the nature of the terrorist threat and how Canada is dealing with it”.

11f Themes depicted objectively “the events of September 11, 2001”, “Air India bombing that killed 329 people, most of them Canadians”, or “failed December 2009 bombing of Northwest Airlines Flight 253 in Canadian air space”, “In 2006, 18 individuals were arrested in Ontario for participating in a terrorist group whose intent was to bomb a number of symbolic Canadian institutions”, or “Canadian, Mohammed Momin Khawaja, was found guilty in 2008 as a result of his involvement in a failed terrorist plot in the United Kingdom”, “listed under the Criminal Code more than 40 terrorist entities that are considered a threat, having either knowingly engaged in or facilitated international”. A second objectively depicted set of themes were on government resources used to fight the threat of terrorism such as “Canadian society is built on the rule of law as a cornerstone of peace, order and good government” and “a number of Detect initiatives promote partnership and cooperation in collection. For example, the RCMP: • leads Integrated National Security Enforcement Teams (INSETs), based in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, which bring together federal, provincial and municipal police and intelligence resources to collect, share and analyze information in support of criminal investigations and threat assessments”, “CSEC produces and disseminates foreign SIGINT to support government decision making in several areas, such as national security”, “DFAIT provides assessments supporting government departments concerned with international affairs as well as support to diplomatic missions, while DND/CF provide assessments on issues of concern to the defence community”, “FINTRAC provides strategic financial intelligence and tactical disclosures to the security and intelligence community. Financial intelligence includes analysis of trends, patterns and typologies, and provides a detailed picture of suspicious monetary movements, establishing complex links between individuals, businesses and accounts, in support of law enforcement investigations and prosecutions of terrorism related offences”. A third set of objectively depicted themes involved examples of radicalized individuals that were engaged in terrorist activity listing their name or
names, affiliation with terrorist organization, crime committed, and current status, either killed by security forces, still at large and wanted, or having served time due to crimes committed and now released.

| 22a | Social events | Events of September 11, the war in Afghanistan, Air India bombing, events in Norway, international terrorist groups like Hizballah or Tamil Ealam; globalization, use of technology, specifically the cyber environment and fragile states that terrorists could use to conduct terrorist activities; acquisition of financial and logistics support by terrorist and members of society supporting terrorists was also a risk mentioned; interdependence of nations is making foreign policy planning more important especially in stabilizing fragile states; programs on conflict prevention, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, peacekeeping and peace building needed to be strengthened; collection of intelligence on movement of people and finances needed to be coordinated locally and internationally with international cooperation among law enforcement and security intelligence agencies critical. |

| 22b | Textual analysis Genre – Social actions, process, pattern the term ‘terrorism’ is placed within Threat is both global and domestic and in order to counter that threat, a structured approach that is coordinated at an international, national, regional, local level, and institutional in outlook is necessary |

| 22c | Textual analysis difference Government departments aligned with regards to goals, partnering with the community, strategy to achieve the goals and expected outcome to better protect citizenry; multifaceted activities of government departments and agencies that are involved in counterterrorism; show how proposed activities contribute to the Government’s Strategy for counterterrorism; extremist groups, regardless of their ideology, have long sought to incite youth by exploiting existing cultural and moral grievances and capitalizing on the natural desire for adventure shared by many young people; governments accept the power difference and any terrorism ‘errors’ need to be fixed using processes and metrics to guide all stakeholders towards a common goal |

| 22d | Textual analysis intertextuality – key participants of producers of texts, voices included/excluded All government agencies at all levels of government involved in counter terrorism, all levels civil society, security intelligence and federal, provincial and municipal law enforcement agencies, private sector, citizens, international partners, key allies, and organizations that may be involved in local partnership working at various levels such as social and cultural services, sports and leisure services, children’s and youth services, community representatives, and voluntary services |

| 22e | Textual analysis assumption – Violent extremist ideologies represented by Islamist extremism and right-wing extremism on one hand and ideologies that tend to promote democratic values and liberal or socialist conceptions of society on the
**ideological pattern**

other hand. Extremist ideologies are a threat to open, liberal, and pluralist societies that promote national ideals as extremism seeks to harm such ideals by promoting patriotism, nationalism, fascism, or adhesion to a counter-revolutionary ideology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22f</th>
<th>Semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses: (problem cause and solution source)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The basic principle is that if something bad is predictable, it is also preventable”; “Representatives from ten departments and agencies identified four necessary components: infrastructure to coordinate and prioritize CVE activities across the Federal Government and with stakeholders; clear responsibility, accountability, and communication internally and with the public; broad participation of departments and agencies outside national security lanes; and a process to assess, prioritize, and allocate resources to maximize impact”; “long and complex trials, typically referred to as “mega-trials.””; “Streamline “mega-trials.”” To support these efforts, the Public Prosecution Service of Canada (PPSC) is also committed to developing guidelines for the prosecution of terrorism offences that reflect best practices”</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>22g</th>
<th>Textual analysis exchanges – activity, knowledge, statements of fact, predictions, hypotheticals, evaluations, symbols, metaphorical relations</th>
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<td>The policy documents reminds citizens that the threat to citizens is from individuals and groups, is local and international, and includes ‘violent Sunni Islamist extremism’ that uses the ‘single narrative that Islam is under attack by the West’; resilience to terrorist threats “depend on the adoption of a flexible and forward-looking approach that effectively adapts to the changing threat environment” so that a resilient nation can go back rapidly to ordinary life; documents remind citizens that terrorist activities are criminal acts and that government agencies need to cooperate and share information. Resilience is enhanced by “producing effective narratives to counter” violent extremist ideology; “Leading citizens from their respective communities with extensive experience in social and cultural issues to engage with the Government on long-term national security issues”; “terrorists share one thing in common — they always go through phases of radicalization and planning of their violent actions. Throughout this process, indicators can be observed by friends, relatives, or various stakeholders”; Sharing of counter-terrorism information with allies and multilateral agencies like NATO and other partners are in place; Cyber Security strategies to counter terrorist’s use to recruit, communicate, and facilitate operations, as well as qualified prosecutors to try terrorists, and public communications to maintain public trust and confidence are in place. Indoctrination as well as circulation of conspiracy theories and narratives of ‘Them against Us’ plus isolation of vulnerable individuals presents another cyber danger; Glorification of violence and sacrifice are other notable changes, indicators of radicalization to violence, that could be observed. Individuals are presented a virtual radical alternative. Documents also remind readers that strategies will only succeed with effective partnerships with local authorities, law enforcement agencies, international organizations, other countries, the private</td>
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sector, NGOs and the broader community. The UN’s global counter
terrorism strategy urges member nations to cooperation, coordinate,
and share resources and expertise based on their national strategies
using the appropriate UN institutions and keep making voluntary
contributions to UN counter-terrorism cooperation and technical
assistance projects. Intensify cooperation as appropriate on “initiatives
and programs to promote dialogue, tolerance, and understanding
among civilizations, cultures, peoples and religions, and to promote
mutual respect for and prevent the defamation of religions, religious
values, beliefs and cultures”.

| 22h | Textual analysis
discourses –
Mixing of
discourses | The discourses included terrorist ideology and why a western nation is a target, how it is an international issue, how is has become a homegrown issue, how it may be supported by foreign states to further their own violent objectives. |
| 22i | Textual analysis
representation of
social events | September 11 attacks as well as other prominent international terrorist activity and local terrorist incidents as reminders of why terrorism must be fought; Challenges of local and international terrorism, the rise of homegrown extremism, internet propaganda are contrasted with the ‘deep’ attachment to democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and pluralism, openness to ideas and innovations and that nations reject intolerance and violent extremism; Security depends on these values and some terrorist organizations have developed sophisticated propaganda as alternative narratives; Public awareness on the threat was important and citizens and communities should be empowered to develop and deliver messages and viewpoints that resonate more strongly than terrorist propaganda. |
| 22j | Textual analysis
styles writing
styles
(expository,
descriptive,
persuasive, and
narrative) | Policy documents propose an in depth policy analysis using facts, metrics, and models. The three parts of issue, analysis and recommendation were consistent in all five policy documents. |
| 22k | Textual analysis
modality –
writer's attitude
towards the
world | For the government policy documents, the statements were objective and implicit with high commitment |
| 22l | Textual analysis
evaluation –
values authors
commit themselves to | Policy documents consistently highlighted national values and identity, democratic ideals and diverse and inclusive nature of society with government entities as agenda setters with goals to increase public awareness of the threats of terrorism so that citizens and their communities empowered to deliver and communicate narratives that are more powerful than terrorist propaganda |
| 33a | Social order
needs of the | Interpretive |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>problem of ‘terrorism’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>44b</td>
<td>Positive critique – showing contradictions, gaps, failures, and resistance within domination</td>
<td>Interpretive</td>
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<tr>
<td>55b</td>
<td>Discourse conventional to reflect stability – Hegemony</td>
<td>Interpretive</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Social or cultural change through new interdiscursive ways</td>
<td>Interpretive</td>
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