

The Representation of British Muslims in British Newspapers

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ABSTRAKT

Bakalářská práce se zabývá reprezentací britských muslimů v britských novinách metodou kritické analýzy diskurzu. Vysvětluje metodologii kritické analýzy diskurzu a aplikuje její zásady na vybrané novinové články publikované v *The Daily Telegraph* a *The Independent* za cílem zjistit, zda jsou noviny zaujaté proti britským muslimům. Bakalářská práce také porovnává rozdíly v reprezentaci britských muslimů v obou novinách.

Klíčová slova: diskurz, kritická analýza diskurzu, mediální diskurz, britští muslimové, imigranti, ideologie, rasismus v novinách

ABSTRACT

The bachelor's thesis deals with the representation of British Muslim immigrants in the British newspapers using the method of critical discourse analysis. It explains the methodology of critical discourse analysis and applies its principles on chosen articles of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* in order to find out whether the newspapers are biased against British Muslim immigrants. It also provides a comparison between the representation of British Muslims in both newspapers.

Keywords: Discourse, critical discourse analysis, media discourse, British Muslims, immigrants, ideology, racism in the news

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INTRODUCTION

The bachelor's thesis describes the representation of British Muslims in the British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* using the method of critical discourse analysis. Theoretical part of the thesis explains the terms 'discourse', 'critical discourse analysis' and 'media discourse'. Later on, it deals with the topic of language tools that might be used ideologically in the newspaper articles. It describes the use of topicalizing in newspaper headlines, presuppositions that can be hidden in the textual coherence, ideological frame of us versus them, the choice of words and the ways of naming, the ideological use of hyperboles and metaphors and the roles that the participants of events are given in the newspaper articles. Furthermore, it provides an overview of previous research conducted on the topic of racism in the news. The last two chapters of the theoretical part of the thesis contain information about history and current trends of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* newspapers.

Analytical part of the thesis uses the methodology appointed in the theoretical part. The section "Data and methodology" describes the reasons behind the choice of the newspapers and the articles used in the analysis. Ten articles of *The Daily Telegraph* and ten articles of *The Independent* are analyzed in the thesis. All of the articles were published in January 2016 and they share a topic of British Muslim immigrants. The main goal of the thesis is to analyze the articles using the method of critical discourse analysis in order to find out whether the newspapers contain bias against the Muslim minority in the United Kingdom. In the next step, the thesis compares the representation of British Muslims in the centre-right newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* and centrist *The Independent*.

I. THEORY

1 DISCOURSE

In order to fully grasp the concept of critical discourse analysis, the methodology used in the analytical part of this thesis, it is necessary to begin this work with a specification of the term discourse itself. According to Mills, during recent years discourse has found its way into various fields of study such as sociology, linguistics or philosophy. That is why it is sometimes considered to be a part of a general knowledge. The term discourse is often left undefined because of its wide range of possible significations (Mills 1997, 1). However, Yule states that discourse is often described by scholars as a language beyond the sentences. To analyse the discourse thus means to study the spoken or written forms of language (Yule 2010, 142).

The word discourse carries many meanings. According to Bloor and Bloor, in its widest form, it describes the interaction and communication between people in spoken, written or visual form. Sometimes the word discourse can be used in contrast with the word text. The word text stands for the actual written and spoken data whereas discourse is used to describe the whole act of communication including context, background information and the knowledge that is being shared. The term discourse is also often connected to the institutional settings. In this case, the situation in which the communication takes place is considered. With the emerging modern technologies visual communication combining pictures, videos, drawings, diagrams and even music with the text has also become a subject of discourse (Bloor and Bloor 2013, 1– 6). In the words of Norman Fairclough, in linguistics the term discourse is used to refer to the extended samples of spoken or written language, emphasizing the production and interpretation as well as the situational context of language in use (Fairclough 1993, 3).

1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Mills, critical discourse analysis developed as a reaction to more general forms of linguistics (formal, structural). While traditional linguistics is concerned mainly with the structure of sentences, discourse analysis focuses on language in use formed in structures starting from sentences to longer texts, as humans rarely ever communicate using single sentences alone (Mills 1997, 135). As Richardson states, critical discourse analysis is linking the linguistic analysis to the social analysis and it describes the way a language is affected by social relationships such as dominance, prejudice or discrimination (Richardson 2007, 26).

Richardson also states that the main goal of critical discourse analysis is to describe social and cultural processes, not the language itself and its use. Power relations in society are a part of discourse and they play major role in the critical discourse analysis. Discourse is shaping the society and culture while at the same time social and cultural relationships are affecting the discourse (Richardson 2007, 26). According to Bloor and Bloor, this means that critical discourse analysis is tightly connected with many disciplines that are concerned with social relations and cognitive and behavioral studies such as anthropology, sociology, ethnography or cognitive and social psychology. Partially it is also affected by literary theory and philosophy of language and communication. That makes critical discourse analysis a highly multidisciplinary field of study (Bloor and Bloor 2013, 2).

Richardson asserts that one of the main standpoints of critical discourse analysis is the fact that the use of language might be ideological and misleading. In order to determine the effect that the language can have on society, it is necessary to analyse various possible interpretations of messages that are being communicated (Richardson 2007, 27). Bloor and Bloor claim that using critical discourse analysis might reveal signs of social problems connected with injustice, dominance, danger or prejudice. It can prevent people from being influenced, misled or convinced too easily by mass media, marketing and advertisements. Critical discourse analysis might also be beneficial to establish fairer techniques of communication as it is concerned with the usage of language in different institutional discourses such as in legal, police, medical and even family settings (Bloor and Bloor 2013, 2–3).

Richardson states that critical discourse analysis seeks to describe the texts in their social conditions, ideologies and power relations. He argues that the use of language itself can not be isolated from the social context. For example racism would not be traceable in the text without considering its historical and ideological ties to society. Tackling the question of social power is the main goal of critical discourse analysis even though this field of study still remains partially unexplored (Richardson 2007, 27–29). Fairclough believes that when describing the ideological aspects of discourse it is not necessary to presume the falsity of the communicated information. However, it is important to detect the reproductions of power relations in society (Fairclough 1995, 18).

According to Richardson, both power and ideology can be contestable and tricky concepts (Richardson 2007, 29). Fairclough states that power in discourse is usually performed by powerful participants. It might be a doctor who is in control of the

conversation with the patient, an interviewer at a job interview or simply a member of a majority cultural group. Power relations communicated face-to-face are often clearer and easier to recognize than those behind written texts or audiovisual communication, where the true essence of power often remains well hidden. Hidden power relations are usually to be found in mass media – in television, radio, movies and newspapers (Fairclough 1989, 48–49).

1.2 Media Discourse

According to O’Keeffe media discourse is a kind of discourse that is communicated through a broadcast platform. It is a manufactured, public and on-record way of transmitting messages and that is why it is an attractive field for discourse analysts (O’Keeffe 2011, 441). Van Dijk states that the study of media discourse can be used in decoding the messages transmitted by mass media. Due to the critical discourse analysis current studies are more thorough than classical analyses of the content (van Dijk 1983, 20).

According to Fairclough, an important difference between face-to-face communication and media communication is that the participants are separated by place and often also by time. The face-to-face communication is usually adapted for a particular hearer while mass media are designed for everybody. Reaching everyone’s attention is fairly impossible. That is why mass media representatives are often forced to find their ideal customer and concentrate their efforts on this model participant (Fairclough 1989, 49). O’Keeffe claims that one of the distinguishing aspects of media discourse is the inability of the audience to spontaneously and instantly respond to the shared content. This fact will however be a subject of a great change in the future, as the technology progresses and new media formats are appearing (O’Keeffe 2011, 441).

As Fairclough states, media discourse and power relations within are often unclear which makes them interesting subjects of analysis. The creators of mass media discourse possess the right to decide their content. They present the events in their own way and they can include or exclude chosen facts. Yet it is not always the journalist or the reporter who is trying to maintain the power. Whether in newspapers, television or radio, there is usually some institutional authority superior to the creators of the content that controls what is and what is not being communicated to the audience (Fairclough 1989, 49–50). In the words of Richardson, media discourses are institutionally based. They might enable the institutions

to express their values and meanings through their systematically organized statements (Richardson 2007, 76).

There are different ways in which the representatives of mass media see their audience. According to Richardson, first of them sees the audience as a public with the right to be informed. Then there is a way of putting the society into the role of a victim. The audience is also often seen as a customer as the goal of mass media is after all to make a profit. Here the producers are doing their best to sell as many copies of newspapers or get as many viewers and listeners as possible. In order to do so, the content of their communication must be enjoyable, intriguing and entertaining. In today's society the consumers of mass media themselves can also be sold as a commodity to advertisers (Richardson 2007, 77–78). Fairclough states that due to many different approaches to the audience, media discourse has the power that can influence the vast majority of population which is something that is not easy to prove and might be questionable. However, the question whether the communicated social reproductions can manipulate our thinking require further attention of discourse analysts (Fairclough 1989, 54).

2 IDEOLOGICAL LANGUAGE TOOLS IN THE NEWS

According to Fowler, the content of newspapers consists of expressed ideas, beliefs and values rather than general facts about the world. Language in the news is not neutral. In fact, it is an efficient mediator between the journalist and the communicated message. The way in which events are reported is not a real reflection of the events, it is a complex, subjective and often unconscious process of selecting and transforming the information into the final publication (Fowler 1991, 1–2). In other words, as van Dijk states, the fact that is crucial for the critical discourse analysis of the news is that the ideologies can influence not only what we communicate but also how we do so (van Dijk 2003, 28).

Fowler asserts that this theory goes back to the times of Ferdinand de Saussure and Roland Barthes in the beginning of 20th century. There is a system of signs between people and the world. Signs get their meanings when they are structured into codes such as language. These codes then assign the world with categories, properties and relationships that represent certain ideological groups of people but are not present naturally in the world (Fowler 1991, 3). According to van Dijk, these groups of people create mental models that are fundamental for production and comprehension of discourses. Every person is a member of a certain ideological group and has his or her own mental model that is used and constantly updated when receiving or creating new messages (van Dijk 2003, 24).

2.1 Topicalizing

According to van Dijk, the meaning of discourse is not necessarily limited only by the meanings of the words and sentences in the text. Every discourse has its own global meaning that characterizes the most important information, describing what the given discourse is about. These kinds of information about discourses are called topics or themes and are usually to be found in newspaper headlines. Newspaper headlines might serve as powerful tools of expressing propositions as they often characterize the meaning of the whole text (van Dijk 2003, 45). Taiwo states that newspaper headlines serve as precursors to the news, evoking reader's feelings even before reading the article. That is why the choice of the right headline is so important for media editors (Taiwo 2007, 219). Taiwo adds that headlines reach the audience faster and more easily than the whole stories as almost everyone passing by the newspaper stand can get a glimpse of what the articles are about. Especially the front page newspaper headlines might serve as a mirror to society at any given time (Taiwo 2007, 222). According to van Dijk's theory, emphasizing good

things about us and bad things about them while de-emphasizing our bad characteristics and their good characteristics is used to topicalize stories connected with sensations, crimes or deviances committed by minorities much more than for example problems with racism in today's society (van Dijk 2003, 45).

2.2 Coherence and presuppositions

Another important tool that might serve ideological purposes is textual coherence. According to van Dijk, the meanings of sentences in discourse are related either locally or globally. As long as the discourse has a topic, it is globally coherent. Local coherence is harder to define. Van Dijk states that discourse is locally coherent if the actions, events or situations are related by causality or enablement. If it is possible to imagine a situation where discourse or a part of discourse could be true, it means that the discourse is locally coherent. Using coherence ideologically is not easy because it is a basic condition of every discourse. Obligatory structures in texts that do not change in context are difficult to adapt to the ideology of the author. However, it is not impossible. As van Dijk states, coherence is relative and thus might have ideological dimension. As an example of a coherence that presupposes certain assumption he gives a sentence "He is from Nigeria but a very good worker.", which automatically evokes the image that the Nigerian workers are usually bad (van Dijk 2003, 48–49).

Fairclough states that the coherence of texts is underpinned by propositions that are taken for granted by readers and participants (Fairclough 1993, 23). He also asserts that coherence is a property of interpretation. The author of the text sets positions that are possible to connect and make sense in accordance with general interpretative principles (Fairclough 1993, 84).

2.3 Us versus them

According to van Dijk, one of the most common ideological tools in the language of the news is the usage of ideological frame of "us versus them" (van Dijk 2003, 43–44). As van Dijk asserts, there are different ideological groups of people with different mental models (van Dijk 2003, 21). He points out that members of certain groups would refer to themselves as "us", creating mostly a positive image of their group. While members of other groups are referred to as "them" and often given negative connotations. There is a so called ideological square that can be applied to analysis of the discourse. It concerns four

ways of addressing us and them: emphasizing good things about us and negative things about them while de-emphasizing negative things about us and positive things about them (van Dijk 2003, 43–44). Fowler also describes the media's concentration on only one privileged ideological group of people. This kind of imbalance between our group and the groups of others results in partiality (Fowler 1991, 22).

2.4 The choice of words

According to Richardson, the first step in analysing newspapers is often the lexical analysis. Almost every word but especially nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs carry both connoted and denoted meanings and thus can be used to express judgement. As an example Richardson uses an article from *The Guardian Weekly* that examined words that were used by journalists when describing 1991 war with Iraq. While Americans in the articles usually owned “army”, “navy” and “airforce”, the Iraqis were equipped with “war machines”. While the United States were “eliminating”, “suppressing” or “neutralising”, Iraq was simply “killing” and “destroying”. The soldiers on the American side were referred to as “boys” or “lads”, while Iraqi soldiers were mostly called “troops” and “hordes” (Richardson 2007, 48). The lexical choices in the newspapers directly influence the ideological frame of the communicated messages. It is obvious from the example that the words were used to emphasize the negative things about “them” Iraqis and to de-emphasize the wrongdoings of “us” Americans. Fowler states that there are always different options how to state things and the differences are not random or accidental. In fact, they are the carriers of the ideological distinctions. The choice of words is just a small yet the most obvious part of expressing the ideology through language (Fowler 1991, 4–5).

2.5 Naming

Another important feature connected with lexical analysis is the way journalists name things. Richardson states that we all possess a variety of identities, roles and characteristics. All of those can be used to describe us yet they do not have the same meaning. It is upon journalists how they decide to portray the participants of events that they are describing. They can choose to describe people according to their social category such as “Muslim”, “female”, “blonde”, “divorcee”, “British”, “communist” and many others. By using one category journalists often exclude the participants from other social categories they belong to or background equally important categories. This strategy can

significantly influence the image the readers create about people in the news because of the connotations hidden in the texts (Richardson 2007, 50–51).

More importantly, as Richardson shows, the media are responsible for providing readers with the information about the victim and the one who is to blame when reporting any kind of incident. By choosing the right words, the media can influence our judgement of people even before the readers find out what exactly had happened in the given situation. Richardson gives an example of a sexual attack. If the author of the article decides that a man is responsible for the attack, he would most often refer to him with a pejorative, animalistic or inhuman name such as “monster”, “beast” or “maniac”. However, there are also ways how the journalist can blame the woman responsible for causing the attack by giving her names that can evoke the possibility that she somehow provoked or seduced the attacker. In this case the author would probably use names as “divorcee”, “busty blonde”, “lolita” or “unmarried mom”. On the other hand, if men are to blame, women would be portrayed in ways that suggest innocence and purity, such as “mother of three”, “school girl” or “bride” (Richardson 2007, 50–51).

According to van Dijk, it depends solely on the author how many details about people or events he or she provides us with. The choice of facts that are shared with public and those that are kept hidden is not ideologically neutral. This theory again agrees with van Dijk’s ideological square of us versus them as the authors are usually more specific when it comes to describing positive things about “us” and negative things about “them” than other way round (van Dijk 2003, 46).

2.6 Hyperbole

According to Richardson, hyperbole is a form of excessive exaggeration. While tabloids usually use hyperbole to create the feeling of sensation or humour, when connected to topics such as ethnic minorities it can have completely different connotations (Richardson 2007, 65). According to van Dijk, dramatization and negativization of events are often closely connected to ethnic minorities (van Dijk 1991, 67). While the crimes of “them”, the other social groups of people, tend to be exaggerated, “our” negative actions are often softened. Van Dijk uses an example of a controversial black councillor Bernie Grant and disturbances around him described as “riots” and “mob war”; and the case of West Indian stabbing a policeman as “hacking down and mutilating in a fury of bloodlust”. Meanings might be emphasized or de-emphasized depending on the criteria of the author

(van Dijk 1991, 219). Van Dijk adds that although the hyperbole itself might be ideologically neutral, its use can be selective especially in the situations where ethnic minorities are discussed, emphasizing “their” bad deeds and de-emphasizing “our” mistakes (van Dijk 1991, 220–221).

2.7 Metaphor

According to Fairclough, metaphor used to be seen only as a part of literary language, especially in poetry. Recent works of scholars however showed that metaphors can be found in all kinds of texts and discourses. When the author of the text chooses one metaphor over another to signify certain things, he or she makes a choice depending on his or her construction of reality. The choice of metaphors is not ideologically neutral and it reveals information about the mindset of the journalist (Fairclough 1993, 198). Richardson states that specific kinds of journalism are usually connected with certain sets of metaphors that are commonly used. Perceiving one thing in terms of another is often used to help the readers understand the text. For example in sports, expressions connected to war are usually used. As Richardson states, war is something that is often seen as out of proportion and having no specific reason. People do not usually look for the realistic practical outcome of the war. This kind of perception is created when describing sport events, using words and phrases such as “shoot”, “heroes”, “defence”, “attack” or “under siege”. On the other hand, war itself is often described using sport, business or political metaphors in order to be more understandable for wider public. However, the usage of metaphors can also successfully hide the true image and the real consequences of war. Speaking of war in terms of a game or a business keeps the reality of victims and the real blood and misery hidden in the text (Richardson 2007, 66–67).

2.8 Actions

According to van Dijk, sentence syntax is another important factor of the critical discourse analysis of the news. It provides readers with the information about semantic roles of the participants and their active or passive roles in the text (van Dijk 1988, 11). Richardson uses the term transitivity for describing relationships between participants and their actions. Usually there is a variety of choices how to refer to actions and every journalist can describe them differently. Richardson describes the four types of verbs in English language: verbal, such as speaking, shouting or singing; mental such as thinking,

dreaming or deciding; relational such as have, seem and be; and then the material verbs (Richardson 2007, 54–55).

As Richardson states, material verbs can be divided into transitive ones, involving more than one participant, and intransitive ones with only one participant. Transitive actions involve the agent and the object of the action and they might be presented both in the active (“Jane punched Tom.”) or the passive way (“Tom was punched by Jane.”). Richardson describes a common technique used by the media today which is deleting the agent of the sentence, leaving the readers wonder who actually punched Tom (“Tom was punched.”). This process is commonly used to remove political implications (Richardson 2007, 54–56). Van Dijk gives an example about demonstrators. He states that if the newspaper used headline “Police kills demonstrator.”, all the attention would automatically go to the police as the agent of this action. If the headline is “Demonstrator killed by police.”, the role of police is significant yet not as important as in the first case. The headline “Demonstrator killed.” makes the article ambiguous and the role of the police questionable. Following this example is typical for a wide range of today’s newspapers (van Dijk 1988, 11).

3 RACISM IN THE NEWS

According to van Dijk, racism still remains one of the most ominous problems in today's society. Although majority of white people may no longer believe in white racial supremacy many daily practices of individuals and institutions still implement the system of white dominance and that is hardly ever challenged. Discourse and the use of language play a major role in reproducing the remaining white supremacy stereotype (van Dijk 1991, 9–10). According to Elgamri, the media are a firm part of our everyday lives and they serve as a complex information system about certain aspects of society. He states that the most important role of the media is the agenda-setting and representation. Knowing that the media are powerful and influential in creating the image of the events in the mindsets of wide public, first it is necessary to set the agenda for what is considered important. Media do not reflect reality. Instead they filter the information leading the public into what is important, what is not and what to think about it (Elgamri 2008, 7–8).

Van Dijk asserts that over 20 years of research has shown that the media tends to be racist. It has limited the access of the members of the ethnic minorities in hiring, promotion and providing their points of view in the press. Even today the ethnic affairs are described stereotypically. Minorities and immigrants are almost always associated with crime, violence, conflicts and unacceptable cultural differences. The point of view of the white men prevails. Van Dijk illustrates this on the conclusions of a number of studies of racism in the British press carried out since the early 1970s. According to a famous study of Hartmann and Husband, the British press keeps describing Britain as a white society. Members of the ethnic minorities including Muslims are usually presented as a kind of problem for society and not as its integral part. Critcher, Parker, and Sondhi arrived at the same conclusion few years later, describing the negative perception of black men. In 1981 Troyna came to surprisingly similar findings when researching articles about Asian refugees in Britain (van Dijk 1991, 17–21). According to Abbas, newspapers today rest in fewer hands than ever before. The control of the press is maintained by a few industry leaders. The views of the small number of people owning the news are however shared with wide public and that plays a major role in supporting race and class inequalities (Abbas 2001, 248).

As van Dijk asserts, ideologies such as communism, feminism as well as racism are inherent parts of social life and can not exist in vacuum. Thus, in order to fully grasp the

concept of racism in the news it is necessary to know something about the history of racial issues in society (van Dijk 2003, 38).

3.1 Portrayal of Muslims in the News

According to Elgamri, the last two decades brought immense changes especially in the Arab and Muslim world and all the events were closely witnessed by the world's media. Current debates about Islam in the media suggest that Islam is represented as a threat to the western world. This conception of Islam began with the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979. The region was often used as a major theme of the British press which has helped to create the newspaper image of Islam and Muslims known today. The events continued with the death threat of Ayatollah Khomeini addressed to Salman Rushdie (1989), the Paris Metro bombings (1996), Osama bin Laden and the bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania (1998), the attacks on the World Trade Center (2001) and have not stopped until today. The British press is often blamed responsible for adding the fuel to the fire of islamophobia and encouraging the discrimination against Muslims by connecting Islam with Islamic militancy, terrorism, violence and antipathies to the Western world. (Elgamri 2008, 7–11). According to Abbas, islamophobia as such is not a new concept as it exists since the very beginning of the religion. However, the British press is known to be one of the biggest promoters of anti-Muslim propaganda (Abbas 2001, 245). According to Jaspal and Cinnirella, British newspapers have never given as much space, time and attention to Muslims as after September 11 2001 (Jaspal and Cinnirella 2009, 289). Poole points out that prior to the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center which have completely changed the political and social context and shaped the way Muslims are being portrayed in media today, Muslims used to be seen as a threat to “our” values and drain to “our” resources. Today, more than ten years after the attacks, connection of Muslim minorities with security threats, extremism and terrorism prevails (Poole 2011, 59).

4 THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

As stated on Spartacus Educational website, *The Daily Telegraph and Courier* was established by Colonel Arthur Sleight in 1855. However, back then it was not capable of paying for its own print and so the printer company JM Levy took over with a simple motto to be the best, the largest and the cheapest newspaper in the world (Spartacus Educational 2014). According to Fuller, later in the Victorian Era the paper was on the centre-left of the political spectrum and continued under the name *The Daily Telegraph*. In the beginning of the 20th century many new rivals entered the market, among others *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*. Both of them were aimed mainly at the middle-class readership just like *The Daily Telegraph*. During the Second World War *The Daily Telegraph* got into problems with the law when reporting the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. Later on Nazi authorities banned the newspaper for its coverage of the Night of the Long Knives. The ban was later repeatedly lifted and revived. In 1939 *The Daily Telegraph's* reporter Clare Hollingworth found out about German forces planning to invade Poland and anonymously reported this case on the front-page. In the post-war years the newspaper could resume its way towards increasing sales. Despite the record sales in 1970s and 1980s the unions increased their grip and *The Daily Telegraph* was affected by strikes of employees. However, in 1992 the newspaper proved itself to be strong enough to win a price war with Robert Murdoch and in the beginning of the new millennium *The Daily Telegraph* stood strong again yet with many turbulent changes ahead. Today the newspaper is mostly concerned with its online version although it still remains the market leading newspaper in the United Kingdom (Fuller 2016). According to International Business Times, in the 2015 general election *The Daily Telegraph* endorsed the centre-right Conservative Party (International Business Times, 2015).

5 THE INDEPENDENT

According to Blackhurst, *The Independent* was launched in 1986 by Andreas Whittam-Smith and his two co-founders, Stephen Glower and Matthew Symonds. Their goal was to create a new British newspaper with a reputation for its quality and innovative approach. *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *Financial Times* were already on the market so *The Independent* had to stand side by side with its strong competition. In the beginning the newspaper design was clean and simple with a lot of white space and black and white photographs. The main topics of *The Independent* were politics, business, foreign news, the arts and books. *The Independent* was aimed at educated and liberal audience and it was standing outside the parliamentary lobby system. In March 1992 during the general elections *The Independent* reached higher sales than Rupert Murdoch's *The Times* which caused cutting the price of *The Times* newspapers. *The Independent's* reaction was to raise its own price to prove their independence to the readers. However the newspapers have never completely recovered as they could not compete with the price of *The Times* despite their innovations in the form of Sunday news, smaller and more comfortable format and renewed design (Blackhurst 2016). According to *Press Gazette*, the current editor of *The Independent* is Amol Rajan and the newspaper is owned by London based Russian businessman Evgeny Lebedev. The main goal of *The Independent* today is to develop pioneering 24/7 integrated newsroom that would differentiate them from the competition (Press Gazette 2013). As stated in the International Business Times, *The Independent* has a history of supporting centre-left political parties. However, in the last general election of 2015 they have endorsed a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition (International Business Times 2015).

II. ANALYSIS

6 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

For the analytical part of this thesis I have chosen twenty articles dealing with Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom from two British newspapers. Ten articles were collected from centre-right newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* and ten articles from centrist *The Independent* in order to compare and contrast them using the method of critical discourse analysis. Both these newspapers provide their archives online and the articles are available free of charge for wide public. All the analyzed articles were published in the news section of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* in January 2016. This month was chosen as, according to Finnigan, the number of British Muslims reached three millions for the first time in history as a result of immigration and high birth rates (Finnigan 2016). In January 2016 David Cameron also announced his plans to teach Muslim women immigrants English and caused debates concerning the integration of the Muslim community.

I have chosen only those articles that are dealing with the Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom. I researched the archives using the keywords ‘British’, ‘Muslim’ and ‘immigrant’ and aligned the articles according to their relevance. I removed several articles describing the events in the Middle East, terrorist attacks in Paris, the New Year’s Eve sexual assaults in Cologne and articles concerning Donald Trump’s anti-Islam policy.

The analysis applies principles of critical discourse analysis and uses the methodology described in the theoretical part of this thesis. Firstly, it deals with topicalizing, investigating the main themes in the newspaper headlines. Then it examines possible presuppositions hidden in the textual coherence. Later on, it looks at the adoption of van Dijk’s ideological frame of “us versus them” in the chosen texts and describes the words used in connection with Muslim population in the United Kingdom. It looks for the different social categories that are used to describe Muslim immigrants and possible hyperboles and metaphors serving ideological purposes in the texts. At last, it describes the semantic roles allocated to Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom. The analysis compares the usage of different ideological tools in the articles published in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* and tries to discover whether the two British newspapers are biased against Muslim immigrants according to the chosen texts.

7 ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

7.1 Topicalizing

As stated above, the shared topic of the ten articles from *The Daily Telegraph* and ten articles from *The Independent* is the Muslim immigrant minority in the United Kingdom. According to van Dijk, the most important information about the theme of the article is often to be found in newspaper headlines (van Dijk 2003, 45). As Taiwo asserts, the headline of the article usually evokes reader's feelings about certain topic even before reading the article itself (Taiwo 2007, 219).

Both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* news headlines often concern David Cameron and his proposal to teach Muslim women English. The name of the British Prime Minister is mentioned in three headlines of *The Daily Telegraph*, shown in examples (1), (2) and (3), and three of *The Independent's* headlines, illustrated in examples (4), (5) and (6).

- (1) "Cameron's proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense" (19 January 2016),
- (2) "David Cameron backs bans on Muslim face veils as Tories plan crackdown on gender segregation" (18 January 2016),
- (3) "Are David Cameron's English Lessons for Muslim women simply reversing his own cuts?" (18 January 2016).
- (4) "Cameron announces 'funding' for English classes six months after £45 million cuts" (18 January 2016),
- (5) "David Cameron prompts backlash by announcing plans to teach Muslim women English" (18 January 2016),
- (6) "David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test" (18 January 2016).

While example (1) is strongly against David Cameron's proposals and examples (3), (4) and (5) imply criticism, (2) and (6) do not provide perspective of the newspapers.

Other four of *The Daily Telegraph's* headlines evoke rather negative connotations with regard to Muslim minority. There is one headline in *The Daily Telegraph* directly

connecting the Muslim immigrants with words such as ‘extremists’ and ‘terror’: “Muslim extremists’ ‘campaign of lies’ to undermine the government’s fights against terror” (30 January 2016). Two other headlines are directed against the integration of Muslim immigrants into British society: “Yes, Muslims are different. No, we shouldn’t accept that” (27 January 2016) and “This open door immigration policy can’t go on” (23 January 2016). Another headline uses the ideological frame of us versus them: “Teach Muslim women English for their sake, not ours” (18 January 2016).

There are two headlines with rather positive connotations about Muslim immigrants in *The Daily Telegraph*: “When it comes to integrating immigrants, friendship is the key” (24 January 2016) and “Only Muslim women can reform Islam” (20 January 2016). The second example might carry positive connotations about Muslim women. The last headline of *The Daily Telegraph*, “Number of Muslims exceeds three million for first time” (31 January 2016), is neutral.

Two of *The Independent’s* headlines give Muslims in the United Kingdom negative connotations. “18 terror suspects escaped the UK to join jihadi groups while being monitored by MI5 and police” (10 January 2016) and “Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation” (25 January 2016) highlight ‘radicalisation’, ‘terror suspects’ and ‘jihadi groups’ in connection with Muslim community.

There is one headline presenting the immigrants in positive light: “Britain’s rising immigrant stars from Xiaolu Guo to Noma Dumezweni” (3 January 2016) and three of the headlines are putting the immigrants rather to the position of victims: “Why English is such a difficult language to learn?” (20 January 2016), “Natalie Bennett and Oona Chaplin call for UK to give refugees safe passage at memorial for 15 year old Afghan boy” (18 January 2016) and “British Asian man ‘victim of racial profiling’ by US border officials” (26 January 2016). The last headline “Leaving the EU will not stop immigration to the UK, says leader of campaign to stay in the EU Stuart Rose” (25 January 2016) carries no implications.

From the given examples, five of the headlines carry negative connotations with regard to the Muslim community in the United Kingdom. Four out of six articles describing David Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women imply criticism of his actions and thus rather sympathize with Muslim immigrants. There are only two headlines with explicit positive connotations regarding the Muslim community and only one headline that refers to the success of Muslim immigrants in arts, sports, science or business. Furthermore, three of the

The Independent's headlines put immigrants into the positions of victims which is not to be found in the headlines of *The Daily Telegraph*.

7.2 Coherence and presuppositions

This part of the analysis examines presuppositions hidden in the texts. As Fairclough states, coherence is underpinned by propositions that are taken for granted by readers (Fairclough 1993, 23).

The Daily Telegraph uses presuppositions in the textual coherence in seven out of ten articles. They present variety of stereotypes, mostly concerning Muslim women and the radicalisation of British Muslim population. The article “Only Muslim women can reform Islam” starts with a simple question ‘*How free are women who only see their city through a letterbox slit?*’, as if every Muslim woman in Britain was wearing headscarf. Later on, by stating that David Cameron’s plan is ‘*to bring Muslim women into mainstream society*’, it is automatically presumed that British Muslim women are not considered a part of mainstream society. The article also states that Muslim women ‘*have got quite enough outrageous sexism to deal with*’, asks the question whether all cultures are equal, ‘*even the ones that threat 14-year-old-girl like brood mares*’ and says that single-sex faith schools ‘*equip girls only to be silent handmaidens*’ (20 January 2016). All these examples carry a stereotype of Muslim culture as a culture that disadvantages women. It also claims that Muslim women with their face veils look scary, stating that ‘*no one outside their community wants to talk to them because they look scary*’. Similarly, “Are David Cameron’s English lessons for Muslim women simply reversing his own cuts?” states that Cameron’s proposals for women to learn English ‘*tackle extremism*’, which assumes that Muslim women who do not speak English fluently are predisposed to become radicalised (18 January 2016).

The Daily Telegraph presents Muslim women in need to be protected. “Cameron’s proposals for Muslims women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense” states that the government proposed to ‘*protect*’ and ‘*help*’ migrant women (19 January 2016).

The idea that Muslim women work less than other British citizens is presented in “Teach Muslim women English – for their sake, not ours” with a sentence: ‘*Of course, there are reasons other than English that Muslim women are less likely than others to work.*’. Kirkup in his articles for *The Daily Telegraph* also writes about Muslim

immigrants *'becoming more like the rest of us'*, which shows the author's idea that Muslims are not like the rest of the British citizens. (18 January 2016)

In *The Daily Telegraph's* "David Cameron backs bans on Muslim face veils as Tories plan crackdown on gender segregation" it is presupposed that British Muslims and their children are travelling to the Middle East and participating in terrorism. The article states that *'the Government prepared measures designed to stop British Muslims becoming radicalised and traveling to the Middle East to join terrorist groups'*. It also states that *'schools will be encouraged to carry out checks to ensure their children are not travelling abroad to fight alongside jihadists'* (18 January 2016).

The Independent carries similar presuppositions about Muslim women as *The Daily Telegraph* but their occurrence is less frequent. Four out of ten articles show stereotypes about Muslim immigrants. "Why English is such a difficult language to learn" states that the Prime Minister wants *'more Muslim women in the United Kingdom to be taught English to reduce segregation between different linguistic communities and even limit the lure of extremism'* (20 January 2016). "David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test" says that *'Cameron calls on Muslim women to learn English to fight radicalisation'* (18 January 2016). These two examples do not only create the image that the majority of women amongst British Muslims do not speak English well but also associates the level of language with radicalisation.

Muslim women in general are presented in need of help with English in the article "David Cameron prompts backlash by announcing plans to teach Muslim women English". It describes Cameron's plans to *'help more Muslim women to speak fluent English'*. (18 January 2016). Furthermore, the article "Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation" states about Muslim women that *'these same mothers will be doubtless trying to raise their children to have sound ethics and morals, ready to make a contribution to society just like any good English-speaking mother – just through another language'* (25 January 2016), as if there were reasons to believe that women speaking languages other than English would not raise their children well.

Based on these examples, it is possible to assume that the British Prime minister portrays the Muslim community in the United Kingdom as in need of help from the government. In both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* he describes Muslim women as segregated from the rest of the society. The main reason behind their isolation is

the lack of fluent English. He repeatedly uses the connection between radicalisation, inadequate language skills and segregation, which presupposes his concern about radicalisation in those Muslim families that are developing separately from the non-Muslim British society and thus can not be overseen by the British public authorities.

7.3 Us versus them

According to van Dijk, the usage of ideological frame of “us versus them” is one of the most common ideological tools in the language of the news (van Dijk 2003, 43–44). This chapter describes the level of referring to British Muslim immigrants as to “them” and other British citizens as to “us”. It investigates the negative connotations associated with “them” and positive characteristics concerning the non-Muslim British population.

Even though British Muslim immigrants are often referred to as “them” in *The Daily Telegraph*, this label is usually not connected with negative connotations. Except for “Yes, Muslims are different. No, we shouldn’t accept that”, no other of *The Daily Telegraph*’s articles deals with the differences between “them” Muslims and other British citizens. The article criticizes the negative quotes of former British politician Trevor Phillips and explains that ‘*we should accept that Muslims are different and respect their different ways*’ (27 January 2016). Furthermore, “This open-door immigration policy can’t go on” states that ‘*our population is set to grow by nearly 10 million people in the next two years*’. Even though majority will be ‘*due to immigration*’, the article calls the entire population “our” (23 January 2016).

Muslim immigrant women are often referred to as “them” vulnerable ones in need of our help with English language in the articles of *The Daily Telegraph*. “Teach Muslim women English – for their sake, not ours” states that not being able to speak fluent English ‘*makes those women poorer and sicker and denied the chance to compete and make the most of themselves*’ (18 January 2016). “Only Muslim women can reform Islam” states that ‘*girls from Islamic schools are covered in black from head to toe and no one outside their community wants to talk to them because they look scary. They never get access to the opportunities enjoyed by other British young women*’. Later on, it says that ‘*by adapting to immigrants instead of other way around, we put the women at a terrible disadvantage*’, meaning that it is necessary for Muslim immigrants to integrate themselves into the British society, otherwise they will be disadvantaged in all spheres of life (20 January 2016).

The idea of Muslim women in need of our help is criticized in the article “Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense”, which states that *‘the government is proposing to protect migrant women by persecuting them’*. It says that *‘Muslim women are used as a sacrificial lamb while we in the UK like our prejudice couched in a little more fluff. We prefer to cover it up in faux concern for the women at hand’*, which describes British society as hypocritical - showing false concern for Muslim women, while in fact remaining prejudiced against Muslim immigrants (19 January 2016).

The Independent refers to the Muslim community as to “them” but does not use the ideological frame of us versus them to highlight bad characteristics. Four of the articles are concerned with David Cameron’s quotes about Muslim women. In “Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation” Cameron says that *‘the government’s English lessons should help Muslim women in the United Kingdom from becoming second-class citizens and their children from getting radicalized’*, which is criticized by the author of the article as a *‘hypocrisy’*. He states that *‘we should all start to worry about who exactly are the extremists and just where the real threats to our civil society and its values lie’*, commenting on Cameron’s association of inadequate level of English of Muslim women and radicalisation (25 January 2016).

In the following examples, David Cameron similarly states that Muslim immigrants must learn English in order to be integrated into British society. In “David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test” Cameron calls Muslim women immigrants *‘those in the greatest level of isolation’*. However, he states that *‘people coming to our country have responsibility too’* and that *‘the newcomers can not be guaranteed the right to stay’* in case they do not improve their language skills (18 January 2016). In “David Cameron prompts backlash by announcing plans to teach Muslim women English” Cameron says *‘we will now say if you do not improve your fluency, that could affect your ability to stay in the UK’*. He calls the *‘separate development’* of Muslim women and the rest of the British society a *‘passive tolerance that has to be ended’*, which assumes that British society according to Cameron has been tolerant towards the lack of English of Muslim women and that might be the reason of radicalization in the Muslim community (18 January 2016).

On the other hand, *The Independent’s* “Why English is such a difficult language to learn” sympathizes with people having difficulties learning English. By stating *‘most of us who have tried it probably feel that learning a new language is difficult’* the author refers

to the Muslim immigrants trying to learn English as to “us”, who have tried learning a new language. (20 January 2016).

Both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* refer to Muslim immigrants as to “them”. However, in most of the cases, they do not use the ideological frame of us versus them to highlight negative characteristics of Muslims and positive things about the non-Muslim British society. *The Daily Telegraph* as well as *The Independent* criticize David Cameron’s portrayal of women as victims in need of our help and there is a difference between Cameron’s portrayal of Muslims and the newspaper’s point of view. Both newspapers are rather critical about the way British Muslims are treated by the British authorities and about David Cameron’s latest proposals concerning English lessons for Muslim women and his association of lack of English with radicalization. Furthermore, examples of referring to the Muslim population in the United Kingdom as of “us” can be found in at least one article of both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent*.

7.4 The choice of words

The judgement expressed through the choice of words performed by the journalists of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* is described in this part of the thesis. Words carry both denotative and connotative meanings and their use can be ideological (Richardson 2007, 48). Both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* use words that might be evoking reader’s presuppositions about Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom and the current policies of David Cameron.

In six out of ten articles of *The Daily Telegraph* the topic of Muslim immigration in the United Kingdom contained words such as ‘radicalisation’, ‘extremism’, ‘jihad’, ‘segregation’ and ‘terrorism’. “When it comes to integrating immigrants, friendship is the key” asks the question how to integrate Muslims when *‘Islamic extremism is present in society and there are extra tensions created by global Islamic extremism’* (24 January 2016). “Teach Muslim women English – for their sake, not ours” comments on Cameron’s *‘link of poor language skills with Islamic radicalism and terrorism’*. Later on it states that *‘many jihadists were fluent members of British society’* and that *‘radicalisation may be a by-product of segregation’* (18 January 2016). “Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense” describes the combination of gender segregation, face veils and fluency in English as *‘problematic barriers to community cohesion and a part of struggle with terrorism’*. Cameron links *‘isolation’* and *‘segregation’* of Muslim

women to *'extremism'* and *'hate crimes'* (19 January 2016). "Are David Cameron's English lessons for Muslim women simply reversing his own cuts?" quotes Cameron *'calling for more Muslim women to learn English to tackle extremism'* (18 January 2016). "Muslim extremists 'campaign of lies' to undermine the government's fight against terror" describes the government's fight against terrorism and comments on a group of *'Islamic activists that sympathises with terrorists, spreading fear and confusion about the anti-terror policy'* and describes primary schools pupils *'at risk of radicalisation'* (30 January 2016). "David Cameron backs bans on Muslim face veils as Tories plan crackdown on gender segregation" introduces series of measures to *'stop British Muslims becoming radicalised and traveling to the Middle East to join terrorist groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant'* (18 January 2016).

Three of *The Daily Telegraph's* articles used words that carry negative connotations in connection with David Cameron and his English lesson proposals. "Teach Muslim women English – for their sake, not ours" describes Cameron's proposals as a *'bucket list of social reforms'* (18 January 2016). According to Francois-Cerrah, his proposals are *'dog-whistling nonsense'* that will lead to criminalisation of Muslim women and there is no need for more of this *'muscular liberalism'* (19 January 2016). "Are David Cameron's English lessons for Muslim women simply reversing his own cuts?" quotes John Prescott accusing the government of *'hypocrisy'* (18 January 2016).

The Independent uses words connected with 'radicalisation', 'extremism', 'jihad', 'segregation' and 'terrorism' in four out of ten articles. "Cameron announces 'funding' for English classes six months after £45 million cuts" describes Cameron's attempts to prevent radicalisation with English classes and it is concerned with the association that Cameron makes between the *'lack of English and vulnerability to extremism'* (18 January 2016), "Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation" describes the assumption that *'if mothers could speak fluently then their children would not become radicalized and second-class citizens'*. It states that *'some of the parents of would-be jihadis who have run off to Syria speak fluent English'* (25 January 2016). "Why English is such a difficult language to learn" states that *'Cameron wants more Muslim women in the United Kingdom to be taught English to reduce segregation and limit the lure of extremism'* (20 January 2016). "UK allows 18 jihadists to flee country while under monitoring from MI5 and police" describes the story of 18 terror suspects who *'escaped the country to join Isis or jihadist groups'* (10 January 2016).

The choice of words in at least four of the articles in *The Independent* describes Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom as victims. “David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test” states that ‘*Muslim women are being forced into learning English and they are targets of the anti-terror policy*’ (18 January 2016). “British Asian man ‘victim of racial profiling’ by US border officials” quotes the British Asian man being ‘*dehumanized by US racial profiling at the airport*’ (26 January 2016). Two other examples show British Muslims as victims of radicalisation themselves. “Why English is such a difficult language to learn” states there is a ‘*lure of extremism for Muslim community*’ (20 January 2016). Similarly, in “Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation” Cameron asserts that ‘*not speaking English might make people more susceptible to the extremist message and more vulnerable to radicalisation*’ (25 January 2016).

The use of words connected with Islamic extremism appears in six articles of *The Daily Telegraph* and four articles of *The Independent*. Even though the articles might sympathize with the Muslim population in the United Kingdom, words connected to terrorism and radicalisation provoke negative stereotyping and evoke feelings of fear. However, both newspapers use words that are rather in favor of the Muslim community as well. *The Daily Telegraph’s* choice of words in three of its articles aim to criticize David Cameron’s proposals about teaching Muslim women English and four articles of *The Independent* choose words that describe Muslim immigrants as victims of those measures.

7.5 Naming

This part of the thesis deals with the different social categories that are used by *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* to describe Muslim immigrants in the United Kingdom. Given the fact that ‘Muslim’ and ‘immigrants’ are already social categories, this chapter describes other characteristic features that are used in the texts to portray British Muslim immigrants.

The Daily Telegraph uses variety of social categories associated with marital status and family when referring to Muslim women. “Only Muslim women can reform Islam” describes Muslim women as ‘*mothers and wives that can teach their sons better*’ (20 January 2016). “Teach Muslim women English – for their sake, not ours” regards Muslim women as mothers as they link ‘*mothers’ poor language skills with radicalisation*’ (18 January 2016). “Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling

nonsense” describes Muslim women as ‘*spouses*’ or ‘*women on spousal visas*’ (19 January 2016). “Muslim extremists ‘campaign of lies’ to undermine the governments fight against terror” describes Muslim woman affected by the events as ‘*the mother in the eco-terrorist case*’ (30 January 2016).

In other cases women in *The Daily Telegraph* are referred to as victims. In “Only Muslim women can reform Islam” the women are called ‘*subjugated females within*’, ‘*silent handmaidens*’ and ‘*second-class citizens*’ (20 January 2016). “Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense” describes Muslim women as ‘*domestic violence victims*’, ‘*sacrificial lambs of immigration*’ and ‘*walking symbols of acceptable prejudice*’ (19 January 2016).

British Muslim community as such is depicted with no negative implications in *The Daily Telegraph*. The article “When it comes to integrating immigrants, friendship is the key” Muslim immigrants are assigned with words ‘*newcomers*’, ‘*incomers*’, ‘*Muslim minority*’ and ‘*ethnic-minority*’ (24 January 2016). “This open-door immigration policy can’t go on” describes immigrants as ‘*asylum seekers*’ and ‘*applicants*’ (23 January 2016).

The Independent refers to Muslim women as to ‘*mothers*’, ‘*wives*’ and ‘*spouses*’ but does not present as many examples of naming British Muslim immigrants according to their family and marital status as *The Daily Telegraph*. In the article “Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation” Muslim women are regarded to as ‘*mothers that should speak English fluently in order to keep their children from radicalisation*’ (25 January 2016) and in “David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test” as ‘*spouses and mothers facing deportation from their husbands and children*’ (18 January 2016).

From given examples of both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* it seems that Muslim women in the United Kingdom are seen as mothers, spouses and wives in the first place. Mostly they are mentioned in connection with their lack of English language skills and the effect that it is going to have on their children. That might create the image that Muslim women are uneducated, unemployed and not engaging in social activities in order to fulfil their roles as mothers, spouses and wives, which is a part of the stereotype describing Muslim culture as a patriarchal culture that disadvantages women.

7.6 Hyperbole

According to Richardson, hyperboles are forms of excessive exaggeration. (Richardson 2007, 65). This part of the thesis deals with the hyperboles used in connection with British Muslim immigrant minority in the articles of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* and describes their function in the text.

The Daily Telegraph contains hyperboles in seven out of ten articles. Usually the hyperboles are used as a form of irony; not to spread negative connotations about Muslim immigrants but rather to detract from the stereotypes and to criticize British policies. “Only Muslim women can reform Islam” states that ‘*if you live in the UK you can still treat your wives as if you were back in rural Pakistan*’. The article states that ‘*no one is ever going to convince me that shrouding a woman’s body and face says anything other than subjugated female within*’ (20 January 2016). “Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense” states that Cameron’s propositions are ‘*policies of an isolated elite, ignorant of the actual problems faced by people in real world yet bewitched by a phantasmagorical reimagining of themselves as purveyors of an egalitarian agenda*’. It also states that Cameron’s ideas are causing the anti-immigrant voices ‘*baying for political blood*’ (19 January 2016). “Muslim extremists’ ‘campaign of lies’ to undermine the government’s fight against terror” states that ‘*a child simply praying has now become an act that requires state surveillance and intervention*’ (30 January 2016).

In other cases, hyperboles in *The Daily Telegraph* are used in connection with the refugee crisis and its uncontrollable character. “This open-door immigration policy can’t go on” describes a ‘*flood of claims of asylum-seekers*’ and ‘*the applicants piling up in Calais to make their way to England*’. It states that ‘*the country already has changed beyond recognition*’ (23 January 2016). “Number of UK Muslims exceeds three million for first time” says that mass immigration is ‘*rapidly changing the nature of society*’ and that there is ‘*unprecedented surge in refugees*’ (31 January 2016). These examples evoke the feelings of uncontrollable and nameless mass of people heading towards the United Kingdom and bringing changes to the society.

The Independent uses fewer hyperboles than *The Daily Telegraph*. Four articles use hyperboles to criticize the British and American immigration policies. “David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test” repeats the phrase ‘*breaking up of Muslim families*’ in order to highlight the seriousness of the impacts that Cameron’s proposals might have on British Muslim

families (18 January 2016). The last example is used in “British Asian man ‘victim of racial profiling’ by US border officials”, saying that he was ‘*treated like a dirt*’ by officials when crossing the US border (26 January 2016).

The Daily Telegraph uses fairly more hyperboles in connection with British Muslim immigrants than *The Independent*. Most of *The Daily Telegraph*’s hyperboles are used to exaggerate certain stereotypes about Muslims in order to prove their irrelevancy. The rest of the hyperboles point out the growing numbers of immigrants and the changes in the character of the United Kingdom due to the refugee crisis, which might evoke feelings of fear of the rapid changes and overpopulation.

7.7 Metaphor

According to Fairclough, when the author of the text chooses one metaphor over another to signify certain things, he or she makes a choice depending on his or her construction of reality. The choice of metaphors is not ideologically neutral and it reveals information about the mindset of the journalist (Fairclough 1993, 198). This chapter describes metaphors used by *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* and their function in the text.

Metaphors used in four of *The Daily Telegraph*’s articles aim against Cameron’s government. In “Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense”, the Muslim women are described as ‘*targeted as walking symbols of this new acceptable prejudice*’. The article calls British society a ‘*white secular elite*’ and current trends of the government as ‘*muscular liberalism*’. Cameron is described as ‘*taking a tough line on Muslim integration*’ (19 January 2016). Similarly, “Muslim extremists’ ‘campaign of lies’ to undermine the government’s fights against terror” describes governmental anti-terror programme as ‘*cradle-to-grave police state*’ (30 January 2016). In the article “Yes, Muslims are different. No, we shouldn’t accept that”, the author says that Muslims’ right to keep their differences in faith is unquestioned by ‘*everyone who accepts that the Middle Ages are over and that forcible attempts at converting heathen souls to Christianity aren’t really polite*’. It uses irony to describe those who do not respect Muslim religion as ‘*those who do not accept that Middle ages are over*’ and see Muslims as ‘*heathen souls*’ in need to be ‘*converted to Christianity*’ (27 January 2016).

British police and MI5 is criticized in the article “UK allows 18 jihadists to flee country while under monitoring from MI5 and police” by stating that they ‘*allow Islamists*

to feel they can cock a snook at our criminal system'. It points out that terrorists 'were allowed' to leave to the Middle East while in fact they escaped (10 January 2016).

In three of *The Daily Telegraph's* articles, there is a metaphor used for Muslim headscarves and their ban. In "David Cameron backs bans on Muslim face veils at Tories plan crackdown on gender segregation" the complete ban of Muslim face veils is described as '*French-style blanket ban*', which will not be endorsed by Cameron because it caused a stir in France (18 January 2016). Similarly, "When it comes to integrating immigrants friendship is the key" states that '*Cameron is not taking the French road to banning it*' (24 January 2016). In the article "Only Muslim women can reform Islam" the Muslim women are described as '*seeing the world through a letterbox slit*' (20 January 2016).

Metaphors in *The Daily Telegraph* are used to promote negative connotations about Muslim community in two articles. "Only Muslim women can reform Islam" uses states that Muslim culture '*treats girls like brood mares*'. The article also praises the criticized proposals of David Cameron by stating that '*he had the balls to confront patriarchal Muslim culture*' and that Islamic schools provide '*rotten education*' (20 January 2016). "This open-door immigration policy can't go on" describes the asylum seekers as a '*huge flow of migrants, asking for a flood of claims and piling up in Calais*', which expresses the uncontrollable character of the world refugee crisis (23 January 2016).

The Independent uses metaphors to describe the attitude towards immigration and the refugee crisis in three of its articles. The article "David Cameron prompts backlash by announcing plans to teach Muslim women English" states that is necessary to '*build integration*', '*build One Nation*', '*break down barriers*' (18 January 2016). "Natalie Bennett and Oona Chaplin call for UK to give refugees safe passage at memorial for 15-year-old Afghan boy" states that '*we cannot wash our hands of the issue of refugee crisis*' (18 January 2016). "David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test" quotes Cameron saying that '*the government will now toughen up*' in the case of integrating immigrants (18 January 2016). "Leaving the EU will not stop immigration to the UK, says leader of campaign to stay in the EU Stuart Rose" describes Rose's opinion that British politician will have to '*grapple*' with immigration' (25 January 2016).

Two of *The Independent* articles use the metaphor of '*breaking up*' the families in case of failing the English test for immigrants in order to highlight the seriousness of such measures. "David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported

if they fail new English test” states that right in its headline (18 January 2016). Another example is in “Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation”, which questions ‘*whether the government is seriously considering it acceptable to break up families because a mother failed the English test*’ (25 January 2016).

Metaphors in *The Daily Telegraph* are used mainly in order to criticize David Cameron’s proposals and British policies and thus rather sympathize with British Muslim immigrants. *The Independent’s* metaphors in most cases describe the attitude of the United Kingdom towards the immigrants and the refugee crisis. In this case, *The Independent’s* metaphors show both solidarity with the refugees and the acceptance that the British government might have a hard time adjusting to them.

7.8 Actions

This chapter of the thesis points out whether the British Muslim immigrants participate in active or passive roles in the articles of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent*. According to Richardson, changing the roles of the participants is a commonly used technique to remove political implications in newspaper articles (Richardson 2007, 54–56).

Seven out of ten articles of *The Daily Telegraph* present British Muslim immigrants mostly in passive roles. “When it comes to integrating immigrants, friendship is the key” asks the question ‘*How do you integrate newcomers?*’, not what the newcomers do to integrate themselves (24 January 2016). “This open-door immigration policy can’t go on” states that ‘*the European Union struggles to tackle the huge flow of migrants*’ (23 January 2016). In “Teach Muslim women English – for their sake, not ours” it is asserted that ‘*Muslim women should be taught English*’ and that ‘*no one would expect British Muslims to lay aside their faith, traditions or heritage*’ (18 January 2016). “Cameron’s proposals for Muslim women are dangerous, dog-whistling nonsense” states that ‘*the government is proposing to protect migrant women by prosecuting them*’ (19 January 2016). In the article “Number of UK Muslims exceeds three million for first time” it is written that ‘*Britain is home to more than three million Muslims*’ (31 January 2016). “Are David Cameron’s English lessons for Muslim women simply reversing his own cuts?” describes David Cameron ‘*calling for more Muslim women to learn English to tackle extremism*’ (18 January 2016). “Yes, Muslim are different. No, we shouldn’t accept” points out that ‘*Muslim people are different and we should respect their different ways*’ (27 January 2016).

The remaining three articles describe Muslims as rather active participants of events, yet mostly they are engaged in negative actions. “Only Muslim women can reform Islam” states that only women can reform Islam but *‘some 22% of Muslim women in the United Kingdom speak little or no English’*, which claims that there is a lack of Muslim women speaking fluent English (20 January 2016). “David Cameron backs bans on Muslim face veils as Tories plan crackdown on gender segregation” quotes the Prime Minister saying *‘it is proper and sensible for Muslim women to remove face veils when asked by public officials’*, which portrays Muslim women as performing an action only when asked by authority (18 January 2016). In the article Muslim extremists’ campaign to undermine government’s fight against terror” the extremists are active but engaged in negative activity, stating that *‘Islamist activists are using coordinated leaks to mainstream news organisations’* (30 January 2016).

Muslim immigrants are given passive roles in nine out of ten articles of *The Independent*. In “Natalie Bennett and Oona Chaplin call for UK to give refugees safe passage at memorial for 15-year-old Afghan boy” it is stated that *‘the United Kingdom should allow safe way for refugees’* (18 January 2016). “David Cameron says migrant families could be broken up and mothers deported if they fail new English test” states that the families *‘could be broken up’* (18 January 2016). In this case, the agent of the situation is deleted to remove the attention from British government. “British Asian man ‘victim of racial profiling’ by US border officials” states the man was *‘a victim of racial profiling done by US border officials’* (26 January 2016). “Leaving the EU will not stop immigration to the UK, says leader of the campaign to stay in the EU Stuart Rose” quotes the Prime Minister saying that *‘he wants a four year waiting period for migrants’* (25 January 2016). In the article “David Cameron announces ‘funding’ for English classes six months after £45 million cuts”, the Prime Minister is accused of *‘isolating the group he wants to help’* – Muslim immigrants (18 January 2016). “Why English lessons are not the answer to radicalisation” states that David Cameron *‘announced extra funding to provide for English classes for Muslim women’* (25 January 2016). Similarly, “Why English is such a difficult language to learn” comments on Cameron *‘wanting more Muslim women to be taught English’* (20 January 2016). “David Cameron prompts backlash by announcing plans to teach Muslim women English” is concerned with Cameron, who *‘has provoked over plans to help more Muslim women to speak fluent English’* (18 January 2016). In “UK allows 18

jihadists to flee country while under monitoring from MI5 and police” puts the jihadists in the passive roles, as if they were let go on purpose by police and MI5 (10 January 2016).

The only case where British Muslims are seen as active participants is the article “Britain’s rising immigrant stars: From Xiaolu Guo to Noma Dumezweni”. The article states that *‘they came to these shores to flee civil war, to escape censorship, ... and one thing they share is that each will be making a big impact in 2016’*.

From given examples in both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent*, it is possible to assume that British Muslim immigrants are seen rather passively, as if they were not willing or capable of integrating themselves. British government and British non-Muslim population are usually described as responsible for the integration of the Muslim community and also for the disadvantages that Muslims in the United Kingdom might face. David Cameron often expresses the need of Muslim women to be taught English by someone, yet there is no assumption that Muslim women themselves could study English. That creates the image of the Muslim immigrants as if they were not the architects of their own destiny.

CONCLUSION

The bachelor's thesis analyzes the representation of British Muslim immigrants in the British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* using the methodology of critical discourse analysis. Based on the evidence found in ten articles of *The Daily Telegraph* and ten articles of *The Independent* from January 2016, the newspapers contain certain stereotypes about the Muslim culture, yet in most cases they rather sympathize with the Muslim community in the United Kingdom. Only two out of twenty newspaper headlines contain explicitly negative connotations about British Muslims. The rest is rather in favour of Muslim immigrants and criticizes David Cameron's proposals concerning new policies for Muslim women in the United Kingdom. Unlike *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent* often portrays Muslims as victims in its headlines. When it comes to presuppositions in the coherence of the articles, both newspapers present variety of stereotypes, mostly concerning Muslim women and the radicalisation of British Muslim population.

Both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* refer to Muslim immigrants as to "them". However, in most of the cases, they do not use the ideological frame of us versus them to highlight negative characteristics of Muslims and positive things about the non-Muslim British society. Both newspapers are rather critical about the way British Muslims are treated by the British authorities and about David Cameron's latest proposals concerning English lessons for Muslim women. Examples of referring to the Muslim population in the United Kingdom as of "us" can be found in *The Daily Telegraph* as well as in *The Independent*.

The choice of words connected with Islamic extremism appears in six articles of *The Daily Telegraph* and four articles of *The Independent*. Muslim women in the United Kingdom are mostly described as mothers, spouses and wives in both newspapers, which might be a part of the stereotype describing Muslim culture as a patriarchal culture that disadvantages women. *The Daily Telegraph* uses fairly more hyperboles in connection with British Muslim immigrants than *The Independent*. However, most of *The Daily Telegraph's* hyperboles are used to exaggerate certain stereotypes about Muslims in order to prove their irrelevancy. Metaphors in *The Daily Telegraph* are used mainly in order to criticize David Cameron's proposals for Muslim immigrants. *The Independent's* metaphors mostly describe the attitude of the United Kingdom towards the immigrants and the refugee crisis; showing both solidarity with the refugees and the acceptance that the British

government might have a hard time adjusting to them. In most articles in both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* British Muslim immigrants are portrayed rather passively, as if they were not responsible for their actions and not capable of integrating into British society.

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APPENDICES

The analyzed newspaper articles are to be found on the attached CD.