The Social Construction of Terrorism: Media, Metaphors and Policy Implications

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The article illustrates a constructivist understanding of studying terrorism and counter-terrorism by applying metaphor analysis to a British tabloid media discourse on terrorism between 2001 and 2005 in *The Sun* newspaper. It identifies four conceptual metaphors constituting terrorism as a war, a crime, uncivilised evil and as a disease and illustrates how these understandings make certain counter-terrorism policies such as a military response, judicial measures or immigration policies acceptable while at the same time excluding other options such as negotiations from being considered. It thereby re-emphasises that a metaphorical understanding of political phenomena such as terrorism can give International Relations insights into how certain policies become possible while others remain outside of the option thought to be appropriate.

Introduction

The analysis of metaphors is by no means a radically new or innovative enterprise. In fact it has become very popular. Metaphor analysis has its own association, conferences[1] and its own journals[2] and can be found in a vast number of different academic disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology (Glucksberg 2001). Wayne Booth sarcastically calculated that by the year 2039 'there will be more students of metaphor than people' (Booth 1978: 49). Even in political science metaphor analysis could be metaphorically considered as an 'old hat' (Landau 1961; Miller 1979; Zashin and Chapman 1974; Rayner 1984). As a response to its growing popularity in other fields, metaphors also began to take hold in International Relations (Chilton 1996a; Milliken 1996; Campbell 1998; Chilton and Lakoff 1999). Despite the continued scepticism of many in mainstream Anglo-American IR metaphor

analysis cannot really be considered marginal anymore (Beer and Landtsheer 2004a; Little 2007; Kornprobst et al 2008; Carver and Pikalo 2008) with a growing number of research applying metaphor analysis to different aspects of international politics such as European integration (Chilton and Ilyin 1993; Hülsse 2003; Drulak 2006; Luoma-aho 2004), immigration (Santa Ana 1999; Charteris-Black 2006; O'Brian 2003) and, one of the generally most conservative realms, security policy (Chilton 1996b; Thronborrow 1993) and war (Paris 2002; Hartmann-Mahmud 2002). More critical strands of IR now seem to accept the importance of metaphors for international politics as 'metaphors have the ability to transform the meaning of an established concept and they also play an essential role in comprehending aspects of the world that are new or that we do not understand' (Little 2007: 23). As Petr Drulák (2006: 500) points out, the 'analysis of metaphors has greatly enriched our understanding of international relations'.

As a constructivist method of research metaphor analysis has also found its way into terrorism research (Hülsse and Spencer 2008). Although constructivist perspectives on terrorism are not very common within the mainstream field of terrorism research, such research has existed on margins for some time (Herman and O'Sullivan 1989; Collins and Glover 2002). In particular after 9/11 and with the rise of *Critical Terrorism Studies* a discourse centred terrorism studies has emerged. Here terrorism is not understood as a physical fact but as a social construction (Jackson 2005; Gunning 2007, Jarvis 2009). The central notion on which this article is based is that terrorism is constituted through discourse. In other words, 'we all make terrorism what (we say) it is' (Onuf 2009: 54). This does not mean that such a constructivist perspective denies the 'real' existence of terrorism. There are real people who conduct real actions, but what these people and their deeds mean is a matter of interpretation. And, it is this interpretation in discourse which constitutes a certain group of people as 'terrorists' and their actions as 'terrorism' (Hülsse and Spencer 2008).

This article applies metaphor analysis to the issue of terrorism in order to show how certain construction of 'the terrorist' in the media make certain counter-terrorism policies possible while others remain outside of the realm of those means considered appropriate. In pursuit of this aim the first part of the article will outline the method of metaphor analysis. The second part then illustrates this method by applying it to the British media discourse on terrorism found in *The Sun* newspaper and draws out four conceptual metaphors which constitute terrorism as a 'war', a 'crime', 'uncivilised evil' and as a 'disease'. It thereby hopes to indicate how particular understandings make some counter-terrorism measures such a

military, judicial or immigration policies possible while at the same time excluding others such as negotiations from the options considered appropriate.

Metaphor analysis as a discourse analytical method

What exactly is a metaphor? The Oxford English Dictionary (2005: 1103) describes a metaphor as 'a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable'. In an etymological sense the term 'metaphor' comes from the Greek word '*meta*' meaning beyond or above and the word '*pherein*' meaning carrying or bearing. And Sam Glucksberg (2001: 3) has pointed out that '[f]rom this deceptively simple root, metaphor has come to mean different things to different people, so much so that specialists in the area are often temporarily confounded when asked for a definition of *metaphor*' (emphasis in original). According to Aristotle metaphors are a transference, naming one thing in terms of another (Jordan 1974; Mahon 1999). Metaphor 'consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else' (Aristotle 1982: 1457b). The general idea of what a metaphor is has more recently been discussed by a vast range of different scholars from very different disciplines using a varying degree of complexity to express their understandings. In fact, '[m]etaphor has by now been defined in so many ways that there is no human expression, whether in language or any other medium, that would not be metaphoric in *someone's* definition' (Booth 1978: 50, emphasis in original). For example, Kenneth Burke (1945: 503) quite simply believes metaphors to be 'a device for seeing something in terms of something else' and Susan Sontag (1989: 93) describes metaphors as 'saying a thing is or is like something-it-is not'. Paul Ricoeur (1978: 80) argues that 'metaphor holds together within one simple meaning two different missing parts of different contexts of this meaning' and most recently Jonathan Charteris-Black (2004: 21) has defined a metaphor as 'a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension'. So metaphors do not simply substitute one term for another, but create a strong perceptual link between two things (Bates 2004). Essentially, the definition one adopts depends very much on what one considers metaphors capable of and maybe it will become clearer what a metaphor is when examining what metaphors actually do (Glucksberg 2001:3).

Rhetorical and Cognitive understandings of metaphor

Broadly speaking there are two distinct ways of understanding metaphors. The first, is a rhetorical understanding were metaphors are considered 'convenient labels' (Chilton and Lakoff, 1999: 56) or purely rhetorical tool which replaces one word with another and thereby serve little purpose but to make speech sound nice (Chilton 1996a: 359; Charteris-Black 2004: 25). '[M]etaphor has been considered a mere ornamental use of language, a pretty turn of phrase rippling along on the surface of discourse' (Gozzi 1999: 9). In other words, a metaphor was seen as 'superficial stylistic accessory' and a way of decorating discourse without affecting its meaning (Beer and De Landtsheer 2004b: 5).

In contrast to this rhetorical understanding of metaphor, cognitive linguistics goes further and argues that metaphors are more than just words. In particular, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are among the most influential scholars in this respect as they have managed to export this cognitive understanding of metaphor from linguistics into other disciplines such as psychology, sociology and political science. For them, the 'essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (Ibid: 5). In their ground-breaking book 'Metaphors We Live By' they argue that metaphors structure the way people think and that the human conceptual system as such is fundamentally metaphorical. '[T]he way we think, what we experience and what we do everyday is very much a matter of metaphor' (Ibid: 297). They believe that metaphorisation is the transference of one concept onto another. 'Metaphors […] are devices for simplifying and giving meaning to complex and bewildering sets of observations that evoke concern' (Edelman 1971: 65). They thereby make humans understand one conceptual domain of experience in terms of another by projecting knowledge about the first familiar domain onto the second more abstract domain. Metaphors therefore greatly effect the perception of the domain onto which it is applied. The central idea of metaphorisation is that metaphors map a source domain, for example WAR, onto a target domain, for example TERRORISM, and thereby make the target domain appear in a new light. As Edelman (1971: 67) points out, metaphor 'defines the pattern of perception to which people respond'.

Within this cognitive approach we have to distinguish between two kinds of metaphors: the *metaphoric expression* and the *conceptual metaphor*. The conceptual metaphor, for example TERRORISM IS WAR, involves the abstract connection between one 'conceptual domain' (Lakoff 1993: 208-209) to another by mapping a source domain (WAR) and a target domain (TERRORISM). Mapping here refers to 'a set of systematic

correspondences between the source and the target in the sense that constituent conceptual elements of B correspond to constituent elements of A' (Kövecses 2002: 6). 'Thus, the conceptual metaphor makes us apply what we know about one area of our experience (source domain) to another area of our experience (target domain)' (Drulák 2005: 3). Conceptual metaphors do not have to be explicitly visible in discourse. However, metaphorical expressions are directly visible and represent the specific statements found in the text which the conceptual metaphor draws on. 'The conceptual metaphor represents the conceptual basis, idea or image' that underlies a set of metaphorical expressions (Charteris-Black 2004: 9).

The metaphorical formula A IS B applied to the conceptual metaphor mentioned above is, however, slightly misleading and not totally accurate as it suggests that the whole target domain is understood in terms of the whole source domain. However, this cannot be the case as concept A cannot be the same as concept B. The mapping between the two domains is only ever partial, as not all characteristics of concept A are transferred to concept B. In fact, it is commonly accepted in the realm of metaphor analysis that through the use of metaphor 'people make *selective distinctions* that, by highlighting some aspect of the phenomenon, downplay and hide other features that could give a different stance' (Milliken 1996: 221). Similar to media framing, they draw attention to certain aspects of a phenomenon and invite the listener or reader to think of one thing in the light of another. Thereby, and this is central to the article, they influence policy and in our case counter-terrorism policy. Metaphors 'limit what we notice, highlight what we do see, and provide part of the inferential structure that we reason with' (Lakoff 1992: 481). In other words they describe a word in a certain way. As Chilton and Lakoff point out, metaphors 'are concepts that can be and often are acted upon. As such, they define in significant part, what one takes as 'reality', and thus form the basis and the justification for the formulation of policy and its potential execution' (Chilton and Lakoff 1999: 57). Metaphors structure the way people define a phenomenon and thereby influence how they react to it: they limit and bias our perceived policy choices as they determine basic assumptions and attitudes on which decisions making depends (c.f. Milliken 1999; Chilton 1996a; Mio 1997). Metaphor analysis is therefore particularly helpful when considering 'how-possible' questions which are concerned with 'how meanings are produced and attached to various social subjects/objects, thus constituting particular interpretive dispositions which create certain possibilities and preclude others' (Doty 1993: 298)

Agent and Structure focused metaphor analysis

Within the cognitive understanding of metaphor these assumptions have led to two distinct types of metaphor analysis. The first, agent focused approach, which is in line with many aspects found in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), takes the premises mentioned above and argues that metaphor analysis can reveal the hidden agenda, ideology, thought or intentions of the agents using the metaphors (Fairclough 1992: 194; Musolff 2000: 4). Among these Jonathan Charteris-Black (2004) has developed a critical approach to metaphor analysis which argues that metaphors are potentially powerful weapons as they can influence the way we perceive a certain social reality. Metaphors have the potential to influence human beliefs, attitudes and consequently their actions. Critical metaphor analysis therefore wants to 'demonstrate how particular discursive practices reflect socio-political power structures' (Charteris-Black 2004: 29).

The second, structure focused, kind of metaphor analysis does not try and reveal these secrets and the thinking behind the metaphor but concentrates on the reconstruction of how these metaphors shape and structure reality (Tonkiss 1998; Hülsse 2006). Rather than asking the question of who is responsible for certain metaphors and why these metaphors are used, this approach focuses on the structure which follows from these metaphors. This is in line with the kind of discourse analysis which has been put forward by, among others, David Campbell (1998), Roxanne Lynn Doty (1993), Jennifer Milliken (1999), Ole Weaver (2005) or – more recently – Lene Hansen (2006). Drawing on Michel Foucault, these scholars share a concept of discourse which is 'above' individual discourse participants. Discourse constitutes actors and structures what they can meaningfully say or do. Accordingly, actors have very limited agency. Rather than being able to use words intentionally and manipulate discourse to further their own purposes, they are themselves inextricably bound up with discourses that leave them little room for individuality. Without wanting to discount the importance of the agent in the co-consitutive circle of agency and structure (Wendt 1987; Dessler 1989; Jackson 2004), this article focuses on how discourse structures the world. It examines the structure or 'reality' which 'follows' from the use of certain metaphors rather than the reasons for that use (Hülsse and Spencer 2008).

Here the article understands discourse as 'utterances' (Neumann 2008: 63) or as 'differential systems of signification' (Milliken 1999: 231).

A discourse, then, is a structure of meaning-in-use that is both intersubjective and,

in part, linguistic. It is linguistic in that language is a central sign system that

provides the resources out of which representations are constructed. It is intersubjective in that the language through which people construct meaning is necessarily shared" (Weldes and Saco 1996: 373).

The focus of the article is on "virtual corpora of texts" with a common or semantically similar content (Busse and Teubert 1994: 14), which does not mean that discursive practices consist only of written or spoken texts. Discourse is more than word and language and refers to both linguistic and non-linguistic practices (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 113) and can even be objectified in material objects and signs (Keller and Viehöver 2006; Stump 2009).[3] Nevertheless, this article concentrates on the textual side of discourse and in particular the linguistic figure of the metaphor. It does so in the knowledge that this limited focus neglects other aspects of discourse and cannot claim to represent a complete picture of the discourse on terrorism.

Metaphors and policy implications

One has to be careful when talking about the idea that metaphors shape or 'cause' politics and in particular counter-terrorism policy as they are only one among many linguistic devices and other practices which play a role in the discursive construction of reality. As Andrew Anderson points out '[w]hen metaphors are said to *cause* political phenomena, political science often objects' (Anderson 2004: 91, emphasis in original). 'The nature of metaphor does not lend itself easily to rigorous demonstrations of causality. Metaphorical power may exist, but it is hard to nail down' (Beer and Landtsheer 2004b: 7). It is therefore important to realise that metaphors do not cause a certain counter-terrorism policy in a positivist sense where the metaphor is the independent and the policies are the dependent variable. Metaphors do not entail a clear set of policies, but open up space for policy possibilities. Metaphors offer a discursive construct which frames the situation in a certain way. 'Metaphors are more likely to influence policy indirectly through their impact on the decision maker's general approach to an issue; they will be part of the conceptual foundation, not a detailed policy map' (Shimko 1994: 665).

The issue of causation in discourse analysis in general is a contentious one and is often connected to concept of 'explaining' or 'understanding' political phenomena (Hollis and Smith 1990) and to the difference between 'why' and 'how possible' questions (Doty 1993). While some such as Patrick Thaddeus Jackson (2006a: 43) argue in favour of an 'adequate causality'[4], other such as Lene Hansen (2006: 26) negate the idea of causality: 'adopting a

rigid conception of causality, for discursive causality to be considered an actual effect, one needs to separate two variables and to observe each independently of the other', something which is impossible from a constructivist perspective where structures and agents are constituted by discourse and vis versa. As a result one may refer to constitution rather than causation when considering the power of discourse and metaphors.[5] As metaphors help construct reality in a certain way they are able to define the limits of common sense, the limits of what is considered possible and logical while excluding other options from consideration (Hülsse 2003: 225). In Doty's words: 'What is explained is not *why* a particular outcome obtained, but rather *how* the subjects, objects, and interpretive dispositions were socially constructed such that certain practices were made possible' (Doty 1993: 298, emphasis in the original).

The following four subchapters will investigate metaphors of terrorism in parts of the UK media in more detail and consider how these constructions allow for particular counter-terrorism options. While some have applied metaphor analysis to elite discourse (Ferrari 2007; Hülsse 2006) others have considered the media their realm of analysis (Lule 2004; Hülsse and Spencer 2008). The article will follow this second kind of focus. The central idea behind analysing the media rather than the political elite is that the media, and in particular the widely read tabloid media[6], give an insight into the construction of terrorism possibly held by large portions of the general public. As very few people follow parliamentary debates or listen to public speeches by politicians most get their ideas about how the world through the media. And although it is clear that the media discourse is influences by the political elite, the same is true vice versa. Overall the analysis of metaphors in a widely read media discourse can offer a good indication of the general understanding of a phenomenon. The next paragraphs will focus on the metaphorisation of terrorism in *The Sun* newspapers by analysing one month of articles following five large attacks perpetrated by al-Qaeda: 9/11 in 2001, the bombings in Bali in 2002, the attacks in Istanbul in 2003, the train bombings in Madrid in 2004 and the London tube attacks in 2005.[7] *The Sun* was chosen due to the fact that is has the largest readership in the UK with around 7.7 million readers[8] and it can therefore from a cognitive perspective be consider to have a lot of influence on people's perception of terrorism.[9] These events were chosen not only due to their fairly large nature and their focus on a western target[10], but also because they offer a fairly regular timeline which indicates the regularity of the predicative constructions of terrorism. The time frame of one month after each incident for selecting articles was chosen as further research beyond this time period did not add further kinds of conceptual metaphors. As visible in figure 1, the

four most salient conceptual metaphors over this timer period included: TERRORISM IS WAR, TERRORISM IS CRIME, TERRORISM IS UNCIVILISED EVIL and TERRORISM IS DISEASE.[11]

Figure 1: Conceptual Metaphors in The Sun
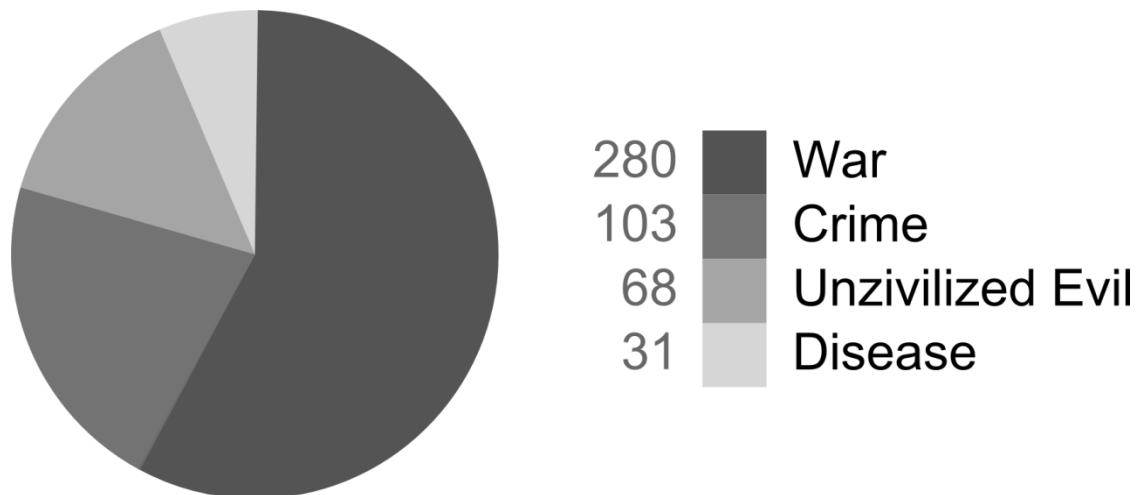
TERRORISM IS WAR

A very common conceptual metaphor found in the media discourse following all five events between 2001 and 2005 was TERRORISM IS WAR.[12] Apart from the most obvious metaphorical expressions such as 'war on terror'[13] or 'war against terrorism'[14] the attacks where commonly metaphorised as 'acts of war'[15]. One frequently encounters metaphorical expressions which draw comparisons to the Second World War. In particular 9/11 was likened to 'Pearl Harbor'[16] and the use of 'kamikaze'[17] tactics and the other attacks were commonly referred to as a 'blitz'[18] by 'islamonazis'[19] motivated by 'islamofascism'[20]. This understanding of terrorism as war was further strengthened by metaphors which described the conflict as including 'battles'[21], 'sieges'[22] and 'warzones'[23] demarcated by 'frontlines'[24]. Here Osama bin Laden is predicated to be a 'terror war lord'[25] who, together with his 'second in command'[26], has 'declared war'[27] and is now 'mobilising'[28] his 'troops'[29] on the 'battlefield'[30] from the safety of his 'command centre'[31]. Terrorists are often metaphorised as 'suicide squads'[32] or 'units'[33] in a terror 'army'[34] made up of 'brigades'[35]. These Al-Qaeda 'forces'[36], similarly to any normal military, are hierarchically organized and included 'footsoldiers'[37], 'lieutenants'[38] and 'commanders'[39]. They used their 'military training'[40] and their 'military arsenal'[41] to conduct 'operations'[42] and 'missions'[43] as part of a large Al

Qaeda 'campaign'[44] supervised by a 'council of war'[45] from 'bases'[46] and 'fortresses'[47] in Afghanistan paid for by a 'warchest'[48].

The 'war on terrorism' is by no means the first occasion where the metaphor of war has been used to frame a certain issue or problem. Other examples include the 'war on poverty' 'waged' by the US government under Lyndon B. Johnson in the sixties and the 'war on drugs' under Richard Nixon in the seventies (Glover 2002). According to Keith Shimko (1995: 79) the reason for the metaphorical popularity of 'war' for issues which are deemed as threatening are simple: 'First, war is a widely and readily accessible concept; everyone knows what a war is. Second, war is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Since there are so many aspects of war, there are many dimensions along which something can be like a war'.

So how does the metaphor 'war' constitute terrorism and what policies does it make possible or logical? People associate a large number of things with war and these associations are included in the transference of the source domain 'war' to the target domain 'terrorism'. For example, this includes allocation of funds in the war effort. As Susan Sontag argues '[w]ar-making is one of the few activities that people are not supposed to view "realistically"; that is, with an eye to expense and practical outcome. In an all-out war, expenditure is all out, imprudent – war being defined as an emergency in which no sacrifice is excessive' (Sontag 1989: 99). So the normal budgetary concerns and the idea of a cost-benefit analysis go out the window to a certain extent as the whole nation's industry has to be mobilised and sacrifices have to be made to ensure the ultimate victory.

War is not considered a normal state of affairs; it is an unusual period of time were unusual measures have to be implemented to stop the enemy from winning. Securing the boarders of a country and preventing the enemy from entering makes sense in a war. As the enemy is usually another country, those from that country or region are suspected of automatically supporting the opponents cause. They are therefore treated with suspicion and subjected to different treatment than the own population. For example, in the Second World War it was normal to apprehend potential saboteurs from the country one was fighting. Here the incarceration of Germans and especially Japanese, and even second or third generation Japanese Americans, in camps was considered a necessary precaution (Cole 2003). The state of emergency in a war calls for such new legislation where checks and balances are reduced and civil liberties are restricted; both sacrificed in the war effort (Shimko 1995).

In addition, the war metaphor simplifies the issue which it frames. The problem is made manageable as it is reduced to a question of defeating the enemy and winning the war. Searching for the root causes of the problem is discouraged as critical voices are silenced.

Criticism of the war becomes unpatriotic, cowardly and treacherous. The problem becomes apolitical, something which cannot be debated in the public realm. 'What feedback are we allowed in wartime? Acceptable questions include, "Are we winning?" "What weapons should be used to defeat the enemy?" "What war strategies should be applied?" We cannot ask if the war is necessary, or if the enemy is ourselves. We cannot back away saying that we were wrong' (Hartmann-Mahmud 2002: 429).

Most obviously, a military style constitution of terrorism calls for a military response. As early as 1987 Jeffrey Simon (1987: 9) of the RAND corporation, a think tank not really known for its expertise on metaphor analysis, realised the importance of the war metaphor in the fight against terrorism: 'Equating terrorism with war effectively ends any debate over whether military responses are justified: If a nation is at war it must respond militarily to attack'. So the war metaphor influences the public's perception of the enemy and makes a military response appear logical (Bates 2004). As Sarbin (2003: 150-151) points out: 'An important feature of the war metaphor is that problems engendered by terrorist acts can be solved through the deployment of military forces'. So more than anything the public associates war with violence, insecurity and the application of military force to achieve victory and solve the threat of terrorism. If the problem is considered to have military dimensions a military solution seems appropriate. Metaphors such as 'terror army' or 'war on terror' outlined above are all part of the language of war and thereby frame the issue of terrorism and the conflict with al-Qaeda as a war which can be won by military means (Shimko 1995). These words may not cause a certain policy, but they increase the likelihood of a military response as it seems appropriate to the constructed image of terrorism. And obviously a military response entails violence and therefore casualties both at home and abroad are naturally accepted. Although sad and regrettable civilians always perish in a war where collateral damage is part of the fighting. After all it is war!

And the British military response to terrorism and their participation in *Operation Enduring Freedom* following 9/11 fits the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS WAR very well. The response of sending thousands troops and sophisticated military hardware to fight terrorism in for example Afghanistan appears appropriate against terrorism which is constituted as a war (c.f. Donohue 2007; Bamford 2004; Dorman 2003). And this understanding is visible both in the political elite as well as the public. Tony Blair, for example stated: 'Whatever the technical or legal issues about the declaration of war, the fact is we are at war with terrorism'.[49]

TERRORISM IS CRIME

A second conceptual metaphor one encounters in *The Sun* constitutes terrorism as something criminal. While many in the literature on terrorism point to the almost dichotomous relationship between the war and the criminal justice model of engaging terrorism (Crelinsten and Schmid 1992), the discourse on terrorism in the media contains both metaphors of war and crime at the same time. Here terrorists are not only 'soldiers'[50] but also 'murderers'[51] and Al Qaeda's 'army'[52] full of 'troops'[53] is also a 'gang'[54] or 'mob'[55] of 'criminals'[56] who commit 'murderous'[57] 'crimes'[58]. The aftermath of an attack is not only likened to a 'warzone'[59] but also to a 'crime scene'[60], and the 'casualties of war'[61] are also considered 'victims'[62] of 'crime'[63]. By constituting an act of terrorism as for example 'murder'[64] the metaphorical expressions map the source domain CRIME onto the target domain TERRORISM.

Apart from TERRORISM IS WAR one also encounters the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS CRIME in the media discourse on terrorism. However, in contrast to the war the crime metaphors predicate terrorism as something rather ordinary. While the event of a war is something unusual, something which has a beginning and an end, crime is very common and can be considered almost a constant phenomenon in every society. In comparison to war anybody can be a 'victim' of crime not just the soldiers and those close to the front. Importantly criminals are part of society and crime is generally understood as something which happens inside a community, while war is something which involves engagement with the outside. 'Regardless of what country we live in, we are taught from childhood that people who are criminals live among us' (Kappeler and Kappeler 2004: 176).

Essentially, the predication of terrorism as crime automatically involves a judgement of legitimacy not inherent in the constitution of terrorism as war. While war can be a legitimate endeavour, crime can generally not.[65] One generally accepts the right of existence of a military adversary, while the criminal is considered a menace which lacks any kind of legitimacy. As Kappeler and Kappeler point out 'the eradication and punishment of criminal behaviour is seen as a desirable and just goal' (Ibid). The military adversary is similar to us only on the other side of the front, almost a like unit, which generally follows certain rules of engagement. The criminal on the other hand is deviant; he or she does forbidden things and does not adhere to rules. In fact, criminals by definition break rules and therefore have to be punished in some sort of way. Therefore, some point out that the 'policy of criminalization makes it hard for the state to negotiate with its armed opponents […]. Just as it is

inappropriate to deal with bandits, since the rule of law is thereby prejudiced, so, it is often supposed, it is inappropriate to negotiate with terrorists' (Gilbert 1994: 167). Others may disagree with this interpretation as there are ample examples of plea bargaining or reduced sentences in which the prosecution strikes a deal with the criminal.

What is clear, however, is that the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS CRIME in contrast to TERRORISM IS WAR most importantly calls for a judicial rather than a military response. As Peter Sederberg (1995: 299-300) points out, while 'the view that terrorism is war leads its proponents to favour repressive responses; the view that terrorism is crime leads its proponents to favour legal solutions'. This however, does not mean that the two understandings are dichotomously opposed to each other in all aspects. In fact both conceptual metaphors seem to overlap to a certain extent as a legislative response can make sense in both TERRORISM IS WAR and TERRORISM IS CRIME. For example, one encounters the implementation of new laws such as a war powers act or emergency powers for police in both situations of war and situations of crime.

The mapping of the source domain CRIME to the target domain TERRORISM is clearly visible in the policies implemented in the United Kingdom following 9/11. Although the British government had only just passed a new set of fairly substantial anti-terror laws in 2000 (Terrorism Act of 2000), there was an understanding that further legislation such as the Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA) including measures such as new rules for freezing terrorist's criminal assets or increased police powers, The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005 involving control orders or the Terrorism Act of 2006 proposing the increased detention of suspected terrorists would be an appropriate means of responding to this kind of 'criminal' terrorism (c.f. Walker 2003; Cornish 2005; Beckman 2007). As Sebastian Payne (2002: 44) points out, the government could have responded to 9/11 without making new law, but the government chose to legislate.

TERRORISM IS UNCIVILISED EVIL

A third conceptual metaphor underlying the discourse in *The Sun* newspaper is the understanding of terrorism as something uncivilised and evil. Both uncivilised and evil have been included into one conceptual metaphor as they both are the primary instruments of 'othering' and thereby open up very similar policy response options. Similar to the first two conceptual metaphors a source domain (this time UNCIVILISED EVIL) is mapped onto the target domain (TERRORISM). This is indicated through metaphorical expressions which

constitute terrorists are 'possessed'[66], 'vile'[67], 'evil'[68] 'hydras'[69] who perform 'monstrous'[70] and 'barbaric acts'[71]. Terrorism is considered to be 'savage'[72] 'barbarism'[73] and the terrorist is described as an 'inhuman'[74] 'monster'[75] from a 'swamp'[76] with 'tentacles'[77] spread around the globe. These 'subhuman'[78] 'evil beasts'[79] 'without a soul'[80] are said to have spun a 'web of evil'[81] and have left behind a 'trails of slime'[82]. They are unrivalled in 'wickedness'[83] and their 'doomsday attacks'[84] created an 'inferno'[85] and 'hell'[86] on earth likened to 'Armageddon'[87] or the 'Apocalypse'[88].

Both the 'evil' and the 'uncivilised' part of the conceptual metaphor do a number of things and predicate terrorism in a number of ways. Most importantly both metaphors signal a deep political difference. Predicating the terrorists as evil leads to a concrete and clear polarisation as it outcasts the actor and his/her actions and dichotomises and antagonises them (the out-group) and us (the in-group) (Lazar and Lazar 2004). As there are only two sides to the conflict, good and evil, the construction of the 'evil' other automatically constitutes the self as the binary opposite 'good' (Ivie 2004: 80). 'Here the dichotomy between the in and the out-group is a religious and spiritual one, the "good" outcasting the "evil" from the moral order that is instituted by the good itself' (Bhatia 2009: 282). Furthermore, one should note that the predication of terrorists as 'evil' automatically also makes those who assist terrorists 'evil', as we tend to consider those who help evil also to be evil. This indiscriminate guilt by association is not the case with the metaphors such as 'soldier', 'beast' or 'barbarian': those who help barbarians are not automatically also barbarians. So the construction of terrorism as 'evil' creates only two camps and leads to the situation where 'people and countries must choose which side they are on' (Rediehs 2002: 71). While the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS WAR implied the possibility of neutrality the predication of terrorism as evil eliminates this option. The dichotomy of good versus evil leaves no space for anything in-between. The process of 'othering' and the deep political difference is also clearly visible in the metaphors which predicate terrorism as something uncivilised as the polarisation imminent in the dichotomous relationship of 'good' and 'evil' can also be found the binary structure of 'civilised' and 'barbaric'. The 'uncivilised' part of the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS UNCIVLISED EVIL reinforces many parts of the 'evil' metaphor discussed above. As Robert Ivie points out '[s]avagery is a multidimensional image of the enemy that contrasts the civilized victim's rationality, morality, and peaceful purposes with the irrational and immoral behaviour of the uncivilized aggressor' (Ivie 2004: 78). So while 'barbarians' are not 'inhuman' 'monsters', they are still judged as 'inferior'[89]; they are considered a 'lower standard of human being' (Kappeler and Kappeler 2004: 182).

In addition, the metaphor of the 'evil' or 'barbarian' terrorist automatically excludes the question of why these actors perpetrate these acts of terrorism as the answer is inherent in their evilness. Why did 9/11 happen? Why do terrorists do this? The answer becomes simple: because they are 'evil' 'barbarian'. In other words, the predication of terrorism as 'evil' and 'barbarian' marginalised the grievances and political goals of these groups and the reasons for the violence are avoided as 'evil' 'barbarian' terrorists kill for the sake of killing rather than for some concrete motive. Evilness becomes the ultimate justification for their act and at the same time provides a justification for extreme counter-measures. The predication of evilness through metaphors such as 'monster' leads to a direct and clear dehumanisation and demoralisation and therefore 'every form of terror attributed to them becomes not only permissible but defined as noble when we do it to them' (Sluka 2009: 145). The elimination of 'evil' and the infliction of extreme counter-measures such as military violence, detention without trial and torture becomes less shocking and begins to appear appropriate (Ivie 2004: 80). After all killing monsters is something noble and heroic. When terrorism ceases to be 'only' a crime and becomes a sin the elimination of this evil through 'counter terrorism becomes, in a bizarre sense, a religiously sanctioned duty' (Leach 1977: 36). This sacralisation is directly visible in the religious metaphorical expression such as 'devil', 'diabolical' or 'apocalyptic' found in *The Sun*. But also in the much criticised metaphor of a 'crusade' against terrorism declared by President George Bush which constructs the conflict 'as a type of "holy war" between the forces of "Good" and "Evil"' (Sluka 2009: 145).

Importantly, one has to note here the impossibility of any kind of engagement or dialogue with terrorists if they are predicated as 'evil' 'devils' (Abdel-Nour 2004). As 'evil' cannot be reasoned with, negotiations and talks with terrorists such as al-Qaeda are considered absurd. We all know that one cannot trust Satan and we are told from a very young age that those who strike a deal with the devil end up in hell. With regard to barbarians William Ryan (1976: 10) points out that they 'are seen as less competent, less skilled, less knowing – in short less human' and almost animal like. Therefore, one cannot trust a 'barbarian' as he or she does not adhere to the civilised notion of rational debate. One cannot peacefully engage with such an opponent in a dialogue as they will not adhere to any agreements or deals struck in negotiations. Therefore, similar to the 'evil' metaphors, the 'uncivilised' predication constructs the terrorist as someone who cannot be logically reasoned with and consequently there is no real point in talking to them. At the same time 'barbarians' are brutal, violent and primitive[90] and therefore only understand violence as an answer. So the predication of terrorism as 'barbaric' makes the use of violent counter-measures seem

appropriate (Salter 2002). So while the military style construction of terrorism mentioned above would include the possibility of coming to some kind of negotiated peace deal with the opponent, the additional predication of terrorism as 'evil' or 'barbarian' excludes such counter-terrorism possibilities from the policy options considered appropriate. The most obvious example of this overlap between TERRORISM IS WAR and TERRORISM IS UNCIVILISED EVIL is the metaphorical expression 'Axis of Evil' (Heradstveit and Bonham 2007).

In connection to this, one has to note that the origin of the term 'barbarian' as the word 'barbarous' itself comes from the Greek word *barbaros* which means foreign.[91] So the metaphor 'barbarian' constitutes terrorism not only as something 'other' but as something explicitly foreign; something that comes from outside one's own country or cultural hemisphere. Similar to the term 'islamist' the expression 'barbaric', gives the terrorist construction something foreign without assigning a concrete nationality. So in addition to the dehumanisation of the evil metaphors the terrorist actor is de-westernised. Interestingly, Marina Llorente has noted that 'most violent acts by Westerners tend not to be labelled "barbaric". A good example is the case of Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, whose action was not categorized in terms of "barbarism," presumably because he belonged to the "civilized" part of the world' (Llorente 2002: 45). Therefore, one could also make the argument that the regular use of the term barbaric increasingly constructs the terrorist as something 'other' and generally alien and foreign, which then makes counter-terrorism measures such as tighter boarder and immigration controls possible and appropriate to keep such elements out. The understanding, inherent in the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS UNCIVILISED EVIL, of terrorism as something barbarian 'other' and foreign makes policies which target this otherness appear appropriate.

Tightening immigration regulations, asylum and border controls have been a central aspect of British counter-terrorism since 9/11. Politicians in both the Labour and Conservative Party have continuously talked about terrorism in connection to immigration. A study by Jef Huysmans has examined parliamentary debates in the UK since 9/11 which have explicitly made the connection between terrorism and immigration, asylum or refuge. His findings show 'that asylum especially and migration more generally was an important element in the framing of the fight against terrorism' (Huysmans 2005: 2). Most dominantly this connection was made with the introduction of the Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCSA) in December 2001. The ATCSA explicitly deals with immigrations matters and links them to terrorism in part IV of the act, fittingly entitled 'Immigration and Asylum' (Payne 2002).

Similar to this is also the introduction of the National Identity Scheme (NIS) which extends the use of biometric data through the creation of an identity register and identity cards. Although these identity cards are currently voluntary for UK citizens, they are compulsory for foreign nationals.[92] As Diez and Squire point out, 'it has been argued that the main policy device bringing together migration and security with reference to the 'terrorist threat' in Britain was the introduction of ID cards and the collection and administration of biometric data' (Diez and Squire 2008: 573). As 'barbarians', in contrast to 'monsters', are more difficult to identify as they look more or less human, and so ID cards can help find terrorists. So the mapping of foreignness from the source domain UNCIVILISED to the target domain TERRORISM make the introduction of ID cards to identify the 'foreign other' seem appropriate.

TERRORISM IS DISEASE

The fourth conceptual metaphor underlying the discourse constitutes terrorism as a disease. Here the discourse constructs terrorism as a 'sick'[93] 'wicked plague'[94], or as 'lunacy'[95] perpetrated by 'insane'[96] 'psychopaths'[97]. One comes across a number of metaphorical expressions which constitute the actor as 'mad'[98], for example terrorists are often metaphorised as 'madmen'[99], 'lunatics'[100] or 'nutters'[101] and terrorism is constructed as 'sickening'[102] and 'deranged'[103] 'madness'[104]. Terrorists are considered 'maniacs'[105] or 'crazed fanatics'[106] who have been 'infected'[107] by 'poisonous clerics'[108] and now 'infest'[109] the world. Thereby, expressions such as 'suicide nuts'[110] or 'terrorist madness'[111] map the source domain 'DISEASE' onto the target domain 'TERRORISM'.

Similar to the metaphors of 'uncivilized' 'evil' metaphors of 'disease' indicate a deep political rift. For example, one should consider the interpretation that disease, similar to the metaphor evil and uncivilised mentioned above, is something one cannot reason with. This is especially true when we consider the notion of 'madness' as a disease. While negotiations and cease fire agreements do make sense if we constitute the terrorist as a soldier in a war, they are absurd in a conflict with an army of 'lunatics' who lack the ability for rational thought. One can simply not trust the 'insane' be they soldiers or criminals. A psychological study by Emily Pronin et al showed that people were far less likely to advocate the use of diplomacy against terrorists if these were depicted as irrational. Not only can one not negotiate with the insane or diseases such as cancer but many other illnesses such as the plaque are in fact contagious (Pronin et al. 2006). So any kind of contact with the 'disease' of terrorism and

'disease riddled' terrorist may infect you. Therefore, terrorists should not be talked to but rather isolated and quarantined as '[c]ontact with them is polluting' (Zulaika and Douglass 1996: 62). Overall, the construction of terrorism as 'evil' or 'disease' rather suggests that certain policies such as engagement or negotiations are not considered as possible options.

In contrast to the other concrete policies mentioned above, it is obviously more difficult to indicate the non-existence of a policy. However, one may gain some insight into the implications of the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS DISEASE when we consider concrete examples of suggested negotiation possibilities between the two sides in the 'war on terror'. One such event occurred in April 2004 when Osama bin Laden proposed a truce with European states. In an audio tape sent to the broadcasters *Al Arabiya* and *Al Jazeera* bin Laden proclaimed:

'I also offer a reconciliation initiative to them [Europe], whose essence is our commitment to stopping operations against every country that commits itself to not attacking Muslims or interfering in their affairs […] The reconciliation will start with the departure of its last soldier from our country. The door of reconciliation is open for three months of the date of announcing this statement.'[112]

The British government announced that bin Laden's first truce offer to Europe was 'absurd'[113] and 'ludicrous'[114] as a number of government spokesmen stated that '[t]he idea of an armistice with a group that defines itself by violence is an absurdity'[115], and the peace offer was 'evidence for the confusion of Al Qaeda'[116]. Individual politicians also strongly rejected the idea of any kind of cease fire with such a terrorist group. For example, the Foreign Secretary at the time Jack Straw proclaimed: 'One has to treat such proposals by Al-Qaeda with the contempt they deserve. It is a murderous organisation which seeks impossible objectives by the most violent means'[117]. So negotiations with 'mad' terrorists such as Bin Laden seem to be considered quite impossible. As former Home Secretary David Blunkett put it: 'It is ludicrous to think that his suggestion has any sense of reality'[118], and even the Liberal Party leader Charles Kennedy points out that '[t]here can be no negotiation with Al Qaeda, and [that] bin Laden's truce offer was repellent'[119]. Even terrorism 'experts' seem to agree on this interpretation of al-Qaeda as Peter Bergen believes that 'this whole offer is, in a sense, sort of pretty ludicrous'[120].

Conclusion

The article has argued that metaphors do not 'cause' policy in a positivist kind of way. But metaphors do play a vital role in the discursive construction of terrorism and thereby contribute to our understanding of how to react to such a phenomena. Our reaction to terrorism depends strongly on how we perceive 'the terrorist' to be. The article applied metaphor analysis to the discourse on terrorism found in the tabloid newspaper *The Sun* and illustrated how four of the most salient conceptual metaphors constructed terrorism as a war, a crime, uncivilized evil and as a disease. Thereby the article showed that metaphors predicate terrorism in a specific way which then makes certain counter options appear more appropriate than others. For example, understanding terrorism as a war calls for a military reaction, while the constitution of it as a 'crime' necessitates a judicial response. Classical predications of 'othering' found the metaphors 'uncivilised' 'evil' imply the tightening of borders and immigration to keep the foreign 'other' out, while the concepts of 'evil' and 'disease' indicate the impossibility of engagement and negotiations with terrorists.[121]

In particular, metaphor analysis ability of indicating impossibilities is valuable, as is highlights reactions previously ignored and opens up new areas of research which were previously considered taboo such as engagement and possibly reconciliation with Al Qaeda (Renner and Spencer 2011). By considering terrorism as a social construction and reflecting on the idea that there are no externally existing facts about 'terrorism' one can start questioning the established absurdity of 'unthinkable' policies. It would therefore be highly interesting to investigate further the policy options which have fallen outside of the measures considered appropriate against terrorism. Such research would not only further elaborate a constructivist understanding of terrorism research but indicate that not only 'terrorism' but also 'counter-terrorism' is what one makes of it.

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[1] See for example the Researching and Applying Metaphor (RaAM) Association conferences, http://www.raam.org.uk/.

[2] See for example Metaphor and Symbol which is its 22 year of publication and was previously called Metaphor and Symbolic Activity.

[3] In particular Stump's (2009) criticsm of Hülsse and Spencer's (2008) limited focus on textual metaphors and neglect of 'everyday practices' is an important point which deserves acknowledgement. Although I would argue that any non-linguistic practice has to be interpreted linguistically at some point as, for example, signs do not speak for themselves. 'Practices are discursive, both in the sense that some practices involve speech acts […] and in the sense that practice cannot be thought "outside of" discourse' (Neumann 2002: 628).

[4] For a more nuanced discussion on the distinction between the neo-positivist causation offered by King, Keohane and Verba (1994) and 'singular causal analysis' base on Max Weber see Jackson (2006b).

[5] For more of the debate on causation in IR see for example Wendt (1998) or Kurki (2006).

[6] For an analysis of fear and insecurity after 9/11 portrayed in tabloids see Debrix (2008).

[7] For a previous study on metaphor of terrorism in The Sun newspaper see Hülsse and Spencer (2008) and for a comparison between the British *The Sun* and the German *Bild* see Spencer (2010).

[8] See Newspaper Marketing Agency, 'The Sun - Facts and Figures', available at: www.nmauk.co.uk/nma/do/live/factsAndFigures?newspaperID=17, [accessed 25.11.2010].

[9] It is important to point out that the social and political context of the data such as the ideological orientation of the newspaper does not play a major role in the article's analysis. As mentioned above it is concerned mainly with the resulting 'realities' of metaphor use rather than the reasons for why particular metaphors are used. Furthermore, *The Sun* newspaper serves as an example as many of the following metaphors can also be found in other media outlets and political statements.

[10] The bombings in Bali can also be considered an attack on the West as it mainly targeted western tourists.

[11] Apart from these four metaphors one conceptual metaphor found in the data (TERRORISM IS NATURAL) has been obmitted due to a lack of space. For further details on this metaphor see Spencer (2010).

[12] The following metaphors are example of the various metaphors found in The Sun. Due to a lack of space only one example reference will be noted for each metaphorical expression.

[13] *The Sun*, "Bush orders 100 combat jets to the Gulf", 20 September 2001, p. 1.

[14] *The Sun*, "War to the Death", 18 September 2001, p. 13.

[15] *The Sun*, "I won. Smithy takes crown and makes Howard Shadow Chancellor", 14 September 2001, p. 22.

[16] *The Sun*, "All the world must unite to defeat these evil cowards", 12.September 2001, p. 10.

[17] *The Sun*, "Moment the plane hit", 12 September 2001, p. 8.

[18] *The Sun*, "Spirit of the Blitz", 14 September 2001, pp. 8-9.

[19] *The Sun*, "I thought Ian Blair was recruiting Muslims for the police – not al-Qaeda", 12 July 2005, p. 11.

[20] *The Sun*, "Being anti-war won't save your", 16 March 2004, p. 11.

[21] *The Sun*, "Bush protest was sick after Istanbul attack", 24 November 2003.

[22] *The Sun*, "Let's hope the bombers are on holiday too", 03 August 2005, p. 8.

[23] *The Sun*, "Deadly times, deadly action", 23 July 2005, p. 8.

[24] *The Sun*, "Frontline Europe", 12 March 2004, p. 6.

[25] *The Sun*, "Madrid Warlord in Britain", 18 March 2004, p. 5.

[26] *The Sun*, "Back in your cave, coward", 05 August 2005, p. 8.

[27] *The Sun*, "A terrible tragedy has just befallen my nation", 12 September 2001, p. 4.

[28] *The Sun*, "No 1 Suspect", 12 September 2001, p. 18.

[29] *The Sun*, "Gang's mystery man", 14 July 2005, p. 4.

[30] *The Sun*, "Time for Peace…? Tell it to Bin Laden", 21 November 2003.

[31] *The Sun*, "Blitz is coming…", 17 September 2001, p. 4.

[32] *The Sun*, "7/7: Suicide squad on CCTV at King's Cross", 13 July 2005, pp. 2-3.

[33] *The Sun*, "Osama Car Bombs threat to Britain", 18 November 2003.

[34] *The Sun*, "Bush hits Bin where it'll hurt", 25 September 2001, p. 49.

[35] *The Sun*, "Alive. Brit's blown-up lover found in a hospital bed", 22 November 2003.

[36] *The Sun*, "War to the death", 18 September 2001, p. 13.

[37] *The Sun*, "Nest of Killers", 26 September 2001, p. 11.

[38] *The Sun*, "Forces are ready to go", 28 September 2001, p. 6.

[39] *The Sun*, "Bombers at airport on visit to al-Qaeda", 19 July 2005, p. 9.

[40] *The Sun*, "Four seized in Swoop by Bomb Police", 17 October 2002.

[41] *The Sun*, "How Could it Happen – Nowhere is safe from terrorists", 12 September 2001, p. 24.

[42] *The Sun*, "Operation death train", 12 March 2004, p. 2.

[43] *The Sun*, "Enemy would rather die than be caught", 22 July 2005, p. 8.

[44] *The Sun*, "Hate Britain", 09 July 2005, p. 8.

[45] *The Sun*, "Partners in Evil", 6 October 2001, p. 9.

[46] *The Sun*, "We have no choice, says hero's mum", 9 October 2001, p. 9.

[47] *The Sun*, "Battle for Osama No 2", 19 March 2004, p. 7.

[48] *The Sun*, "Notting Hill bank link to murders", 20 September 2001, p. 9.

[49] *BBC*, 16. September 2001, available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/1545411.stm, (accessed 29.06.09).

[50] *The Sun*, "Nest of Killers", 26 September 2001, p. 11.

[51] *The Sun*, "Murderers damned by the world", 12 March 2004, p. 4.

[52] *The Sun*, "Bush hits Bin where it'll hurt", 25 September 2001, p. 49.

[53] *The Sun*, "Gang's mystery man", 14 July 2005, p. 4.

[54] *The Sun*, "Gang 'return' to flat to get more explosives", 27 July 2005, pp. 4-5.

[55] *The Sun*, "Backpack butchers. Terror mob had bombs in rucksacks", 13 July 2005, p. 2.

[56] *The Sun*, "Two million unit to defy terrorists", 13 March 2004, p. 6.

[57] *The Sun*, "Now go get'em George", 14 September 2001, p. 2.

[58] *The Sun*, "Day that changed the world", 12 September 2001, p. 1.

[59] *The Sun*, "The Train was cut open like a can of tuna", 12 March 2004, p. 4.

[60] *The Sun*, "Heavenly Island turned into Hell", 16 October 2002.

[61] *The Sun*, "A tragic casualty of war", 25 July 2005, p. 6.

[62] *The Sun*, "Tunnel of Blood", 08 July 2005, p. 6.

[63] *The Sun*, "We shall prevail .. terrorists shall not", 08 July 2005, p. 18.

[64] *The Sun*, "They must have killed thousands", 12 September 2001, p. 2.

[65] Although one has to acknowledge that crime can sometimes also be considered a legitimate enterprise when thinking of 'criminals' such as Robin Hood or Bonnie and Clyde.

[66] *The Sun*, "He mumbled a prayer, bag went bang .. 3 heroes piled in", 22 July 2005, p. 6.

[67] *The Sun*, "Bali outrage shows we must win war on terror", 15 October 2002.

[68] *The Sun*, "Evil across our planet", 08 July 2005, p. 17.

[69] *The Sun*, "We're all American now", 14 September 2001, p. 13.

[70] *The Sun*, "Shocked at evil attack but proud and defiant ", 11 July 2005, p. 36.

[71] *The Sun*, "Queen cries along with us all", 15 September 2001, p. 6.

[72] *The Sun*, "UK..You will pay..Bin Laden's on way", 03 April 2004, p. 11.

[73] *The Sun*, "A terrible tragedy has just befallen my nation", 12 September 2001, p. 4.

[74] *The Sun*, "We shall prevail .. terrorists shall not", 08 July 2005, p. 18.

[75] *The Sun*, "Abuse of Britain", 12 July 2005, p. 8.

[76] *The Sun*, "Riddle of ,fifth hijack' foiled by cancellation", 19 September 2001, p. 4.

[77] *The Sun*, "Why the world mustn't sleep", 14 October 2002.

[78] *The Sun*, "Out spirit will not be broken", 22 July 2005, p. 6.

[79] *The Sun*, "I'm so angry our kids are growing up in world of terror", 09 July 2005, p. 23.

[80] *The Sun*, "Bush: Al-Qa'ida did it", 15 October 2002.

[81] *The Sun*, "Hook's web of Evil', 17 March 2004, p. 6.

[82] *The Sun*, "Hook's Web of Evil", 17 March 2004, p. 6.

[83] *The Sun*, "Depths of evil", 15 October 2002.

[84] *The Sun*, "Did they learn on pounds 50 CD Rom?", 13 September 2001.

[85] *The Sun*, "All the world must united to defeat these evil cowards", 12 September 2001, p. 10.

[86] *The Sun*, "56 minutes of hell", 08 July 2005, p. 2.

[87] *The Sun*, "War zone .. It's Armageddon", 12. September 2001, p. 14.

[88] *The Sun*, "You don't expect your boy to turn into one of the 4 Horsemen of the Apocalypse", 18 July 2005, p. 8.

[89] Merriam Webster Online, available at: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/barbarian, [accessed 07.05.09].

[90] *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) Second Edition, Revised, p. 129.

[91] *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p. 129.

[92] Border and Immigration Agency, *Introducing Compulsory Identity Cards for Foreign Nationals*. London: Home Office (2008), available at: http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/compulsoryidcards/IDcards/for eignnationalsforidcards.pdf?view=Binary (accessed: 30.6.2009).

[93] *The Sun*, "Disciples of Osama … but they targeted ALL religions", 08 July 2005, p. 16.

[94] *The Sun*, "Blair. We have incontrovertible evidence bin Laden did it. We will get him, stop him", 1 October 2001, p. 5.

[95] *The Sun*, "Don't grass rant", 2 April 2004, p. 2.

[96] *The Sun*, "We're all American now", 14 September 2001, p. 13.

[97] *The Sun*, "Silence that said it all", 15 July 2005, p. 6.

[98] *The Sun*, "If Blair used the laws we have, we wouldn't need a Stable Door Act ", 22 July 2005, p. 9.

[99] *The Sun*, "Slaughter of the innocent", 12 March 2004, p. 8.

[100] *The Sun*, "Siege ended in Tragedy but Putin had no choice", 29 October 2002.

[101] *The Sun*, "I thought Ian Blair was recruiting Muslims for the police – not for al-Qaeda", 12 July 2005, p. 11.

[102] *The Sun*, "Horror in my street", 08 July 2005, p. 11.

[103] *The Sun*. "We're all American now", 14 September 2001, p. 13.

[104] *The Sun*, "We've got him", 28 July 2005, p. 5.

[105] *The Sun*, "Maniac's passport is found in rubble", 17 September 2001, p. 6.

[106] *The Sun*, "Let's hope the bombers are on holiday too", 3 August 2005, p. 8.

[107] *The Sun*, "Show them we are not afraid", 14 July 2005, p. 8.

[108] *The Sun*, "Send him Bak", 20 July 2005, p. 1.

[109] *The Sun*, "Bush protest was sick after Istanbul attack", 24 November 2003.

[110] *The Sun*, "Outrage as Ken justifies suicide nuts", 20 July 2005, p. 4.

[111] *The Sun*, "America thought Pentagon was safe. Nobody counted on a jet dropping from the sky", 12 September 2001, p. 16.

[112] For the full text see: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3628069.stm

[113] *The Daily Telegraph* , 'Bin Laden's truce offer rejected as "absurd". Taped message from al-Qa'eda chief calls on Europe to abandon America', 16.April 2004, p. 1.

[114] *The Evening Standard*, 'Europe is offered a truce in "new Bin Laden message"', 15. April 2004, p. 1.

[115] *The Sun*, 'Peace off bin Laden', 16. April 2004.

[116] *Die Welt*, '"Wenn ihr unser Blut vergießt, vergießen wir eures"; Osama bin Laden meldet sich nach langer Zeit wieder zu Wort und bietet den Europäern einen Waffenstillstand an', 16. April 2004.

[117] *Agence France Press,* 'Alleged bin Laden truce offer merits "contempt": British FM', 15. April 2004.

[118] *The Sun*, 'Peace off bin Laden', 16. April 2004.

[119] *The Observer*, 'Blair has lost his grip', 18. April 2004, p. 25.

[120] Peter Bergen, interviewed by CNN Live Today, 'Bin Laden truce turned down by European Leaders; Japanese Hostages Released in Iraq', 15. April 2004.

[121] For future research it would be highly interesting to see how other countries metaphorise terrorism differently and how these conceptual metaphors function in those cultures to construct counter-terrorism possibilities. For metaphors in the foreign policy of the United States see for example Campbell (1998) and for the specific issue of metaphors in different cultural spheres see Littlemore (2003).