

What Did 9/11 Mean for U.S. Media Coverage of Muslims and Islam?

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THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks is an opportune moment to review the impact of those attacks on the U.S. media's coverage of Muslims and Islam. In 2003, Vice President Dick Cheney famously argued that “[i]n a sense, 9/11 changed everything for us.”¹ Evidence suggests that—within the U.S. government—“everything” includes how officials perceive Muslims; they became the target of wide, undifferentiated suspicion.² The picture for the U.S. media is less clear-cut: some have argued that, as within the government, the attacks “thrust a certain type of Orientalist stereotype firmly back... into our news media, and into the mouths of politicians.”³ Meanwhile, others have found an “increase in sympathetic representations of Arab and Muslim Americans in the U.S. media after 9/11.”⁴ In our own research, we find two key changes after 9/11: an enduring rise in the number of newspaper articles about Muslims and Islam and a dramatic increase in the share of articles linking Muslims to terrorism or extremism.

There is no doubt that 9/11 had an enormous impact on the media. Even many years later, leading U.S. newspapers reference the attacks hundreds of times per year: the *New York Times* did so in an average of 1,673 articles per year from 2017–2020 (years that did not include any major anniversaries of the 2001 ter-

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rorist attacks), while the *Washington Post* featured an average of 677 articles per year over the same period. Avid readers of either of these papers can thus expect to read two to five articles per day that mention 9/11, even twenty years later.⁵

However, the impact of 9/11 is not limited to explicit references to the event. In this article, we focus on broad patterns and trends in the coverage of Muslims since 9/11, analyzing an extensive corpus of more than 250,000 articles we collected about Muslims and Islam. We show that key changes in the content of coverage were nearly instantaneous and persistent. In particular, 9/11 dramatically tightened the connection between Muslims and terrorism and extremism in U.S. newspaper reporting. Moreover, the attacks also brought about an enduring increase in the volume of newspaper articles mentioning Muslims and Islam. These trends are evident not only in leading national newspapers such as the *Times* and the *Post* but also across a range of more local newspapers, including tabloids. On the other hand, although coverage became more negative in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, this negative shock was comparatively short-lived, and the average tone of articles about Muslims and Islam had returned to pre-9/11 levels by the end of 2001. Sadly, those pre-9/11 levels were already consistently far more negative than for other minority groups in the United States for which we collected comparative data.

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We begin by establishing that coverage of Muslims was already negative well before 9/11. Next, we outline theoretical expectations about the impact of 9/11 on media coverage. The final two sections of the article present evidence about overall patterns in the volume, tone, and contents of media coverage.

BACKGROUND: MUSLIMS IN THE U.S. MEDIA

We collected a data set of 256,963 articles mentioning Muslims and Islam, as published in 17 different U.S. newspapers from 1996–2016.⁶ The sources include the four major “national” newspapers: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today*. In addition, we added several local newspapers, such as the *Boston Globe*, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and the *Denver Post*, as well as tabloids, such as New York’s *Daily News* and *New York Post* to the data set. The data and figures below draw on this data set, along with comparable data sets collected for other groups.⁷

Many scholars have found that the media’s coverage of Muslims is negative.⁸ However, other researchers argue that there is an overall “negativity bias” in the media and that the media in secular societies is generally critical of all religions.⁹ To establish whether coverage of Muslims is unusually negative, it is therefore

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essential to compare it against general news coverage, as well as against coverage of other religious or minority groups in society. We used a lexicon-based method of “sentiment analysis”—the measurement of the tone, or valence, of a text as positive or negative—that has been shown to work very well across a range of different types and domains of text.¹⁰

Lexicon-based methods use dictionaries of positive and negative words to gauge the tone of a text. The relative balance between positive and negative words determines the overall tone, with adjustments made for intensifying or negating words, such as “not,” “very,” “barely,” etc.¹¹ An important advantage of these methods is that they make it possible to identify how positive or negative a text is, compared to a

particular baseline. In our case, we calibrated the method against a representative corpus of general newspaper articles: we assigned the

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mean article from that corpus a valence of zero and set the standard deviation across the corpus to one. This provides a yardstick to gauge how positive or negative news coverage of Muslims is relative to general newspaper coverage.

Across our corpus of articles mentioning Muslims and Islam from 1996 to 2016, the average valence is a strikingly negative -0.94, almost a full standard deviation more negative than the average article in our representative corpus. Put differently, this means that more than 80 percent of articles that mention Muslims or Islam have a negative tone when compared to the tone of an average newspaper article. We also found that this negativity is specific to coverage of Muslims; analogous analyses of the U.S. media’s coverage of Catholics, Jews, and Hindus show that the average article mentioning those religions and their adherents is only modestly negative (Hindus) or essentially neutral but very mildly positive in tone (Catholics and Jews). Nor is coverage of Muslims more similar in tone to that of other religious, racial, or ethnic minority outgroups in the United States; coverage of African Americans, Atheists, Latinxs, and Mormons is also essentially neutral overall, with only coverage of Latinxs modestly negative.¹²

These results establish that the media’s coverage of Muslims and Islam is indeed very negative, and that the negativity observed by other scholars is not just an artifact of a general media bias towards negative news, nor of a critical stance towards all religions or racial or ethnic groups. Moreover, the negativity

is not driven by a few newspapers or by time periods with unusually negative coverage. The two largest contributors to our corpus, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, have an average article valence for articles referencing Muslims and Islam of -0.94 and -0.93, respectively, which is right at our corpus mean. Average valences across other newspapers range from -1.41 (*New York Post*) to -0.35 (*Minneapolis Star Tribune*): still considerably more negative across the board than the values we found for other religions. Similarly, there is no clear trend over time in the valence of articles about Muslims and Islam. Both in 1996 and 2016, the average valence in our corpus was -0.90. During the years in between, annual averages ranged from -1.05 (2002) to -0.74 (2008), again without any clear trend.

In sum, U.S. media coverage of Muslims is strikingly negative across a wide range of newspapers and has been so since at least the mid-1990s. Moreover, this negativity is unique to Muslims: it stands out from the coverage of all other religious, racial, or ethnic groups we examined. With this information as our baseline, it is now possible to take a closer look at the effects of the 9/11 attacks on coverage.

THEORIZING THE IMPACT OF 9/11

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The notion that major events have the ability to dramatically shape news coverage over the long term is widespread and not limited to the United States. Regarding coverage of Muslims, for instance, a recent *Guardian* story on the British media notes that after “the Rushdie affair, and then particularly after 9/11 and 7/7 [the London bombings] ... [t]he story of Muslims became the story of terrorism and of clashing civilizational values.”¹³ Nor is this idea new: similar claims about the negative effect of events have been made since at least the Iranian Revolution.¹⁴

Surprisingly, scholars and observers vary widely in their assessments of what exactly 9/11 changed, in part because many findings are based on small samples of media coverage surrounding the attacks.¹⁵ In terms of article tone, some find that the coverage of Muslims became more negative after the attacks.¹⁶ In apparent contrast, Nacos and Torres-Reyna find more positive stories on newspaper front pages after 9/11.¹⁷ Turning to the content of these stories, some find that the shock of 9/11 resulted in less stereotypical, less one-dimensional, and more sympathetic reporting on Muslims than before.¹⁸ Others see a renewed emphasis on “a certain type of Orientalist stereotype,” focusing in particular on portrayals that highlight “behavior, the body, and dress.”¹⁹ Finally, a survey of a number of different studies found that after 9/11, Muslims were often described as “ter-

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rorists,’ ‘extremists,’ ‘fundamentalists,’ ‘radicals,’ and ‘fanatics.’”²⁰

It is important to consider what “after 9/11” means in these cases. We should ask not only what the effects of the attacks might be, but also how long such effects might last. Can one seminal event have an enduring impact on the media’s coverage of a religion associated with that event? Major events frequently produce “media storms” or “media hypes,” during which the media produce many articles for a sustained period of multiple days, weeks, or even months.²¹ They do so because major precipitating events produce two mutually reinforcing effects: they lower the newsworthiness threshold for including a story, and competing media outlets face pressures to cover the issue no less extensively than their peers, leading to increased coverage across multiple sources.²² In addition, seminal events can have secondary effects on the media coverage of a related, broader issue that may last indefinitely. For example, when an event changes the way media consumers view the world around them—the way Cheney suggested 9/11 did—previous scholarship has shown that one potential effect is to permanently change the threshold of what counts as “news” where Muslims and Islam are involved.²³

We can also expect the content of the media’s coverage of Muslims and Islam to have changed in the aftermath of 9/11. An immediate shift in the content will be driven by reporting on the event itself. However, if it is indeed the case that 9/11 changed how many people thought about Muslims, we expect to find an increased prevalence of stories about extremism and terrorism persisting long afterward. Other findings in the literature provide indirect support for this expectation: the media tends to over-report terrorist events that are associated with Muslims compared to those that are not; the media often jumps to conclusions and generalizations about Islamist responsibility for terror attacks; and since well before 9/11, there has been a temptation for political actors and media producers to “securitize” nearly any issue related to Muslims, framing it as having implications for national security.²⁴

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COVERING MUSLIMS BEFORE AND AFTER 9/11: ARTICLE COUNT AND TONE

It comes as no surprise that 9/11 produced an unprecedented media storm of coverage. No other event in the 21-year period covered by our data set (1996–2016) produced anywhere close to the same spike in the volume of articles mentioning Muslims or Islam. This immediate spike lasted about five months. However, 9/11 also caused a long-term shift in the average daily count of articles mentioning Muslims. 9/11 dominated the news for long enough to

have an enduring impact on coverage volume, as newspaper readers' interest in and perceptions of Muslims and Islam changed during this initial media storm. The number of articles remained elevated far above the pre-9/11 level for years. Even when it has dropped to approach that pre-9/11 level, what was once the average seems today to function more as a lower bound.

Next, we turn to the impact of 9/11 on the tone of newspaper articles mentioning Muslims or Islam. As mentioned, one of the effects of a media storm

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is to lower the threshold for the newsworthiness of any story, even indirectly associated with the event (or, in this case, with Muslims or Islam); as a result, not all additional stories are

negative. Once direct coverage of the event tapers off, such indirectly related stories constitute a greater fraction of the added coverage, mitigating the event's impact on average article tone. In fact, the direct impact of 9/11 on the average tone of articles was minor at best. The average article tone had begun to trend downward a year earlier, from a peak of around -0.71 in late September 2000 to a value below -1.0 by early September 2001. This earlier decline was likely influenced by the bombing of the U.S.S. Cole in October 2000. The 9/11 attacks reversed an upswing that had begun in August, initiating a renewed decline that lasted until November. The lowest average article tone (measured over the course of a week) was recorded during the week immediately after 9/11, at -1.35. After that first week, the average tone gradually began to creep upward again.

These data make it easy to understand why other scholars have found that coverage of Muslims the year after 9/11 was more negative than that of the year before: there was indeed a decline, but it was not driven primarily by the attacks—instead, much of the decline in article tone took place in the months before the attacks. Overall, the 9/11 attacks had a meaningful but comparatively short-term impact on the tone of articles about Muslims; if we look at average daily valence over the course of a week, it took about two months for levels to return to their value prior to 9/11. In contrast, by the analogous measure of volume—daily article count averaged over the course of a week—the “initial” coverage shock lasted more than 12 years.

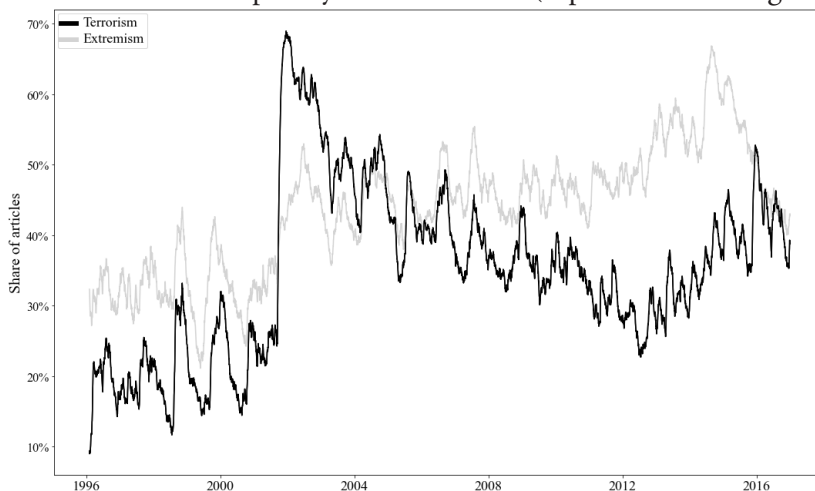
PATTERNS IN THE CONTENT OF ARTICLES ABOUT MUSLIMS AND ISLAM

The 9/11 attacks had a large impact on the number of stories published about Muslims and Islam and a smaller effect on the tone of those stories. Did they also affect the *types* of stories published? In other words, did the attacks influence the topics or themes featured in articles that mention Muslims or Islam? Our expectation was that we would see more stories mentioning terrorism and extremism. To investigate this dimension of coverage, we analyzed the proportion of Muslim- or Islam-focused articles containing keywords related to terrorism and extremism. Specifically, for terrorism, we looked for any word beginning with the stem “terror*” (where the asterisk indicates any zero or more additional letters): “terror” itself, but also words like “terrorize,” “terrorist,” and “terrorism.” For extremism, we similarly looked for articles containing any words beginning with stems indicating extremism: not only “extremis*,” but also “fundamentalis*,” for instance.²⁵

Figure 1 shows the share of articles mentioning Muslims or Islam that include a word from one of these two categories over time. Since day-to-day figures fluctuate considerably, the figure shows a smoothed pattern representing an exponentially weighted average, which weighs the current day most heavily but considers (with rapidly diminishing weights) data for previous days as well. It is obvious when the 9/11 attacks happened, as they caused an immediate, very large jump in the share of articles about Muslims or Islam that mentioned terrorism, from a pre-9/11 level of around 25 percent to a short-lived peak over 65 percent.

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Figure 1: Prevalence of topic keywords over time (exponential moving average).²⁶



While the jump for extremism was less pronounced, it too became much more prominent in discussions of Muslims and Islam after 9/11, rarely returning even close to pre-9/11 levels.

The figure also shows that for several years after 9/11, terrorism was mentioned more frequently than extremism. This indicates that media consumers were exposed to a steady stream of articles that mentioned Muslims or Islam in the context of terrorism, without qualifying this by indicating that terrorist attacks were committed by extremists. In fact, *New York Times* journalist Clyde Haberman asked a few years after 9/11: “Is it possible to talk about Islam in the post-9/11 world without a single reference to the dreaded T-word?”²⁷ Relatedly, even by 2016, 15 years after the attacks, a striking 9 percent of articles mentioning Muslims and/or Islam still referenced 9/11.

We can see from the figure just how common discussions of both terrorism and extremism have become: prior to 9/11, an already high 23 percent of stories mentioning Muslims in our data set also mentioned terrorism; the average share from 9/11 to the end of 2016 was 44 percent. Breaking these figures down by

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newspaper type is also informative. Tabloids referred to terrorism in 27 percent of articles prior to 9/11 and 53 percent after that date.

Right-leaning papers, meanwhile, referred to terrorism in 26 percent of articles prior to 9/11 and 48 percent after. For both types of papers, the shock caused by 9/11 was greater than it was for non-right-leaning, non-tabloid papers.

For extremism, the proportion of post-9/11 articles in our corpus that include words that fall into our extremism category rises to 48 percent from a pre-9/11 baseline of 33 percent. Interestingly, both right-leaning and tabloid papers are comparatively less likely to use extremism words than other papers, and the difference only grows after 9/11. This helps explain the earlier point that many articles post-9/11 referenced terrorism without mentioning extremism: right-leaning and tabloid papers are comparatively more likely to feature articles that connect Muslims to terrorism without mentioning extremism.²⁸

In terms of content, then, it is fair to say that 9/11 permanently changed newspaper coverage of Muslims and Islam: a far greater proportion of stories now mention terrorism and extremism. Combine this with the increase in the total number of stories published, and the average newspaper consumer has

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been exposed since 9/11 to many more stories about Muslims associated with terrorism and extremism than was the case before, even during periods when no terrorist events are directly in the news. The sheer volume of such stories likely has an impact on perceptions and associations that readers have with Islam and Muslims.²⁹ In other words, the media almost certainly bear some responsibility for the fact that the top three negative single-word impressions of Islam offered by respondents to a Pew survey in 2007 were “fanatic,” “radical,” and “terror”: two words referencing extremism, and one referencing terrorism.³⁰

WORDS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH MUSLIMS OR ISLAM

We know that articles mentioning Muslims and Islam became much more likely to reference terrorism and extremism after 9/11. But it might be that such references are not directly connected to Muslims themselves. Relevant here, and contrary to what some have argued, we find that the 9/11 attacks do not appear to have “thrust a certain type of Orientalist stereotype firmly back... into our news media.”³¹ In particular, references to Muslim dress—hijab, burqa, and others—are less common in our corpus post-9/11 than they were before (4.1 percent of all articles before, 3.8 percent after). This is not to say the media does not trade in such stereotypes—only that such stereotypes have not become more common in the aftermath of 9/11.

To see how 9/11 altered the way Muslims and Islam are explicitly described, we analyze changes in the frequency of the words that appear immediately to the left or the right of the word stems “Muslim*” and “Islam*.” Those that appear to the left are typically adjectives and adverbs; those to the right are more commonly nouns. Our expectation is that these should also have changed as part of the broader reframing of Muslims and Islam in the media.

We identify words that stand out by comparing the rate at which they appear immediately to the left or the right of our keywords to the frequency with which they appear in the rest of our articles. We ignore any proper names, as well as any words that appear fewer than 100 times.

First, we focus our analysis on the entire post-9/11 period in our data set, from late 2001 through the end of 2016. Table 1 displays the top dozen words that are most disproportionately likely to appear directly adjacent to “Muslim*” or “Islam*,” as opposed to in the rest of an article. They are listed in declining order of the degree to which a word is over-represented in those specific positions.

We see that radicals and extremists first appear after 9/11 and immediately occupy top positions, while fundamentalists remain but move down the list.

Several words disappear post-9/11, including holy, strict, and salvation, along with guerrillas. In other words, while extremism becomes more prominent, religiosity and locally focused conflicts become less so.

Table 1. Words most over-represented directly adjacent to Muslim* or Islam*

Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
salvation	radical
fundamentalists	jihad
fundamentalist	extremists
fundamentalism	radicals
guerrillas	militant
militants	extremism
devout	devout
militant	non-
holy	fundamentalist
jihad	fundamentalism
predominantly	fundamentalists
strict	radicalism

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While the table confirms that coverage changed over time, these data alone cannot tell us whether it was 9/11 that precipitated that change. To examine that question more closely, we compare analogous pre-9/11 to post-9/11 periods directly against one another. Table 2 shows two paired comparisons. Since we saw that the initial post-9/11 media storm lasted about five months, the two central columns compare all articles in our corpus that were published in the five months preceding 9/11 (2,983 in total) to those published in the five months immediately after 9/11 (14,579 articles). The columns on the left and the right compare all articles published in the first five years of the corpus (1996–2000: 40,193 articles) to those published in the last five years (2012–2016: 67,301 articles). Each column displays the words that are most strongly associated with our word stems Islam* and Muslim* in that period, listed in declining order of frequency; the focus is thus on words readers are most likely to encounter in those locations.³²

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Table 2. Top descriptive words surrounding references to Muslims/Islam

1996–2000 (vs. 2012–2016)	5 months pre-9/11 (vs. 5 months post-)	5 months post 9/11 (vs. 5 months pre-)	2012–2016 (vs. 1996–2000)
<i>militants</i>	jihad	world	radical
<i>group</i>	militant	radical	<i>anti</i>
<i>militant</i>	group	countries	extremists
<i>leader</i>	militants	extremists	<i>community</i>
<i>holy</i>	law	nations	<i>non</i>
<i>law</i>		center	<i>all</i>
<i>jihad</i>		movement	terrorism
<i>revolution</i>		all	extremist
<i>government</i>		extremist	terrorists
<i>fundamentalist</i>		terrorists	extremism
<i>rebels</i>		press	<i>ban</i>
<i>groups</i>		faith	<i>communities</i>


The comparison in the central columns allows us to identify immediate changes, while the outer columns give a better indication of how the media’s coverage of Muslims has changed over the full period covered by our corpus, and of whether those immediate changes have lasted. It is striking how similar the last two columns are, even though they are more than ten years apart. The most notable changes that emerged immediately after 9/11—the introduction of radicalism, extremism, and terrorism (bolded in both periods to facilitate identification)—have persisted through the ensuing decade and a half. This confirms that 9/11 really did serve as a turning point.

The contrasts within each pair of time periods are similar. In the earlier period, there are more references to militants and particular groups; in the latter, in addition to the obvious emphasis on radicalism, extremism, and terrorism, there is a focus on Muslims considered as a single group: “world,” as in “Muslim world,” and “all.” The fact that the patterns are comparable whether we look immediately before and after 9/11 or at the beginning and end of the timeframe covered by our corpus confirms that 9/11 had an enduring impact on the words readers are most likely to encounter right next to Muslim* or Islam*. Moreover, it bears repeating that all these changes happened concurrently with a dramatic increase in the total quantity of newspaper articles mentioning Muslims and Islam.

CONCLUSIONS

The 9/11 attacks made already problematic media coverage even worse for Muslims in the United States. While the event's impact on the overall tone of the coverage was comparatively short-lived, it precipitated an enduring increase in the volume of coverage dedicated to Muslims and Islam, and in references to terrorism and extremism. Not all additional coverage is negative, but the overall result is that even if a larger number of stories on terrorism and extremism were balanced out by a similar increase in positive and more nuanced stories, the average reader would still encounter more negative stories than before.³³

However, the rise in references to terrorism and extremism is not driven only by the increased volume of coverage. In fact, the content of negative coverage is where 9/11 had the most enduring effect: close to half of all articles mentioning Muslims or Islam published since 9/11 mention terrorism or terms related to extremism, a significant increase from levels prior to the attacks. In addition, the words most likely to describe Muslims or Islam—or simply to appear in close proximity to those terms—also show a clear shift towards radicalism and extremism since 9/11. Indeed, “radical” and “extremist” are among the words a U.S. newspaper reader has been most likely to see in the immediate context of the words Muslim or Islam ever since 9/11.

On the twentieth anniversary of the attacks, most U.S. newspapers published several commemorative stories on their impact on U.S. society. Almost none of these, however, reflected on how the attacks might have affected their own coverage of Muslims or Islam.³⁴ The data presented here show that much can be gained from being more self-reflective—what we have called “tone-checking” the media.³⁵ This is especially true in terms of critically assessing whether references to extremism, terrorism, and indeed 9/11 are necessary to include in coverage of Muslims and Islam so long after the events of 2001. 

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22. Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers," *Journal of Peace Research* 2, no. 1 (March 1965): 82; Anne Hardy, "The Mechanisms of Media Storms," in *From Media Hype to Twitter Storm*, ed. Peter Vasterman (Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 133–148.

23. As Vliegenthart and Roggeband note, this requires that the event "dominate the news for a longer period" and "be incongruent with the way the issue has been framed before the event." These conditions arguably hold for 9/11. "Framing Immigration and Integration: Relationships between Press and Parliament in the Netherlands," *International Communication Gazette* 69, no. 3 (June 2007): 299.

24. Erin Kearns, Allison Betus, and Anthony Lemieux, "Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others?," *Justice Quarterly* 36, no. 6 (2019); A. Maurits van der Veen, "The Power of Terrorism Frames: Responses to Non-Islamist Lone-Wolf Terrorism in Europe," in *Arguing Counterterrorism*, ed. Daniela Pisoiu (New York: Routledge, 2014), 92–110; Ahmed and Matthes, "Media Representation of Muslims and Islam from 2000 to 2015.," Katherine E. Brown, "Contesting the Securitization of British Muslims: Citizenship and Resistance," *Interventions* 12, no. 2 (July 2010): 171–82; Jocelyne Cesari, "Securitization of Islam in Europe," *Die Welt Des Islams* 52, no. 3/4 (2012): 430–49; Yasmin Hussain and Paul Bagguley, "Securitized Citizens: Islamophobia, Racism and the 7/7 London Bombings," *The Sociological Review* 60, no. 4 (November 2012): 715–34.

25. The full list includes the word "extreme," plus the stems "extremis*," "fundamentalis*," "ultraconservative*," "radical*," "militant*," "fanatic*," "theocra*," "fascis*," "islamism*," and "islamofascis*," along with any references to sharia or the caliphate. Neither of the latter two are intrinsically about extremism, but we find that in U.S. media coverage they almost inevitably are.

26. An exponential moving average (here, a 90-day ema) averages the current day's value with a weighted combination of values from previous days. The weighting is exponential, weighting the most recent days most heavily.

27. "A Little Late, but a Stand Against Hate," *New York Times*, November 16, 2004. More than a decade later, this same tendency of the media to inject mentions of terrorism into stories about Muslims and Islam that otherwise have nothing to do with terrorism was once again noted by another *New York Times* journalist (Declan Walsh, "American Muslims and the Politics of Division," *The New York Times*, August 11, 2016).

28. The newspaper most likely to feature extremism words in the post-9/11 era is the *Wall Street Journal*, which does so in no less than 61% of all articles mentioning Muslim and Islam.

29. Dana Mastro and Riva Tukachinsky, "The Influence of Media Exposure on the Formation, Activation, and Application of Racial/Ethnic Stereotypes," in *The International Encyclopedia of Media Studies*, ed. Angharad N. Valdivia and Erica Scharrer, vol. 5, 7 vols. (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014).

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30. “Public Expresses Mixed Views of Islam, Mormonism,” Pew Research Center. www.pewforum.org/2007/09/26/public-expresses-mixed-views-of-islam-mormonism/.

31. Peter Morey and Amina Yaqin, *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation after 9/11*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 3.

32. As with table 1, we include only those whose frequency difference across the two corpora is both statistically significant and not too small. Also as before, we filter out proper names, as well as a few prepositions & “filler” words (“the”, “of”, “all”, “many”, “other”, “against”, “and”, “by”).

33. Strawson, “Holy War in the Media: Images of Jihad”; Alsultany, *Arabs and Muslims in the Media: Race and Representation after 9/11*, 4.

34. See, for example the *New York Times* page linking to a range of 20th anniversary articles, at www.nytimes.com/news-event/911-anniversary

35. Erik Bleich and A. Maurits van der Veen, *Covering Muslims: American Newspapers in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).