

National identity and "Muslim immigrant" representation in the British and Danish press, 2005-2015.

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2019

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Abstract

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This thesis examines, through a diachronic analysis, how the British and Danish press utilise national identity when constructing a representation of Muslims. Key cluster events are examined to identify media discourses over a 10-year time period between 2005 – 2015. Textual analysis in the form of qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis of selected texts is performed on 101 newspaper articles. The research uses Fairclough's three-dimensional framework and links the analysis and discussion to wider theories of power, media use of Muslim voices and national identity. The use of a research diary is utilised to highlight the researcher's engagement with the analysis.

The findings reveal an increasing focus on freedom of speech and national identity 'values' of each country with more left-leaning newspapers shifting to the right of the political spectrum and increasingly employing right-wing populist discourses. This coincides with the changing contextual environment evident throughout Europe of the rise of right-wing populism and far-right groups. Muslims are consistently represented as 'Muslim immigrants' in the press for both countries, despite in many cases being native 'Brits' or 'Danes'.

Furthermore, the findings reveal and build on Marianne Gullestad's existing theory of the Star System focusing on how the media utilise Muslim voices critical of 'the' Muslim 'community' to legitimise negative representations and discourses on Muslims.

The study contributes to existing literature on mediation of Muslim representation and offers areas of consideration for future research design, in the form of a research diary, when conducting media representation theory. Additional recommendations include the implementation of the developed Star System theory to analyse how select 'Muslim voices' are used in the media to normalise negative discourses of Muslims. Furthermore, following image analysis of selected texts, the thesis recommends further research is conducted focusing on the use of images in the press when representing Muslims.

Keywords: National identity, Muslim media representation, cross-cultural comparison, the press, critical discourse analysis, content analysis, star system theory

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Abbreviations

Ber – Berlingske

BNP – British National Party

BT - BT

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

DK – Denmark

DM – Daily Mail

DPP – Danish People’s Party

EB – Ekstra Bladet

EDL – English Defence League

G – The Guardian

IC – Immigrant identity

IDF’S – Ideological-discursive Formations

IPSO – Independent Press Standards Organisation

JP – Jyllands-Posten

NI – National Identity

P – Politiken

PCC – Press Complaints Commission

PM - Political Model

UK – United Kingdom

SFL – Systemic Functional Linguistics

Sun – The Sun

Tel – The Telegraph

Tim – The Times

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis examines how national identity and Muslims are constructed in the British and Danish press from 2005–2015. The doctoral research examines the two countries cross-culturally in terms of how they construct a representation of national identity and Muslims through discourse. This is achieved through performing content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) from selected newspaper articles covering the period 2005-2015.

The thesis examines key cluster events; defined as an event which occurs/is reported on in the press and then monitored in newspaper articles for a set time period. These are analysed over the period to examine how Muslims are represented in the British and Danish press. Representation refers to a “production of meaning through language” to the “process by which members of a culture use language to produce meaning.” (Hall, 1997, p.28 & 61). It is essential to examine language through using CDA to establish how the British and Danish press constructs national identity and Muslims.

Scholars recognize the contextual background to how Muslims are represented in the media and that within the media there has been a perceived ‘shift’ to the right of the political spectrum when discussing Muslims and Muslim communities in the press (Yilmaz, 2012; Hervik, 2012; Geddes & Scholten, 2016) and mainstreaming of anti-Muslim prejudice (Feldman & Stocker, 2019). The terrorist attacks in USA, September 11th, 2001, by al-Qaeda, have been cited as a ‘critical event’ (Rytter & Pedersen, 2013, p.2304). This has influenced global and national policies focusing on security and increased hate crime against Muslims (Allen & Nielsen, 2002).

The rise of right-wing populist parties of Europe has “managed to frame media debates, via ongoing...panics” surrounding Muslims and Muslim communities (Yilmaz, 2012, p.377). This rise of the ‘nationalist-populist, anti-Muslim and anti-immigration parties,’ (see Appendix A), within and out-with Europe, has been acknowledged by academics and the media (see Mouffe, 2016; McAllester, 2016; Polakow-Suransky, 2016; Shuster, 2016; Norris, 2016). This has been accompanied by a ‘renationalization’ across Europe (Wodak, 2015, p.1).

The perceived infiltration of far-right rhetoric within the mass media is due to significant events within Europe and the wider Western World, from 9/11 and other terrorist attacks to European Enlargement of 2004 and 2009 coupled with the financial crisis starting 2008 and recently the refugee/migrant crisis (Seate & Mastro, 2015 & Bennett et al, 2011).

The 9/11 attacks have resulted in Muslim communities including European-born Muslims viewed, by some, as 'incompatible' with Europe because they "threaten[ed] the notion of Europeaness itself" (Fekete, 2003, p.4). Permission to hate was fuelled by legitimisation and normalisation of anti-Muslim discourses (Poynting & Perry, 2007). The media began reinforcing Islamophobia and aided in legitimising far-right groups rhetoric (Allen, 2005 & Allen, 2014).

Rhetorical devices and discourses utilized to denounce Muslims while often implying racist stereotypes within a nationalist perspective are common within right-wing populist parties and far-right groups (Wodak, 2015). The denial of racism or stereotyping is often employed to promote 'positive self-presentation' and 'allowing' the 'unsayable' to be uttered (Augoustinos & Every, 2010, p. 252). This new form of racism is often justified as 'free speech' or the 'defence' of free speech (Chiang, 2008, p. 284).

This, in combination, with media reported events has paved the way for the establishment of a representation/image of a culturally incompatible 'suspect community' of Muslims; Europe's 'nation-state abject' (Silverstein, 2005, p.365) who are racialized and categorized as the Other.

Although the 'Rushdie Affair' has been cited as a key event in constructing and linking negative aspects of multiculturalism with Muslims (Allen, 2007). The (media) peak of multiculturalism's perceived death was between 2010 – 2011 when Thilo Sarrazin wrote the book 'Germany Abolishes Itself' and Merkel and David Cameron declared that multiculturalism had 'failed' (Ossewaarde, 2014). The trend is that "assimilation is now the main thrust of immigration policies in most European countries" (Silj, 2010, p.6).

Muslims are discussed through a 'values' discourse of integration, a 'securitised' 'fifth column' (Kymlicka in Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010) and perceived 'erosion' of national identity. Being culturally 'different' is a driving factor for the perception of threat from Muslims, rather than an economical threat (Schneider, 2008). Debates on Muslims in each European country range from focusing on the Islamic veil, banning of minarets and the incompatibility of Western 'values' (Carol & Koopmanns, 2013 & Antonsich & Jones, 2010). This has resulted in increasing focus on Muslim living in Europe and rising anti-Muslim sentiment within Europe (Ogan et al, 2014).

The examination of how people are represented in the media is essential in the modern world and the wider areas of power which influence and create a dominance of these representations must be critically analysed (Foucault, 1977). The case for examining representation continues to be important as the recent Boris Johnson comments in his *The Telegraph* column on the 5th of August 2018 in which he referred to the burqa as a 'letter box' and compared burqa wearer's to 'bank robbers'. These comments have contributed to a subsequent rise in hate crimes against Muslim women (England, 2018) and demonstrate the potential media effects/overlapping of media discourse into wider action against people and legitimisation and normalisation of negative discourse.

1.1 Why Muslim Representation?

It must be acknowledged that Muslims come from a variety of backgrounds and cultures and therefore are not a monolithic group; there are many Muslim communities. Muslims are often framed homogenously as 'Muslim immigrants' by right-wing populists and far right groups, therefore within the thesis there is reference to ¹"Muslim immigrants". This should be interpreted as the framing of Muslims as a whole by these groups rather than acknowledgement from the thesis author that Muslims are immigrants – when many are not. Additionally, it is a form of Orientalism (Said, 1995, 1997), framing and representing Muslims as an Other, different from the rest of the country. Orientalism, as expanded on in Chapter 2 and referenced throughout the thesis, is a form of power, distinguishing

¹ In Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine there is use of the words "immigrants"/"immigrant" this should be understood as Muslims constructed as immigrants, irrespective of cultural background and heritage.

and framing the 'civilised' Self and 'barbaric' Other (Bhabha, 1983). In this thesis, the Self is the constructed national identity of Britain and Denmark and the Other is Muslims. This is a key finding of this research (see Chapters 7, 8 and 9). There is also reference to the establishment of Muslim communities in UK and Denmark including information on general immigration history to both countries.

Nevertheless, it is important to outline that Muslims in Europe have a variety of backgrounds and some originate from differing countries. ²Anti-Muslim prejudice in Europe was, in Western Europe, in the early years of the millennium higher than general anti-immigrant sentiments (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). International events and media debates have constructed Muslims as problematic in Western Europe to such an extent that Italy (receiving Muslim immigrants much later than other West European countries), the "new immigration country" (Semyonov et al, 2006, p.435) has quickly established an anti-Muslim discourse in the media and rise in support for right-wing populist parties. This could be viewed as part of the wider Western European media representation of Muslims since 9/11.

Furthermore, the representation of Muslims in the media is viewed as 'concerning' by scholars, Muslim advocacy groups and organisations in both the UK and Denmark (Sian et al, 2012; Hervik, 2012; Keskinen & Andreassen, 2017). The perceived symbolic and threat, such as the perceived threat of Muslims to cultural values and threat to safety, perpetrated within some parts of the media, have been perpetuated to intergroup tension and anti-Muslim sentiment in the West (Obaidi et al, 2018). McIntyre and Bentall (2017) suggest that focus on anti-immigrant rhetoric and "discrimination and social exclusion" can contribute to immigrants, including from some Muslim communities, experiencing psychosis (ibid; p.1). This doctoral research does not examine links between anti-immigrant rhetoric and the affecting factors on immigrants' mental health. However, it should be acknowledged that media discourse on Muslims, even when framed as 'Muslim immigrants', within and out-with a discourse of national identity can

² Muslims in Strabac & Listhaug's (2008) research were understood and defined as a sub-group of immigrant population.

determine whether Muslims potentially feels included or excluded. This potentially impacts mental health of Muslims and Muslim immigrants (Bentall et al, 2016).

1.2 Immigrant Definition

In this doctoral research, a definition of immigrant means state-citizens; a person who has moved from their country of origin to settle permanently in the host nation. Arriving at this definition is challenging because the word 'immigrant' has been used interchangeably with 'migrant', 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' within the media (see Baker et al 2008; Philo et al, 2013). This interchangeable, media use of 'immigrant' has created issues in previous studies analysing for example asylum seekers (O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). Taylor (2014), in a cultural comparison of the UK and Italian press, found there was interchangeable use of the words 'refugees', 'illegal immigrants' and 'migrant'.

In Denmark an immigrant is defined as;

“born abroad. None of the parents are both a Danish citizen and born in Denmark. A descendant is born in Denmark and none of the parents are both a Danish citizen and born in Denmark.” (Statistics Denmark, 2015, p.4)³

In the UK the definition of immigrant is more conflated, and different datasets use different definitions. The UK government's ONS' (Office for National Statistics) Long-Term International Migration estimates research combine 'asylum seekers', 'immigrants' and 'migrants' within one definition in their data sets and uses the following definition for an international migrant;

“A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence.” (ONS, 2017, p.1)

This definition was confirmed via email correspondence with a staff member from ONS (see Appendix B). The lack of definition of the word immigrant in the UK has been cited as contributing to confusion in surveys and a cause for concern in generating reliable data, and in turn will have “an impact on public understanding and policy debates” (Migration Observatory, 2017, p.1). This supports one key

³ This is the English translation provided by Statistics Denmark.

finding of this research project; that the word “immigrant” is also used to categorise people as different when, in fact, many of the people discussed in the texts are nationally Danish/British.

1.3 Muslim Communities in the UK and Denmark

The establishment of Muslim communities within Denmark, the United Kingdom and wider Europe is not a recent phenomenon. The Muslim population in both the UK and Denmark has increased since 1950, see table 1.0, with a predicted 4% of the UK population being Muslim in 2020 and 3.7% of the Danish population being Muslim.

Country	Date	Population	Muslims %	Muslims
UK	1950	50,615,999	0.20	101,232
	1960	52,371,995	0.20	104,744
	1970	55,663,200	1.20	667,958
	1980	56,314,221	2.20	1,488,175
	1990	57,237,499	2.60	1,488,175
	2000	58,907,407	2.71	1,596,391
	2010	61,899,272	4.00	2,475,971
	2020	65,043,092	4.00	2,601,724
	Denmark	1950	4,270,994	0.01
1960		4,580,999	0.01	458
1970		4,928,767	0.32	15,772
1980		5,123,029	0.32	16,394
1990		5,139,947	2.00	97,659
2000		5,335,385	2.00	106,708
2010		5,481,283	3.70	202,807
2020		5,631,171	3.70	208,353

Table 1.0: Muslim population in the UK and Denmark⁴

⁴ Adapted from Kettani, 2010.

There have been phases of large migration within Europe post-Second World War. After the Second World War ended in 1945 and following the division of Europe (marking the beginning of the Cold War creating a socio-political division), many Europeans (especially Germans) were 'forced' (Dustmann & Frattini, 2012, p.4) to resettle. Further migration within Europe after the Second World War have been from guest worker programmes.

In order to set the contextual scene, a brief history of Muslim settlement, including immigration of people from different backgrounds, to UK and Denmark is provided below.

1.3.1 UK

After the Second World War, some South Asian Muslims serving in the navy elected to remain in the UK. Additionally, the Polish Act of 1947 allowed Polish soldiers the right to citizenship with more Eastern Europeans invited as part of a work scheme. Further legislation such as the 1948 British Nationality Act sought to change the definition of 'British' and incorporated people living in the British Commonwealth countries with the majority from the West Indies (1950s) followed by Pakistan (1960s), known as the Citizens of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth (CUKC). This was to encourage colonial residents to migrate to the UK and help build the economy. Home Office statistics show that migration from 1955 - 1962 was 472,500 (Home Office, 2003), although controls were introduced via the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 reducing immigration from the Commonwealth to only 75,000 per year with a decrease from 1970s, onwards until the late 1990s where it started to increase in greater numbers, albeit from mainly refugee and asylum seekers (ibid). The 1970s saw further numbers of people entering the UK, with the 1971 Immigration Act and introduction of 'patriality'⁵. Further increased numbers of people entering the UK has been from refugee and asylum applications. For example, the 1970s expulsion of Asians in Uganda and increase in migration from the expansion of Europe in 2004 and 2008. The Muslim population in the UK was 950,000 in 1991 and by 2014 was 3,114,992 with half (1,554,022) being foreign born.

⁵ Whereby people from the Colonies and Commonwealth, if a parent or grandparent was born in the UK, were given the right to live in the UK.

1.3.2 Denmark

Eastern European Jews were the first 'non-Christian minority' immigrants in Scandinavia, who arrived and predominantly settled in Copenhagen before the First World War (Hoffmann, 2016, p.203). Research began in the 1980s to examine the 'Jewish experience' of integration within the Scandinavian countries as a means to aid in the integration of Muslims (Ibid: p.203). Unskilled agricultural worker immigrants invited pre-First World War were primarily from Poland, Sweden, and Germany; a sizeable number remained in Denmark (Hedetoft, 2006). Immigrants from these countries continued to settle in Denmark following both World Wars.

The history post Second World War, of migration in Denmark involved movement of Danish citizens out with Europe, due to high unemployment. The low economy in the 1950s involved inviting guest workers in the 1960s from Pakistan, Yugoslavia, and Turkey to improve the Danish economy. In 1974, following the oil price crisis of 1973, this changed, and guest worker immigration was halted, although workers already in Denmark were allowed to stay. Further immigration happened, at a slower rate, following family reunification of these guest worker immigrants predominantly from Turkey (Pedersen, 2005).

Although statistics on immigration from the period of 1950 – 1974 is limited, Selmer & Pedersen (1991) reported that there were 919 immigrants in Denmark in 1965 and this number jumped considerably to 21,295 in 1975.

The late 1980s saw an increase in refugees and immigrants from several countries such as Poland and Sri Lanka and the end of the Cold War saw a further increase in immigrants and refugee groups from Hungary, Bosnia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Somalia and Russia. Like Britain and the rest of Europe, a further migration of people has been from European expansion in 2004 and 2008 and the recent refugee crisis. Following 9/11 and the 2001 shift to a right-wing government, a discourse of nationalism became dominant focusing on tightening immigration and strict monitoring of Muslims living in Denmark to protect Danish values with the introduction of stricter family reunification laws like the so-called '24 Year Rule', a law aimed at reducing 'forced marriage' where immigrants living in Denmark can only be reunited and live with a non-Danish citizen spouse after both are 24 years old (Rytter, 2012, p.92).

1.4 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is understood in part as “a generalized form of anti-colonialism” (Joppke, 1998, p.32) inaugurated through a portrayal of “tolerance of ethnic difference...[from] the shock of ethnically and racially homogenous societies...confronted with ethnic and racial diversity” (ibid: p.36). This is viewed as a reaction to post-war establishment of liberal states as states that value neutrality and the larger influx of people into nation states. Multiculturalism was ‘created’ in Europe via the settlement of migrants who were invited as guest workers to fill the labour gap after the Second World War (Modood, 2013). When guest workers from predominantly Muslim observing countries, arrived in the 1960s, a variety of incentives were introduced such as dual citizenship programmes to maintain the guest workers’ cultural difference (Vertovec, 2010). However, when guest workers did not return ‘home’, a ‘backlash’ against multiculturalism rose (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). Guest workers staying in Europe and the classification of these workers as Muslim saw a rise in the use of media in the 1990s to disseminate anti-Islam and anti-immigrant populism (Prins, 2002). Media reported events have resulted in challenges to/and questioning of multiculturalism in Europe and a ‘drive’ towards assimilation (Fekete, 2003).

Within the UK, multiculturalism was introduced as a ‘policy response’ to various riots involving predominantly young people of ethnic minority and others of white backgrounds in British cities like London and Liverpool in 1981 (Hickman et al, 2012, p.32). The administration of New Labour in 1997 sought to establish a ‘modern Britain’, involving the expansion of focusing on Britain as multicultural, resulting in community cohesion policies (ibid: p.33). This has been viewed as achieving the opposite and cited as the beginnings of an anti-multiculturalism discourse. Right-wing populism began utilising the ‘clash of communities’ or favouring of multi-ethnic communities over British ‘white’ communities, that New Labour allegedly caused to justify anti-multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010).

Multiculturalism has been contested within Europe since the 1990s with Vertovec & Wessendorf (ibid) highlighting typical arguments used against multiculturalism, see table 2.0.

Single Doctrine	Stifling Debate
<p>Positions multiculturalism as a 'fixed ideology' (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010, p.6).</p> <p>Incorporates the doctrine that there exists a hegemonic 'industry' of immigrant 'activists' and liberal White 'elites' (Ibid: p, 7).</p> <p>This could be classed as a 'populist' argument of a common enemy; non-populist politicians have employed it.</p>	<p>Linked to the single doctrine argument, this idea fosters self-censorship thereby limiting freedom of speech.</p>
Multiculturalism allowing Segregation	Lack of Common Values
<p>Denotes multiculturalism is causing segregation of certain groups.</p> <p>Links national identity and refusal of integration and national values.</p>	<p>Multiculturalism viewed as preventing common values</p> <p>Links to national identity.</p> <p>Viewed as changing the social order.</p>
Denying Problems	Supporting 'Non-Western' Practices
<p>The denial or acceptance of groups not conforming to host nation's 'values' and not integrating has been labelled as a feature of multiculturalism as a single doctrine.</p>	<p>Multiculturalism ignores issues with cultural practices, e.g., genital mutilation.</p> <p>Fosters idea that multiculturalism has encouraged political correctness to the extent of ignoring practices.</p> <p>Encourages 'cultural relativism'.</p>
Providing Terrorist Sanctuary	
<p>Links multiculturalism with the idea that it 'protects' terrorists.</p> <p>Often framed as liberals and Human Rights laws being exploited to favour terrorists.</p>	

Table 2.0: Arguments Against Multiculturalism⁶

Liberalism and the Left have been accused of creating an environment whereby multiculturalism has resulted in a group of people 'prioritised' and 'tolerated' for their anti-liberal, sexist views.

In theory, most European countries are multicultural, because some residents are from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, not all countries follow the idea of multiculturalism as a political model of integration. Denmark follows an assimilation model whereby anyone settling into the country is expected to assimilate and become like the host. This adds an interesting comparative dimension between a country following multicultural model of integration and a

⁶ Adapted from Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010

country utilising an assimilation model. For further expansion on multiculturalism, see Chapter 3.

1.5 Rationale for Comparative Aspect

Western media and the West, like Muslim communities, is not monolithic, it is not one static entity about which one should generalize. Therefore, to examine media representation it is necessary to compare with other countries. In this project these two countries are Denmark and Britain. The cross-cultural diachronic study between the UK and Denmark uses CDA, with the inclusion of content analysis and multi-modal analysis of selected images and thus follows an interpretivist, qualitative framework. Cross-cultural analysis of both countries offers a comparative element which fosters and aids the research in examining and understanding the ways political models and national identity potentially influence press reporting and media representation of Muslims. Investigating media in two different languages provides insight into the culture within these countries. Denmark and Britain have followed different political ideas of integration. Thus, the comparative element aids in providing a distinct perception of the current European level trend of increasingly critical views of Muslims and Muslim communities.

As outlined in the literature review Chapters 2-4, the focus by the media on Muslims and national identity is a Europe-wide, indeed Western wide/developed nations, phenomenon. Investigating media in two different languages offers insight into the culture within these countries. Denmark and Britain have followed different political ideas of integration. Therefore, the comparative element provides discrete perspectives of the current European level trend of increasingly critical views of Muslims. There are media reporting subtleties within each country, therefore examining and comparing the UK and Denmark offers insights into the potential differences in reporting of Muslims.

Cross-cultural comparative research has grown in significance due to globalization and technology. Interaction with people from all over the world is reflected in an increasing focus on cross-cultural communication such as in management (see Browaeys & Price, 2011 & Holden, 2014). The growth in cross-cultural comparative research is documented as "increasingly conducted" (Livingstone,

2003, p.478). Furthermore, there has been an increasing focus on cross-cultural comparative research of media representation and media systems (see Hallin & Mancini, Van Dijk, 1991 & Kevin, 2003). Pfetsch & Esser (2004) indicate that comparing political communication, in communication research, is a field in need of 'more attention' as it allows researchers to reflect on their results via comparison and "enables us to reach conclusions with an extensive claim to validity" (ibid: p.3). Furthermore, conducting comparative analysis can "serve as an effective antidote to unwitting parochialism" (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995, p.76) and can "render the invisible, visible" (ibid) exposing the many nuances within the political communication systems that when examined without comparison may be "taken for granted and difficult to detect" (ibid). Although cross-cultural comparative research is becoming more common, Ahmed & Matthes (2017) in a meta-analysis of literature on media representation of Muslims from 2000–2015 found a need for more 'cross-national' comparative literature to advance the study of media representation of Muslims in the media.

Furthermore, although the differing media systems of the UK and Denmark, as outlined in Chapter 4, have been developed in recent years, it offers another comparative element to the work contributing to comparative literature on media systems. The embracing of neo-liberalism in the UK and shift from socialism to neoliberalism in Denmark (see Chapter 3) offers another layer of comparison in the media representation of Muslims.

1.6 Research Questions

The main research questions for the research are:

1. How has the media reporting on Muslims in Denmark and Britain developed over a specific time period?
2. Are there differences in the reporting styles of British and Danish media covering Muslims over a specific time period?
3. How is national identity used and formulated in media discourse to represent Muslims in Britain and Denmark over a specific time period?

1.6.1 Research Aim

The aim of the research is to examine critically and diachronically, how Muslims have been represented in the British and Danish media and how the perceived identity formation of the indigenous 'in-group' is then defined and constructed.

1.6.2 Research Objectives

The objectives developed following a study of previous literature conducted in the same field. The resulting objectives are as follows:

1. To explore and examine the histories of Muslim settlement in Denmark and Britain.
2. To examine how 'national identity' is utilized as a discourse within the media.
3. To examine critically how the discourse on Muslims differs in the Danish and British media.
4. To analyse the effect of the changing political discourses and culture in Denmark and Britain on the reporting of Muslims.

1.7 Structure of Thesis

The thesis is structured into seven chapters with the first chapter setting the contextual scene and background to the research problem as the justification for the research questions, aims, and objectives.

Chapters 2 – 4 are literature reviews outlining the theoretical approach, political models of integration and the rise of right-wing populism and the press and how Muslim are reported on in the British and Danish press. Examination of media techniques, political economy, and media systems in both countries is outlined.

Chapter 5 outlines the chosen methodological approach and elected methods/techniques of the research project presenting explanation and justification of content analysis and CDA. It further elaborates on data collection methods and process of analysis.

Chapter 6 outlines the top-level content analysis findings with some discussion relating to relevant literature outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Chapter 7 outlines the CDA findings with some discussion of relevant literature.

Chapter 8 draws together and examines the main thematic findings in a deeper discussion combining relevant literature and theory.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis summarising key findings and addressing the research questions outlining the original contribution to knowledge and scope for further research.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Approach

Chapter two outlines essential theories that offer cogent explanation of discourse and relations of power about national identity and representing Muslims within press representation. Beginning with a discussion of the work of post-structuralist Michel Foucault, the chapter outlines key ideas of power and progresses to discuss how this affects media reporting on national identity and Muslims with regards to theories such as Orientalism, hybridity, and mimicry in post-colonial discourse and an outline of Marianne Gullestad's Star System Theory.

2.0 Power

Power is not defined as top-down, rather it permeates through society, in a "capillary function" (Foucault, 1977, p.198) via various channels; it is not exclusive to the elite. Through discourses, societies are controlled via power in discourse dispersed within society, including within the media. Power has no exclusivity and contrary to belief is ever-present in discourse (ibid).

According to Foucault, "discourse determines the reality we perceive" (Mills, 2003, p.5), and is described as "regulated set of statements which combine with others in predictable ways" (ibid, p. 54). For discourse to circulate in society power must be exercised. In the context of the research, power can mean political influence, press ownership and events such as terrorist attacks. This dialectical relationship of power is essential for the research because;

"Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain...Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation." (Foucault, 1980, p.98 in Mills, 2003)

Power is complex and subject to change according to contextual elements such as significant events or parliamentary changes, in which individuals and organisations are 'nodes', all interconnected in a network of power. Chance events, like terrorist attacks, are 'managed' through discourses (Foucault in Sheridan-Smith, 1971) and the main element of this management is 'commentary'. This can be renewed and used to move beyond text or event for example linking a terrorist attack with a clash of 'values'. Thus, commentary can

be permeated with further commentary leading to 'infinite rippling' (Foucault, 1970, p.2).

Foucault's theory of power is essential in the framing of the research because power "is the thing for which there is struggle" (Foucault in Young, 1981, p.53). Within the context of the research, this 'struggle' is between the media (along with institutional practices), the reader (or competition for readership), politics (and the popularity of politicians and politicized issues, i.e. Muslims) and socio-political events such as a terrorist attack. Discourse is the relationship between who is permitted to say what in which context; as Foucault states: "we cannot speak of just anything in any circumstances whatever...not everyone has the right to speak of anything whatever" (ibid, p. 52).

Beneficial for the research is the "will to truth" (Foucault in Young, 1981, p.54) which functions through means of 'division' and 'exclusion' – a "historical, modifiable, and institutionally constraining system" (Foucault in Young, 1981, p.54). This, in the context of the research, acts to 'reinforce' the representation of Muslims, and is historically imbued justifying the need for a diachronic analysis. Three external exclusionary practices exist; taboo (topics socially unacceptable or difficult to discuss e.g. abortion), 'forbidden speech' (only statements of sane people are acknowledged) and truth (closely associated with taboo and forbidden speech; truth claims are generated via discrediting other claims) (Mills, 2003).

This leads to 'pressure' on other discourses, which is why it is essential to examine all the interlinking discourses within the corpus of texts to establish if/how these discourses are utilized as "normalizing effects" of power (Bevir, 1999, p.346) in the representation of Muslims. There is no universal truth, no way of talking outside of discourse; "there is no escape from representation" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.14) - discourses are representations of a 'truth'.

Foucault believes that knowledge and truth coexist and are intertwined with "social, economic and political factors" (O'Farrell, 2005, p. 98); utilised between groups and individuals; power is relational. Power is dispersed through discourse within society, including within the media, has no exclusivity and contrary to belief, is ever-present in discourse (Foucault, 1977). Foucault posits that power is not a possession owned by particular individuals;

“there is only power because there is dispersion, relays, networks, reciprocal supports, differences of potential, discrepancies, etc. It is in this system of differences, which have to be analysed, that power can begin to function” (Foucault, 2006, p.4)

This notion of power is central to the research and justification for examining European-wide context, the rise of the right-wing populist parties and political economy of the media because power is a discursive practice. The discursive practice of power for Foucault means the relations between power and society, it articulates “practices of knowledge formation by focusing on how specific knowledges (“discourses”) operate and the work they do” (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014, p.174), or the ‘practices of discourses’ (ibid, p.174). According to Foucault’s notion of archaeology, the ‘rules for discursive practices’ or the many rules in place that contribute to the dispersion of particular discourses are observed, and one must observe the “series of discourses” that make up a period in time (Felluga, 2015, p.18). Discourses are essential in the dispersion of power and the construction of a topic and the regulation of and power over others.

An ‘epistemic shift’ or change in what constitutes as ‘true knowledge’ evolves via discursive regimes which “naturalises a different world and world-view, but also forms of subjectivity, and ways of seeing and feeling” (Schirato, 2012, p.33). This ‘epistemic shift’ or change in what a society believes is ‘true’ is specific to culture and history meaning that discourses (where representation takes place) produce subjects such as ‘Muslims in the UK’ or ‘Muslims in Denmark’ and the discursive practice around them is not fixed, it is related to the wider context and therefore changes in history. This is further justification for the diachronic approach to determine how representation or discourses of Muslims and national identity has changed over 10 years in the UK and Denmark.

For Foucault history is viewed as ‘social construction’. Within history, what is considered to be ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ can change over time, and power “had the capacity to create large-scale systems of thought that could exert considerable influence over people’s lives” (Oliver, 2010, p.31).

Truth is not universal in the sense that all societies accept the same ‘truth’; a society’s “regime of truth, its ‘general politics’” about what is ‘accepted’ as true is specific to that society contextually culturally and historically (Foucault in Gordon,

1980, p.131). This adds an interesting element to the research because, what the UK and Danish press posit as 'truth' or many 'truths' about Muslims and national identity may be different because of discursive practices of power, such as media ownership and political party influence and should be examined. As Foucault states a "battle 'for truth'", or at least 'around truth'" for the 'status of truth' within politics (ibid, p.132) is always present and is related to power, thereby cyclical and essential in discourse. These 'regimes of truth' are "made true through 'discursive practices'" (Hobbs, 2008, p.10) via discursive formations (the written or spoken grouping of statements dispersing discourses) (Jasinski, 2001). A regime of truth about Muslims may be that 'they' are a security risk, following a discursive event (events that contribute to discourse) such as a terrorist attack. This truth may be disseminated through the media leading to debate within society and formulation of stricter terrorist laws influencing 'Muslims', the media and wider society.

Power involves the concept or representation of truth (knowledge); for Foucault, truth has 5 characteristics; "scientific discourses; economic and political demands; its circulation through social institutions such as education or the media; its control by political and knowledge apparatuses" (Schirato et al, 2012, p.32). This highlights the importance of studying the political economy of the media and the rise of right-wing populism, far right-wing parties such as Danish People's Party (DPP) and UKIP because they are linked and will in some shape influence discourses utilized in the media.

Foucault's theory on power and discourse are inter-related and is utilised when examining how the media re-present Muslims in the Danish and British press, and how power dynamics and nationality work to represent Muslims as a 'tool' to exclude or include them. Additionally, Foucault posits that power creates specific 'types of knowledge' and 'cultural order'; this position supports the examination of what culture-specific 'types of knowledge', within discourse, are produced regarding the socio-cultural aspects of media in both countries.

The analysis of power within history is defined as 'archaeology'; Foucault's work focuses on an historical approach, and this benefits the diachronic analysis. The diachronic study aims to examine the development of the discursive shift centred on Muslims. Foucault posited that history is imbued with discontinuities (but also

continuities), that history is not linear but that “culture sometimes ceases to think as it had been thinking” (Foucault, 2002, p.56). Foucault states that reviewing a certain period, should not be viewed as “straightforward narratives of progress in the historical record” (Felluga, 2015, p.17) but rather, as an archaeology of knowledge, one should investigate how it reveals:

“several pasts, several forms of connexion, several hierarchies of importance, several networks of determination, several teleologies, for one and the same science, as its present undergoes change: thus historical descriptions are necessarily ordered by the present state of knowledge, they increase with every transformation and never cease, in turn, to break with themselves.”

This justifies the use of different theories and contexts when examining media representation of Muslims.

2.1 National Identity

Identity is socially constructed (Kendall & Wickham, 2003) and not ‘fixed’ but a product of the “domination over us of a regime of power” (Bevir, 1999, p. 349) within discourse. It is necessary to examine how national identity is constructed diachronically when representing Muslims in the British and Danish press because national identity functions within discourse, like the Foucauldian panopticon, as a discursive tool to ‘make visible’ who is included in national identity and who is excluded. Furthermore, as Foucault outlines, there is a necessity to examine discourse through an archaeological, diachronic lens to outline how the discourses develop and evolve to demonstrate how the ‘current’ societal contextual background can be explained. The focus on cultural incompatibility with the ‘host’ nation has been cited as the “culturalization of citizenship” or the “process by which culture (emotions, feelings, norms and values, and symbols and traditions, including religion) has come to play a central role on what it means to be a citizen” (Duyvendak, Geschiere & Tonkens, 2016, p.3).

For Homi Bhabha, nations are discourse or ‘narratives’ and can only be “fully realize[d]...in the mind’s eye” (Bhabha, 1990, p. 1); it is impossible to define or locate nation and national identity (Bhabha, 1994). ‘Nations’ will define ‘nationhood’ (national identity) differently, this is why it is important to examine

and compare how and in which ways 'national identity' is employed in the British and Danish press when representing Muslims. Examining these elements will demonstrate the power within and behind utilising national identity when representing Muslims and discursively demonstrate, through examining the contextual background, why a specific representation is dominant and normalised. This theory of national identity aids the research because nations are a 'symbol' constructed politically as a type of 'cultural elaboration'; an attempt by the 'fragile' West to regain power from the colonized 'Other' (ibid, 1994). This colonial power functions by controlling the 'subject', and the colonizer, through 'subjectification' of identity, in this instance national identity. Here identity is not constructed within the individual 'subject', but through social practices and constraints (Foucault, 1977).

Binary oppositions are used within discourse and aid in the dependency on "the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness" (Bhabha, 1994, p.94). Although nationality should not be viewed as an 'Us' (perceived indigenous/native people) v 'Them' (perceived Other, Muslims) as is often portrayed in some areas of the media and by certain academics specifically Samuel P Huntington (1996). The dynamics between the colonized (first space) and the colonizer (second space) is fluid and through a hybrid 'third space' (whereby the colonized creates a hybrid identity, mixing identities from 'home' with colonized) identity is consistently negotiated. Hybridity is the idea that identities are constructed from interactions with different cultures, whereby when cultures meet the ideas, language and material goods are shared between them, forcing them to adapt and change. A 'hybrid' identity is required for the Muslim 'Other' to negotiate between the perceived 'host' country and country of origin (Bhabha, 1994). Several studies have found this necessity to negotiate between two or three identities (see Rabikowska, 2010 & Marcu, 2011).

In cultural and postcolonial terms, Bhabha defines the Other and Otherness as; "at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity." (1983, p.19). Regarding Muslims, this 'fantasy' derives from the need to position the Other (the perceived colonised) in opposition to Self (the coloniser), or the 'imagined' 'host nation'. This, as previously highlighted, is 'subjectification' or the representation of Self and Other through social practices, or the construction of national identity (Foucault, 1977).

This theory of the Other is not exclusive to nations with a colonial past, but to nations that seek to control representation of the Other. Identity is constructed to attribute fixed ideas of cultural superiority via differentiation and categorisation of images (such as being uncivilized) of the Other (Said, 2003).

Bhabha (1990) defines liberal discourses of multiculturalism as filtering cultural differences via an ethnocentric lens attempting to 'contain' diversity (p.208). Thus, containing diversity under the 'myth' of Western progress (ibid: p.209), utilising a universalism onto 'difference of cultures' whilst negating/ignoring the many ways cultures "construct their own systems of meaning and social organisation" (ibid).

Dobrogoszcz (2013) notes that Bhabha uses psychoanalysis, particularly Lacan's order of the Imaginary to place the colonial '*Self*' as a fragmented Imaginary, encompassed with aggressiveness and narcissism and the 'desire' for the Other (p.63). This desire is formulated in language and the two subjects; coloniser and colonised are never fully exclusive but interrelate, influencing one another's identity;

"The desire for the Other is doubled by the desire in language, which splits the difference between Self and Other so that both positions are partial; neither is sufficient unto itself" – (Bhabha, 1994, p.72)

There is no static binary opposition between Self and Other, causing anxiety for the coloniser resulting in the need to exert power over Others. Self and Other are interlinked, one cannot be constructed without the other, as is the relationship between power and identity. Power cannot be utilised without the construction of identity (Foucault, 1970). This interconnected, dialectical relationship highlights the necessity of examining how national identity is used to represent Muslims in a cultural, contextual context because power and identity function in this relationship constructing and representing each other.

Mimicry is essential in establishing power relations. It is the act of maintaining power between Self and colonised Other via imitation and part assimilation of the coloniser's culture. For Bhabha (ibid; p.122) this is "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" and it is powerful in that it is the "most elusive and effective strategies of

colonial power and knowledge"; a strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline of identity. However, this power also reverts power to the coloniser, taking partly control of their representation.

For Bhabha (1983), surveillance and gaze reinforce colonial power, whereby 'panopticon' surveillance or gaze of the Other is essential for maintaining power which may be why a 'suspect community' discourse, has dominated media discourse post 9/11.

The idea of nationhood and culture or "the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force authenticated by the ordinary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People" (ibid; p.54) should function to include the Other (colonized) as productive in strengthening National self – identification. Muslims, if manifested as the Other, are essential in constructing the national identity of UK and Denmark in certain areas of the media. Although as Bhabha states, the 'Self'/Other' dynamic is inaccurate and used as:

"ambivalent text of projection and introjection...and phantasmatic knowledges to construct the positionalities and oppositionalities of racist discourse" (1994, p. 117).

Produced within discourse as reality, especially in some areas of the media, they are not reality; nations are not homogenous, and communication and identity are negotiated via translating discourses of and between people, in the Third Space.

National identity and citizenship, in the context of the research, are linked within the European discourse of Muslims. The focus on cultural incompatibility with the 'host' nation has been cited as the "culturalization of citizenship" or the "process by which culture (emotions, feelings, norms and values, and symbols and traditions, including religion) has come to play a central role on what it means to be a citizen" (Duyvendak et al, 2016, p.3).

2.1.1 Orientalism

Related to Bhabha's ideas is the theory of Orientalism or the study (by Europeans) in 18th century of countries in the East or the 'exotic' Orient (Said, 2003) as a means of creating an imaginary Other between East and West to promote European power and differentiation. Bhabha's post-colonial ideas, with Said's

Orientalism interrelate in that they focus on power and identity. During colonisation, the East was part of the Civilizing project and reinforced the European 'superior' identity via a constructed dualist relationship of the 'lazy', 'uneducated' East and 'hard working', 'civilised' West. Orientalist discourse reflects not the Orient but constructs the identity of the West. Said utilises Foucault's definition of discourse defining history, knowledge, and power as essential proponents in Orientalism. Additionally, demonstrating the "regime of truth" or the successful "organizing and regulating relations of power" – in this instance between the West and the Rest (Hall, 1992).

This need to define the Other is produced out of fear towards the Other, manifested in control through discourse and, in the past, colonial and imperial control. Hall (ibid) reiterates the West has constructed a positive identity by focusing on the 'difference' between themselves (the West) and the Rest (non-West). This construction or discourse is evident in the 21st century, particularly in constructions of Muslims.

To Said (1997), the media view Muslims through an Orientalist lens; Muslims are 'barbaric' and 'uncivilised', essentializing Islam as a "malevolent and unthinking essence" synonymous with terror (ibid, p.8). This position serves to construct the Western media as monolithic, which the thesis author rejects. Nevertheless, the theory of Orientalism and the underlying function of knowledge, power, and control are useful for the project. The use of the word Islam is 'ideologically loaded' because it is reductionist, constructing a representation of a static, homogenous group (ibid: p.11), negating the "internal dynamics and plurality of every civilization" (Said, 2001, p.1). Muslims are viewed in the media by a mix of clash of cultures and Orientalist discourse as possessing an 'Islamic' viewpoint on everything (Karim, 2011). This Orientalist lens is evident in both the Danish (Kublitz, 2010) and British press (Richardson, 2004), and the wider Western media where utilising moral panic in a 'globalised' discourse on Muslims has emerged in the Western media (Dagistanli & Grewal, 2012, p.119). This fusion of Orientalist and xenophobic discourse has constructed a representation of Muslims as uncivilised, utilised as a means of control and power and as justification for anti-multicultural discourses 'across the West' (ibid).

Although, Said's original concept of Orientalist discourse on the people of the 'Orient' was via cultural and geographical differences, to construct representations of those 'out there', neo-Orientalist discourse, since 9/11 Orientalist discourse has shifted towards Muslims within the West as well as out-with. Post 9/11 Orientalism focuses on modernity and alleged 'failures' of the Islamic civilization (Yamaguchi, 2012, p.242). Orientalism, "sustains the belief that Islam as a coherent, transnational monolithic force" has been an enemy with a clear history of divide between the West (Poole, 2002, p.32). Orientalist discourse within media distinguishes the difference between Muslims and the West. Muslims who live or work in the West are "unenlightened outsiders...portrayed as having an allegiance to values different from those recognized in Europe and North America" (Morey & Yaqin, 2011, p.1). Furthermore, the combination of Bhabha and Said's Orientalism connect to national identity and power. National identity, expressed through discourse in language, potentially leads to biopower, or the focus on physical features of citizens, which permits 'identifiers' or 'cues' of who is and who is not part of the national identity.

2.1.2 Imagined Community

The construction of a national identity is viewed as an "imagined community...conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 2006, p.6-7). The concept of the nation or a shared national identity is 'imagined' because all citizens of the nation will never meet. National identity originated as a 'response' to the threat of 'dynastic and aristocratic groups' to the popular 'vernacular' (ibid: p.150). The current surge of nationalism and right-wing populism is in part response to the perceived 'threat' of Muslims (Wodak, 2015).

National identity is therefore constructed as a discourse (Bhabha, 1994). Bhabha posits that nations are 'symbol[s]'; constructed as a form of 'power' over the colonized 'Other' (1994). National identity is 'flagged' or indicated through the media but not always apparent or 'hot' nationalism (Billig, 1995). Constructed within a banal domain such as using deictic words like 'we' and 'us', it can function as "linguistic imperialism" as a force on identity construction (Wodak et al, 1999, p.45). The 'flagging' of national identity depends on a 'collective memory' but also on 'collective amnesia' whereby past gruesome or negative histories are 'forgotten'; creating a nostalgic notion of the nation (Billig, 1995, p. 38).

Although, nations are not the same and therefore discourses utilised to construct a national identity within each 'nation', due to cultural contexts, may be different (Finlayson, 1998).

National identity is created in discourse and reified through the press; constructed in 'language' where "one could be invited into the imagined community" (Anderson, 2006, p.145). Focus on language is also evident in previous research on Austria (Wodak et al, 1999).

These theories aid in gaining wider insight into whether the socio-political events and political model of integration in each country influence or contest the construction of the relationship between national identity and Muslim identity as 'hybrid' within the press. Is a hybrid or multicultural national identity evoked when discussing Muslims or is it contested? This adds an interesting dynamic between the archaeology of examining the emerging discourses and what is constructed as 'truth' within the British and Danish societies in different points in time within the diachronic time-period. The outlining of specific discourses will depend on the power structures behind and within the constructed dominant and normalised discourses and therefore the need to examine the cultural contexts within both countries is key as it is an indicator of potential power in discourse (O'Farrell, 2005).

2.1.3 Moral Panic Theory

The media can frame groups of people as 'folk devils' (for example strangers) in society through a moral panic lens or the idea that there is cause to panic because of morally corrupt 'devils'. A 'folk devil' can encompass a variety of groups, Morrison (2016a) outlined the 'folk devil' media representation and moral panic surrounding strangers around children. Additionally, Morrison (2016b, p.7) highlighted a growing focus of the 'racial dimension[al]' focus on the 'new' folk devil – Muslims and immigrants. Cohen (2002) defines moral panic as;

"a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests." (Ibid: p.1)

Within a moral panic framework are 5 characteristics (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009); concern or the idea that a group of people could cause discord in a society, thereon a framing of hostility in the form of binary opposition us v them emerges,

consensus of these folk devils and their negative impact on society, the threat of the group is framed in disproportionate ways and volatility or the notion that moral panics can wax and wane in the media.

Morgan (2012) eludes moral panic surrounding Muslims functions around an 'ongoing sense of social anxiety', thus never seems to disappear within the press. The media representation of Muslims has functioned, in some areas of the press, through this moral panic framework which utilises a "continuation of the process of 'othering'" (Ibid: p.9). Moral panic highlights the ongoing power 'battle' or struggle for 'truth' in discourse over the representation of Muslim Other and the Self (Foucault in Young, 1980). The moral panic of threat from Muslims has taken on a 'transnational' element within the West, whereby 'they' the global Muslim folk devil are a threat to 'our' society. This was evident in UKIP's 'Breaking Point' Brexit poster campaign whereby refugees were 'misrepresented' (Morrison, 2016c, p.66) and constructed as 'invading "orientals"' (Ibid: p.66) within a moral panic framework.

Moral panic also pervades politics, which has a cyclical relationship with the media. Moral panic emphasises the alleged 'limits of liberal multiculturalism' and post-9/11 was debated in the House of Commons with media framing British Pakistanis as joining the Taliban and Al Qaeda (Werbner, 2004 p.462). Criticism and panic surrounding multiculturalism and terror was evident in both right-wing and more left of centre newspapers in the UK such as *The Guardian*. The use of statistics and survey results from British Muslims 'supporting' the Taliban and themes of terrorism, and multiculturalism and was used in newspapers to support this 'panic'. Moral panic around the securitization of Muslims has, led to a 'spiral of alienation' (Werbner, 2004, p. 463). Hervik (2014) found moral panic pervasive concerning Muslims in the Danish mainstream press and framed through a monocultural lens of Muslims incompatible with the Danish way of life.

2.2 Britishness

British identity (like all identities) is complex because of the UK's historical development. Britishness, or the idea of British identity, has not been a word used with as much prominence historically as it has since the late 20th century, following an influx of people into the country. Britain is a collection of smaller nations and the Act of Union of 1707 brought together the English and Scots but

dominated by 'Englishness' and religiously linked with Protestantism (Colley, 1994). This Britishness was "influenced by, as well as influencing, the other nations" (Crick, 2001, p.11).

The ideology of liberalism (introduced in the Enlightenment era) and British colonial rule, allowed the formation of the idea of a superior European in contrast to non-European. Liberalism was ideologically used through the ethnocentric notion of individualism, individual rights, and democracy, to justify the 'Civilizing Project' (supported by John Locke and John Stuart Mill) of non-Europeans. This justification is also evident with recent attempts to integrate Muslims in the UK (Joppke, 2008).

The height of the Empire and British rule defined the British as the chosen people whose central principle it was to 'civilize' others (ibid). This constructed image denied and ignored the horrors of colonialization, the destruction of people, environments, and cultures. Due to Britain's colonial past, national identity has been moulded from a mixture of imperialism, religion, war, and trade (Julios, 2017). From 1900s–1950s identity discourse was of *laissez-faire* to preserve the status quo in the predominantly white Anglo-Saxon society (ibid). The English language was viewed as the "essence of Britishness" and the power of the Crown important as part of British identity (ibid: p.13). This progressed to a discourse of multiculturalism when in the 1970s a 'crisis' in British identity was established. It was no longer viewed as "static and permanent", because of the influx of non-white predominantly non-English speaking people (Ward, 2004, p.1).

Gilroy (2004) argues that the historical denial of an imperial and colonial past has imbued the notion of British identity, as racialized. The 'racialized other' is 'feared' because they are a reminder of Britain's colonial past. Britishness has been constructed as a homogenous community, excluding non-white people (Gilroy, 1992). Hall (2000, p.1) posits that historically Britishness has "largely unspoken racial connotations" and this is usually imagined as white. This idea that Britishness is white, or constructed as white, can only be normalised through power in the dispersion of a British national identity discourse and this must be utilised in the media, resulting in discourse potentially becoming more prominent in texts (Foucault, 2006). This may potentially lead to the racialised idea of Muslim Other.

Amidst a legacy of colonialism, during the Second World War, Churchill focused on national identity of greatness, underpinned by devotion to service and sacrifice under the war (Samuel, 1989). However, the discourse on national identity dwindled after the arrival of people to rebuild the nation following the British Nationality Act of 1948 creating the 'Citizen of the UK and Colonies' status (Cohen, 1994). Years of Nationality Acts have attempted to control the number of people entering the UK with the British Nationality Act of 1981 introducing the idea of law of blood (*jus sanguinis*), whereby people born in Britain to non-British citizens are not to have assumed British nationality. These acts functioned to contain a "racially-based British identity" (Cohen, 1994, p.19), however, these years saw a decline in a British national identity (Samuel, 1989).

The introduction of the Life in the United Kingdom 'Britishness' test for immigrants, some of who were Muslim, in 2003 focused on language to aid integration and outlined what 'British' entailed such as; respecting the law, democracy, tolerance, and respecting rights for individuals (Joppke, 2008, p.532). Billig et al (2006) found focusing on national identity or Britishness in juxtaposition with politicized Islam has increased in the UK media and the myth of Britain as 'freedom loving' and 'exceptional' (Marquand, 2009, p.16) is dominating currently. This divisive use of Britishness constructed as 'different' from Muslims functions as legitimising a panopticon 'gaze' on the Other. The lack of British identity potentially leads and legitimises a suspect Other (Foucault, 1977; Bhabha, 2003).

Pre-New Labour 'British identity' was discussed in the context of individuals or groups claiming to be British but was disputed in a territorial sense of the colonial outposts such as Falklands and Gibraltar. New Labour changed the identity discourse of Britishness (Pitcher, 2009). In the UK, the discourse of British identity as a multicultural identity began with New Labour's attempt as "an instrument for the reconstruction of an explicitly nationalist politics" (Pitcher, 2009, p.39). Following the Commission on Multi-Ethnic Britain's characterisation of British national identity report or Parekh report in 2000, the press reported the findings of the word 'British' equating to racist. This was not the intention with the report highlighting selectivity of historical accounts could reduce the many historical strands in Britain's identity to that of an essentialist view (Meer & Modood, 2012) excluding ethnic minorities and potentially viewing 'difference' negatively.

2.2.1 Community

The notion of 'community' gained popularity during the rise of New Labour and the redrafting of Clause Four of the Party's constitution in 1995 to include the word 'community'. This was used to differentiate between the "laissez-faire policies of Thatcherite neo-liberalism" (Pitcher, 2009, p.79). New Labour embraced a 'communitarian discourse', linking 'communities' with 'national renewal' based upon the philosophy of John Macmurray that "individuals are created through their relationship to others in families and communities" (Fairclough, 2000, p. 38). The 'community' is built around families and the ability to 'parent' children, so they do not commit crime. Levitas (2005) defines community as "the locality in which crime occurs [and] figures as places of danger or instruments of social control [and] political inclusion" (p 124 - 125).

The classic discourse of the word 'community' meant "in opposition to the state rather than to society" as a 'political ideal' (Delanty, 2010, p.18). However, there occurred a discursive shift whereby 'community' became defined in several arguments in terms of cultural groups - those 'constructed' symbolically around "boundaries" including economic and political and those groups with 'transformative' ability to integrate (in relation to multiculturalism) viewed as a 'resource' for people to use in life (Cohen, 2010). One conclusion which Delanty (2010) makes is that the discourse of 'community' has changed to become viewed as "an imaginary order" of social relationships (2010, p.36) or as invoking an idea of 'difference'.

The combination of Anderson's theory with Pitcher's idea of community, adds a further dimension to the analysis to examine how this word is used in discourse on Muslims. Additionally, if 'communities' are portrayed as living segregated or 'parallel lives' with a different cultural identity than that of the country. This discourse often emphasises culture and race and fails to include the historical aspects of how 'segregation' developed through social inequalities and racism. It places the responsibility of social cohesion on the 'segregated community' "remedying the negative effects of their own racialization" (Pitcher, 2009, p.91). Phillips (2006) found 'self-segregating' discourses became naturalized discourses, normalizing the view that responsibility for community tensions lie with the 'self-segregating' minorities" (ibid, p.37). Since 2001, this discourse is utilised in a

community cohesion discourse, blaming Muslims for lack of integration and threatening community cohesion (Jackson, 2018). This discourse became salient following the 2001 riots, 9/11 and 7/7 bombings which permeates the myth that Muslims are mono-cultural and want segregation.

The word 'community' like the word 'race' is a noun which functions in a way to portray a collective group of people. It can be used in a localized manner; as a group of people living in a particular area or it can be applied in general terms as "a common essence or shared experience that transcends geographical specificity" (Pitcher, 2009, p.75). This 'slippage' between micro and macro level functions as power in discourse to categorize people as homogenous. Therefore, regarding Foucault and power, the 'slippage' of the word community, functions through a discursive shift, to potentially recontextualise and exclude the histories of Muslim settlement areas in the UK (predominantly because of racism towards Muslims) (Foucault in Young, 1981). This works as justification of negative discourses on Muslims as Others by constructing Muslims as part of a non-changing, static and potentially different 'community' from the UK (Fairclough, 2003).

The use of 'community' in Denmark has not been noted because of the political mode of integration it utilizes – assimilation, whereas in Britain, linking multiculturalism with community was introduced by New Labour in the 1990s. Although, the words 'ghetto' and 'parallelsamfund' (parallel societies) (a term first introduced by Wilhelm Heitmeyer (Hiscott, 2005) about segregated Muslims in Germany) may be used in a similar way to denote different communities or societies which live parallel to each other. The notion of community and social cohesion has been foundational in the construction of Danish identity, built on ideas of N.F.S Grundtvig.

2.3 Danishness

Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783 – 1872) was a Lutheran priest, philosopher, and politician, influential in building Danish nationalism and is an "inescapable reference point" (Hall et al, 2015, p.7) when discussing Danish national identity. Following the fall of the United Monarchy (loss of Danish multinational empire including Greenland, Iceland, Faroe Islands, Norway, and Schleswig and Holstein) Grundtvig was instrumental in creating 'modern Denmark' (ibid).

Grundtvig introduced the Folk High School, after visiting Trinity College in England, to enlighten the poor and uneducated, whereby teachers and students live and work together in small communities helping students develop human relations in society. Revolutionising the influence of Lutheranism (through re-writing hymns) and influenced by writers of the Enlightenment era (focusing on freedom of speech), Grundtvig centred his work on the idea that the 'people's' language could unite Danish people over 'class lines' (Fukuyama, 2014). This was the influencing factor on school and state, whilst still promoting religion. Through reigniting Nordic mythology, Grundtvig constructed an image of Danes as pure people linked through "blood, birth and language" (Agius, 2013). This demonstrates the power and exclusionary function of Danish identity in that anyone not 'linked', particularly religiously, through these requirements and knowledge of the Danish mythology cannot be legitimised as 'Danish', i.e. Muslims. The folk are established through a common history which "engenders a sense of folkelighed" (Veninga, 2014, p.48). The "Grundtvigian notion of Denmark as a small power...threat[ened] from external influence has remained a powerful idea" (Wren, 2001, p.149). Danishness is thus fear of the Other and has influenced how Muslims, with a different religion and potentially race are represented in Denmark (Agius, 2013). The discourse of Danishness and Danish identity function within power as it could therefore be utilised by text producers as an interpretive 'cue' to readers of how and why Muslims are the Other (Fairclough, 1989).

Community is created through shared language and identity and folkelighed is a joining of Christianity and secular ideas of humanism (Veninga, 2014); establishing an image of Denmark as modern and progressive. This image continues today with a focus on gender equality, open democracy and the establishment of the welfare state, which raised social trust and brought together the notion of Danish kinship or 'tribe' (Rytter, 2010). As evident, the Danish identity is built historically on a perception of 'sameness'.

2.3.1 Imagined Sameness

Marianne Gullestad (2002), through research on egalitarianism in Nordic countries, proposed that in liberal Scandinavia "equal" does not equate to 'equality' but rather "sameness" or 'imagined sameness'. Therefore, power is utilised by controlling the discourse on Danishness and frames the 'truth' and

'knowledge' of who is included and excluded in Danish national identity (Hobbs, 2008). Key results indicate that 'sameness' and a shared concept of home (hygge in Denmark) is central in identifying with members in society and reaffirming support for one's own 'sameness' identity. This 'sameness identity' frequently "implies there is a problem when others are perceived to be "too different"" (Gullestad, 2002, p.47). However, outsiders, i.e. Muslims (including descendants such as potentially Muslim descendants) and migrants are essential for establishing this 'sameness identity' and the "invisible fence for the acceptance of 'immigrants'" (ibid; p.59) such as Muslims descendants allows discrimination to be justified because of 'differences' in culture.

Gullestad's research is important in this project and aligns itself with the Scandinavian social concept of Janteloven (law of Jante). Janteloven was originally taken from a book by the Norwegian-Danish author Aksel Sandemose who in 1933 wrote the book "En flygtning krysser sitt spor" (A fugitive crosses his tracks"), on the fictitious rural town Jante in Denmark. The protagonist encounters 10 rules of Janteloven (see below) that the citizens of the town follow to control and be controlled by socially; with the focus being on achieving equality or 'sameness' even if this means sacrificing one's talents to be like others.

1. You're not to think you are anything special.
2. You're not to think you are as good as we are.
3. You're not to think you are smarter than we are.
4. You're not to convince yourself that you are better than we are.
5. You're not to think you know more than we do.
6. You're not to think you are more important than we are.
7. You're not to think you are good at anything.
8. You're not to laugh at us.
9. You're not to think anyone cares about you.
10. You're not to think you can teach us anything.

(Author's translation. Sandemose, 1933)

Janteloven is deeply 'engrained' in Danish society. The discourse of 'sameness' is perceived as natural in politics and wider society (Gopal, 2000). Like the Foucauldian notion of power, Janteloven is dispersed and enacted in all areas of

society such as; media, government, schools and prioritizes sameness of the collective and alienates the individualized identity (Ahlness, 2014).

Hygge, or the creation of safety in the home or a cosy, sheltered environment, represents harmony and egalitarianism - the expression or identity of Danishness, which excludes strangers (Schwartz, 1985). The combination of hygge and janteloven function to build a potentially hostile environment towards Muslims or anyone seen as an 'outsider' (Beltagui & Schmidt, 2015).

The concept of sameness from Gullestad and Janteloven are essential ideas to consider when assessing how the Danish press utilize national identity when discussing Muslims. Furthermore, Foucault's idea of power functions within the culturalised imagined sameness because it works to construct the 'truth' of what a Danish identity is and therefore permits for members of society, i.e. Muslims to be legitimately Othered. This 'truth' is achieved, as outlined in the following literature chapters, through 'discursive practices' of reiterating voices and discourses and could, for example, be prominent 'voices' in the media legitimising the idea of an imagined sameness in Denmark (Foucault in Gordon, 1980). Thereby controlling the discourse on Muslims and constructing a positive Self-identity which excludes Muslims as 'Danish'.

2.3.2 Welfare State

The welfare state is "a collective term for legislation, obligations and rights, unexpressed norms and social institutions" (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p.7). The Danish welfare state is defined as regarding the population as "a whole" and a "distributed social wealth" (Johncke, 2011, p.31 & 40). It evolved in the 1930s with an exponential rise in government involvement with the introduction of the Social Reform Bill 1933 of equal rights to all citizens; influenced by the Social Democratic Party. It was the period between 1950s – 1970s that has been named the "'Golden Age of Social Democracy' and welfare" (Christiansen & Petersen, 2001, p.178).

A liberal nationalism discourse, whereby the Danish welfare state is also a welfare 'society/community', interlinked with common Danish values (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2005) has been employed by politicians when discussing multiculturalism. Some topics are perceived as putting 'pressure' on Danish

values (within the welfare state) such as globalisation, individualism, and immigration, perceived as specifically Muslim immigration (Koefoed, 2006). These perceived pressures have created a narrative interlinked with Orientalist discourse, stereotyping the 'Other' (Muslims and immigrants) and threatening the "progressive story of the Danish welfare community" (Koefoed, 2015, p. 227). This dichotomy is also evident in Danish welfare work with Muslims and immigrants (Øland, 2019). Therefore, the exclusionary power in the established 'truth-effects' of constructing a discourse of Danish national identity whereby the 'knowledge' and 'truth' that the welfare state is integral to an idea of Danish identity, functions to contain and control what is and is not Danish. Thus the 'threat' to unity of the Danish welfare state has resulted in the utilisation of power to construct a discourse of Muslim Others and legitimised as 'truth' because of the long-established discourses of Danishness or 'rules' for constructing a Danish national identity (Felluga, 2015).

The welfare state is linked with the 'myth' that Denmark is a homogenous country, influenced by Grundtvig's notion of sameness evoked in the people and perpetrated by academics and the media (Veninga, 2014). Since the early 20th century, Denmark has not been homogenous, as predominantly European immigrants and migrants have entered and lived in Denmark for years. It was not until the 1960s that Muslim migrants from Third World countries arrived.

Scholars like Jespersen & Pittelkow (2011) have stated that the arrival of immigrants from varied backgrounds, such as Muslim, is a threat to social cohesion in Denmark. Social cohesion is essential in maintaining the welfare state and Danish identity because the welfare state is built on a shared knowledge of values and beliefs.

Contextually, these ideas, and discourses have a dialectical relationship and are linked to nationalism and multiculturalism in Denmark. Therefore, analysing how the welfare state is perceived as embodying Danish 'values' and solidarity is important to consider when analysing the data. It is categorised as a potential indicator of banal nationalism within Denmark (Billig, 1995). Furthermore, there is indication that populist parties in stronger welfare states focus on the salience of Muslims and immigration's effect on values and threat to the welfare state (Ennsner-Jedenastik & Koppl-Turyna, 2019).

2.4 Star System

Linking the concept of 'imagined sameness' Gullestad (2006) suggests that Muslim women in the media are used within a Star System, that seeks to promote views that are out-with the norm of Islam or any criticism of Islam and thereby often portraying these women as more Western. This is a function of power whereby representation of 'truth' is constructed as legitimate when a Muslim voice is framed as Western or aligning with a country's national identity construction (Foucault in Young, 1981). The Star System developed from Dominguez's (1994) initial research conducted on race inclusion within the Academy in America during a period where focus was on "efforts to counter historical patterns of exclusion based on racial classification" (ibid: p. 333). Dominguez (1994) concentrated on the idea that a 'star system' was needed to control markers of differences between black and white people. Universities competed with each other to hire black academics, as a means of demonstrating 'diversity'. Gullestad used this idea to demonstrate the star system of 'diversity' within the media, where "specific minority women are superprivileged" (2006, p.50). Minority women are selected because they let;

"the media institutions attain several goals at once: the stars catch the attention of the readers; the media are seen to be promoting racial or ethnic democracy; they benefit from the charisma of articulate minority persons; and they minimize the risks of being forced to make radical changes in the institutional arrangements of the 'white public space.'" (ibid: p.51)

This 'star system', therefore utilises ethnic minority women to construct an image of 'diversity' within the respective organisations. The media, through utilising Star System members, use power to attempt to control and construct a representation of diversity in representation and utilisation of pluralised 'voices'. Thus, the managing and normalisation of negative Othering discourses are utilised by the discursive practice of constructing an image of diversity through using ethnic minority women voices framed as 'truth'. These ethnic minority 'voices' function to allow the text producers (including newspaper institutions) to produce and frame 'forbidden speech' (which may at that present in time be perceived as racist or discriminatory) on Muslims as 'truth'. Thus, the power behind the continual use of Star System members results in the legitimation and normalisation of negative

discourses on Muslims (Mills, 2003). Additionally, the use of Star System members adds a further dimension of power whereby selected Muslims are given a voice if they conform to the legitimising negative and dominant Othering discourses of Muslims. Thus, Muslims are actively promoted to push 'truth claims' about their perceived/framed own community. The Star System focuses on minority people who downplay or denounce their 'minority' to become Norwegian. Gullestad (1994) cites Shabna Rehman, a columnist for Dagbladet (Norway) as a Star System Muslim woman who discusses the need for Muslims to integrate into Norwegian society.

This theory is applied in the research, extending it to include Muslim men. The research examines how 'star system' members who are 'critical' of their religion and Muslims are used by newspapers to reinforce certain discourses and ideologies. This thesis posits that the Star System functions to segment newspapers' ideological stance of national identity and political models of integration through members to avoid being accused of racism or prejudice. This functions with political economy of the media to produce "sensationalist content from specific and limited sources" (Poole, 2014, p.114)

Jacobsen et al (2012) found in an analysis of Danish newspaper coverage on Muslims over two weeks that Muslim 'voices' were excluded except those with "the most critical point of views" (Ibid: p. 67). 'Everyday' Muslims tend to be excluded in media and this contributes by "creating a distorted picture of Muslims and their religion" (Ibid: p.67). Macdonald (2006) found the media silence the "diversity of Muslim women's voices" (p.19), focusing instead on essentialized negative images of Muslims. Other scholars have found signs of a variety of Muslim 'voices' now included in the media (see Meer, Dwyer & Modood, 2010). Although, Munnik (2017) theorises there is plurality of Muslim sources and voices which the media can utilise it does not detract that the media will typically choose limited 'representatives' of Muslims in line with ideologies and political stances of the newspaper, not demonstrating the diversity of opinions. This alludes to the Foucauldian notion that discourse and power functions between not only what can be said and perceived as 'truth', but also *who* can make 'truth' claims (in Young, 1981). In this aspect, within the Star System, certain Muslim 'voices' are foregrounded because they legitimise dominant negative Othering of Muslims.

Chapter Three: Political Models of Integration and Changing Political Climate

This chapter 'sets the scene' for the research by outlining the cultural context and political model of integration each country adopts when integrating Muslims. This progresses to the changing political climate, (the rise of right-wing populism), as a partial response to the political models of integration and Muslim receptivity in each country but also in the wider European cultural context.

3.0 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has been defined as "politics of recognition" and based around 'need' (often used in 'nationalistic politics') and 'demand' (Taylor in Goldberg, 1994, p.75) from citizens within a nation-state. 'Politics of recognition', or the need and demand for multiculturalism, outlines that identity is "shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others" (ibid, p.75). Therefore, multiculturalism is required to recognise the cultural backgrounds by which a nations' citizens may ascribe as part of their identity.

Multiculturalism has many aspects and levels. Regarding the research multiculturalism is defined as recognising citizen backgrounds and used to "fight stigmas and barriers that prevent members of the group from fully integrating" (Kymlicka, 2003, p.151). Linking multiculturalism with Muslims and additionally immigrants is the dominant theme throughout Europe as is the idea of national identity (Kivisto & Wahlbeck, 2013).

The 'backlash' against multiculturalism discourse (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010) is rooted in homogeneity or the idea that it is "a necessary condition for community, for civility and perhaps even for civilization and for the very possibility of knowledge and knowledge claims" (Goldberg, 1994, p.20). Favouring homogeneity is used in anti-Muslim discourse contesting multiculturalism. Most Western democracies have historically at one point or another adopted an idea of a mono-cultural nation-state (Kymlicka, 2003). The homogeneous nation-state was viewed as the "possession of a dominant national group, which used the state to privilege [various aspects deemed inherent (including identity, language and literature) within the 'culture' that served] as the expression of its nationhood" (ibid, p.149); minority groups were expected to assimilate. However, from the

1970s to the mid-1990s recognition of diversity was expressed in laws throughout Western democracies (Kymlicka, 2010).

The mid-1990s saw the beginning of the backlash against multiculturalism and the increase in 'nation building'. This backlash has developed from fear by the dominant group within a nation-state; fear that diversity has become too accommodating and 'threatening' to their (the 'dominant groups') 'way of life'. This has contributed to the rise of right-wing parties in Europe (ibid, p.97). Additionally, multiculturalism and advocating for minority 'group rights' has been categorised as potentially 'bad' for women (Cohen et al in Okin, 1999); 'gay' rights (Mepschen et al, 2010) and negative for liberal values like human rights and freedom of speech. This argument is often employed in political and media discourse denouncing multiculturalism. In the political sphere focus on gender has aided 'radical-right parties' to "join forces with such unlikely allies as feminists and social democrats" (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007, p.199). This is a simplified argument for a complicated topic, classifying diverse and different groups of people into mono-cultural category and promotes ethnocentrism and cultural relativism (Bredal, 2006). By focusing on gender and LGBT rights right-wing populists and far right groups have aided in normalising anti-Islam and discourses of Muslims and increased support from women (Miller-Idriss & Pilkington, 2017).

The perceived failure of multiculturalism is failure of 'macro symbolic integration'; the idea that the shared 'conception' of the dominant society is not shared by other groups of people and 'the other' is incapable of sharing this 'conception' (Modood, 2013, p.1). The cultural identity of what it means to be part of a particular nation is discourse and linked with integration. Thus, if a discourse of Muslims, such as Muslims not 'sharing' this common conception or cultural identity, is normalized in the media it could contribute to the idea of not belonging – because 'they' do not share our conception of what it means to be 'British' or 'Danish'. Despite 'multi' implying many identities recognised and accepted in society. Often the 'failure of multiculturalism' discourse is the 'failure of assimilation' (Wodak et al, 2013).

3.0.1 UK Multiculturalism

The UK has followed a political model of multiculturalism, which has been acknowledged through its “historical background of imperial nationhood and a concept of citizenship” (Meer et al, 2015, p.709). Multiculturalism became a core element of New Labour within the ‘radical hour’ whereby the recognition of racism within Britain, through a variety of reports and the 2000 Race Relations (Amendment) Act, was signalled by New Labour (Pilkington, 2008, p.1). This involved the ‘rebranding’ of Britishness; the idea that multiculturalism is British. Under New Labour (1997 – 2001) multiculturalism was inspired by prominent ‘ethnic scholars’ like Tariq Modood and Paul Gilroy (Modood & Meer, 2013, p. 27). Since the late 1990s this model has been increasingly scrutinised by the media, academics, and influential writers such as David Goodheart and deemed a ‘failure’ by David Cameron (BBC, 2011). A new realism discourse, as part of a genre in media discourse, emerged in the 1990s ‘allowing’ politicians to speak politically incorrect about Muslims, including Muslims immigrants and excusing this as representing and protecting the people from the ‘issues’ that multiculturalism had brought to the West. This discourse was first permitted by Frits Bolkestein (former Conservative Liberals leader) and saw the introduction of discourses surrounding the ‘problem’ of cultural diversity (Prins, 2002, p.367).

Multiculturalism or the perception of a ‘multicultural problem’ in political and media discourse arises typically during a ‘crisis’ (Brighton, 2007, p.6). The *Rushdie Affair* in 1988 and the subsequent fatwa issued against Salman Rushdie (in 1989) was a crisis marked as the beginning of a ‘cultural difference’ debate centred on the “‘Britishness’ of British Muslims” (ibid, 2007, p.7). However, more recent terrorist events, riots within urban areas of the UK and commissioned riot reports labelling certain groups (i.e. Muslims) within society as leading ‘parallel lives’ (Cantle, 2001) have contributed to the view, by some, that multiculturalism is ‘responsible for domestic terrorism’ in the UK (Meer & Modood, 2009, p. 474). These events were deemed turning points in moving ‘beyond multiculturalism’ (Joppke, 2004, p. 251), during this time, Labour began to discuss integration and debate ethnic minorities’ requirement to assimilate to British “norms of acceptability” (Blunkett in BBC, 2001, p.1) shifting the debate on multiculturalism towards the right (Kundnani, 2002). Such events and reports, coupled with increased anti-terrorism strategies within the UK have allowed “discourses of

'community cohesion' [to emphasise] the assimilatory aspects of integration" and foster a view that Muslims embody "radical 'otherness' [are illiberal] about multiculturalism" resulting in "Britain's security woes" (Meer & Modood, 2009, p. 481). Although writers such as Yasmin Alibhai-Brown have dubbed Britain's multiculturalism as tokenism, or the 3s model "saris, samosa and steeldrums", focusing on the good parts of the different cultures, without acknowledging social inequalities, as witnessed in the 2012 London Olympics (Silk, 2014).

Although Europe politically has shifted towards the discourse of 'failed multiculturalism'; it is "an anxious rejection of the very fact of multiculturalism" and not the policies implemented to 'manage' multiculturalism (Lentin & Titley, 2012, p.126) but a fear of 'the other' (Lesinska, 2014). It is subject to 'zombification'; being killed and 're-animated' to suit political motives such as shifting blame of the Lee Rigby murder on to multiculturalism (Allen, 2015, p.31).

The changing discourse around multiculturalism and integration in the UK has changed from the 1950s focusing on colour, race and ethnicity to religion (present day).

Muslims have always been viewed as 'the Other' (Cihodariu & Dumitrescu, 2013). Discourses on Muslims change and are influenced by institutions such as the media, government and critical events, for example, a terrorist attack or political commentary, and European expansion.

Events have shaped media discourses on Muslims and the questioning of multiculturalism in Europe as a whole; multiculturalism and Muslims, including Muslim immigrants, have "intensified...concerns, making a more palpable and present threat out of the idea of an immigrant" (ibid, p. 53). Depending on the event a Muslim can be viewed as a threat to security, values/culture or the economy.

Issues concerning multiculturalism and the integration of people have become 'politicized', 'economized' and 'securitized' "but also 'Europeanized' in the sense of having been widely disseminated throughout the EU" (ibid, p.47). This further justifies comparing Denmark and the UK to examine whether discourses on Muslims are similar or different. Events such as terrorist acts have created a 'shift' and 'defensive reaction(s)' in politics with 'populist rhetoric' becoming legitimate,

entering the mainstream “via a ‘permissive signal’ from leaders primarily Sarkozy and Cameron” (ibid, p. 38 – 39) that multiculturalism has failed. The ‘peak’ of the death of multiculturalism discourse happened between 2010 and 2011 with Dutch populist right-wing politician Geert Wilders giving a speech scolding European leaders for allowing terrorism in Europe, German politician Thilo Sarrazin publishing a book about Germany ‘abolishing’ its identity and Angela Merkel and David Cameron declaring multiculturalism a failure (Ossenwaarde, 2014, p.174).

3.0.2 Denmark Assimilation

Although like the UK, Denmark has a history of Muslim citizens, from, in the early 1960s, when guest workers were invited to improve the Danish economy. These workers were not expected to stay; Denmark according to several scholars, has been a largely homogeneous nation-state with one language (Kærgård, 2010; Togeby, 2008); this is a typical ‘argument’ employed within anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant discourse (Wodak et al, 2013; Lange & Mugge, 2015). Therefore, Denmark did not seek to develop any discourse on integration until the 1980s. However, the discourse and model is of assimilation.

Assimilation is defined as ‘one-way integration’, where the ‘newcomer’, or perceived ‘newcomer’, must become like the host with ideally little disruption to the “society they are settling in” (Modood, 2014, p.203); whereas all other forms of ‘integration’ such as multiculturalism are ‘two-way’. The political discourse of ‘integration’ is often code for ‘assimilation’ (Wodak et al, 2013). The Muslim must conform to the dominant culture and diminish/leave behind any aspects of culture which do not conform to the dominant culture. This is evident in Denmark and also in the UK amidst growing resentment, from some, towards Muslims and anti-Muslim sentiments towards second-generation immigrant Muslims (Fekete, 2008). Muslims, who are presented as supportive of ethnic ⁷“immigrant” culture, by, for example, wearing symbolic markers of differences such as the Muslim veil, are viewed in the media through an Orientalist lens, sub-ordinate to dominant Europe.

⁷ “Immigrant” culture here is in reference to the construction of Muslims as immigrant, different from the dominant culture; an Other. Irrespective of, and not acknowledging that Muslims are not one homogenous group but consist of many communities, one of which is immigrants of varied backgrounds.

Ethnic minority women have been discussed heavily in the media and women who downplay their 'otherness' are rewarded as 'star system' members in the media (Gullestad, 2006). This is part of an assimilation discourse evident in both Europe and America (Cisneros, 2015 & Alsultany, 2015).

Denmark has never recognised multiculturalism as a political model and the perceived 'backlash' against multiculturalism in the Danish case could be defined as 'a desire' for further restrictions on Muslims in the country and the continuing alleged 'homogeneity' often applied as the way 'it has always been' (Holtug, 2013, p.190).

Denmark operates around an assimilation model because it functions to "minimize differences" (Haas, 2008, p.60). Although Denmark has never subscribed to multiculturalism, Danish politicians have voiced opinions about the 'failure' of multicultural policies (Meer et al, 2015); in 2008 the Danish politician Søren Pind suggested that Muslims and immigrants should be encouraged to assimilate not integrate (Politiken, 2011). He was appointed Minister of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration in 2011 and held this position for less than a year. In 2005 Denmark followed the Dutch idea of citizenship naturalisation and adopted a similar model of citizenship test (Lowenheim & Gazit 2009).

Within the last 10 years an 'anti-multiculturalism' has developed towards multiculturalism (Lægaard in Kivisto & Wahlbeck, 2013, p.170). The term multiculturalism is not typically discussed in Denmark. Integration of Muslims or 'value politics' (a term created by Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the previous Danish Prime Minister (2001 – 2007)) is dominant as outlined in the Liberal-Conservative 'values commission' outlining values of importance in Danish society (Ministry of Culture, 2011).

The 'threat' to social cohesion has been salient within the Danish debate, primarily due to the societal emphasis on equality and the importance of the welfare state (Holtug, 2013). The welfare state and perception of certain groups of people receiving more funds and preferential rights over the 'indigenous' people is a common reaction to multiculturalism (Grillo in Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). This is important because, in Denmark, Koefoed (2006) found, whilst interviewing Danes, a narrative of 'welfare nationalism'. Welfare nationalism can in some narratives and discourses equate to the welfare state being 'us' rather than state,

because of Danish history (see 2.2.2). Thus, the idea of the Danish welfare state is of a shared national identity and culture, therefore, conforming to the idea of Denmark as a homogenous country. This coincides with the anti-multiculturalism discourse within Denmark, whereby due to the welfare state being prominent to society, an adoption of multiculturalism would be viewed as a potential catalyst for the fall of the welfare state and Denmark.

The Danish debate around integration or assimilation to Danish 'values' began in the 1990s when *Ekstra Bladet* ran a campaign discussing *De Fremmede* (the foreign), specifically Somali Muslim refugees, within Denmark and whether Denmark should adopt towards a multicultural model; the argument was that it was 'the Danish peoples' choice (Hervik, 2012). Somali Muslim refugees were framed too different from Danes and therefore "could not be integrated" (Hervik, 2012, p.216). However, multiculturalism did not become a dominant issue in politics until the 2001 Danish general election, when Muslims and Muslim immigrants and multiculturalism became a politicised topic (Siim, 2015). Although, other events such as 9/11 and a national incident regarding a Danish Muslim politician Mona Sheikh (accused of supporting the Taliban) in the Summer of 2001 (Hervik, 2002) helped the centre-right government to come into power.

The portrayal of 'securitised' Muslims as a 'fifth column', willing to conspire terrorist acts against the nation, is synonymous with anti-multiculturalism discourse within Europe. Similarly, as are arguments of multiculturalism supporting anti-human rights acts like female genital mutilation (framed as supporting 'backwards cultures'), gender inequality and the erosion of national identity (Kymlicka in Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). This has fostered a discursive schism, of inter-related discourses about women, freedom and Muslims within and out-with academia (Bredal, 2006). Gender inequality is viewed as a minority women problem because discourses in Danish politics are that Denmark has achieved gender equality. This has created a focus on minority women, the hijab and forced marriage (Andreassen, 2005).

The Danish centre-right retained power (as a coalition between the Liberals and Conservatives) from 2001 – 2011 with support from the DPP, following a campaign focusing on Muslims and immigration from both left and right parties (Akkerman et al, 2016). During this period the government implemented a number of strict

immigration policies, such as the '24-year rule' and a higher expectation in language proficiency required for citizenship tests (Kristensen, 2007). Although these policies focus on immigrants they were devised from the ongoing framings of Muslims overall in Denmark following 9/11 (Rytter & Pedersen, 2013). This research, however, focuses on media discourse of Muslims and not policies employed by the Danish and British government.

A focus on forced marriages and minority women has created a dominant discourse of minority women and inequality as a problem and viewed as a threat to Danish values. This is reflected in the "Government Action Plan for 2003 – 2005 on Forced, Quasi-forced and Arranged Marriages". The idea being that cultural heterogeneity is negative to social cohesion justifying utilisation of an assimilation model in Denmark (Siim, 2015).

Some policies could be deemed as multicultural such as the 'free schools act' resulting in the highest public subsidies for Muslim schools in Europe (Siim & Skjeie, 2008) or the multicultural policies implemented by certain municipalities within bigger cities in Europe such as London or Copenhagen (Crul & Schnieder, 2010 & Faist, 2009). The official model of citizenship within political and media discourse in Denmark is of assimilation. The rise and political dependence from the centre-right of the DPP have been partly credited for the current political framing of Muslims, although Dane's have displayed historically negative views towards Muslims (Anderson & Antalikova, 2014).

Different approaches are taken within the Danish debate on integration such as mixing the active citizenship discourse with a traditional liberal approach to integration (conforming to liberal ideas like freedom of speech, freedom of religion) (Goodman, 2014). A precise definition of an 'active citizen' is not specified and thus may cause confusion (Holtug, 2013). A conservative nationalist discourse of complete assimilation into culture has been predominantly used by the DPP. This ambiguity over the definition and constitution of an 'active citizen' is an important element to consider during the data analysis, because definitions of integration as outlined are embroiled within different discourses.

As the literature shows, the discourse of anti-multiculturalism and Muslim is interlinked and often when politicians or the media report or comment on Muslims and different Muslim communities, the 'failure of multiculturalism' frame will be

employed. The perceived 'failure' of multiculturalism is regularly blamed on the 'Muslim' Other. The attempt to use multiculturalism as a model of Muslim integration is perceived as segregating groups of people, promoting extremism, abolishing national identity and creating a disharmony towards the dominant group of the nation-state and thus monocultural homogeneity becomes favourable – 'they must become like us' – thereby shifting the meaning of 'two – way' integration into 'one – way' integration, i.e. assimilation (Wodak, 2015). This element is important for conducting the textual analysis because many politicians have replaced the word 'assimilation' with 'integration' or related terms and this may affect the framing and discourse on Muslim representation.

A fear-inducing anti-Muslim frame has been created focusing on multiculturalism and the loss of national identity (Lesinska, 2014) therefore when examining national identity, the political models of the UK and Denmark must be considered and viewed as a potential link or Foucauldian 'eventualisation' (event that has contributed historically to the present debate on Muslims) when analysing the macro-environment of media representation of Muslims.

3.1 Right-Wing Populism

A variety of definitions of populism exist. It has been employed as an anti-establishment synonym, comprised of anti-elitist and anti-pluralist ideas embodied in identity politics (Muller, 2016), particularly body politics (Wodak, 2015). Right-wing populist parties encompass three main parts; nativism (faithfulness to your country and 'people') authoritarianism, social ordering of law and family values and populism (binary opposition of the pure people and enemy) (Mudde, 2007). Right-wing populism is attractive to people who have been affected by neo-liberal infiltration in Western society and the perception of loss e.g. loss of national identity. Furthermore, Rydgren (2009) posits lack of social trust and societal organisation membership as additional contributing factors.

Social trust or the trust in others in society has dwindled since the 1960s, particularly trust in the "generalized other". If people appear to be "doing their fair share" then people trust them, if not, there is no trust (Putnam, 2000, p.142). The decline in "social capital" or the decline in connectedness is linked to decline

in social trust, premediated by growing inequality in America. Although Putnam's research focuses on America his idea can be applied within the wider neoliberal societies, with Hart & Henn (2017) citing the "neoliberalisation of society" adding to "increasing levels of cynicism" towards politics (ibid: p.2). Wren-Lewis (2017) theorises that countries with strong neoliberal policies have "created a very large group in society that were looking for someone to blame" (ibid: p1). Lack of trust has contributed to the rise of right-wing populism and fascism in Europe, related to rise in immigration, perceived to be predominantly Muslim, and the recession (Algan et al, 2017). Additionally, trust in newspapers has declined in the West with trust in journalist reporting and objective and governments fading (Peters & Broersma, 2013 & Bakir & Barlow, 2007). This is partly due to propaganda and media manipulation during WWI (in the UK) (Redley, 2007). The Net Trust Index (EBU Media Intelligence Service, 2018) was developed to measure public trust in institutions throughout Europe, results indicated that Nordics tend to trust printed news (and trusted social networks least), whereas in the UK people tended not to. This link between trust in media, politics, and neoliberalism is important to acknowledge as it may be influential in how the press report on Muslims in differing countries. Although traditionally Denmark has been a socialist country, it has shifted towards neoliberal policies and in turn "culturalist discourses" "tinged with neoliberal flare" via linking discourses of Muslims with economic discourses (Casey, 2014, p.6). There has been increasing influence of neo-liberal ideology in welfare states, including Denmark, influencing how ethnic minority men are represented (Kolind et al, 2017).

The media influence right-wing populist support by reporting stories using news 'cues' of combining anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant attitudes with political cynicism similar to right-wing populist rhetoric (Sheets et al, 2016, p.307). One area is towards 'political correctness' (PC), which arose during Reagan-Thatcher years of neo-liberal policy development in opposition to left politics (Fairclough, 2003). Political Correctness, according to Hall (1994), is a reflection of "the fragmentation of the political landscape into separate issues..[the] refusal to cohere any longer within some broader collective identity" (p.166). This is related to the neo-liberal policies introduced by Reagan and Thatcher creating a "seductive appeal to selfishness" "possessive individualism", whilst 'exploiting' fears of 'otherness' (ibid, p.169). 'PCers' attempted to 'contain' language on

groups of people which gave a strategy to the New Right to utilise framing PC as a tool to control 'people'.

Focusing on a foreign enemy through a binary opposition, right-wing populists and Far Right have typically highlighted a culturally homogenous past, portrayed as 'harmonious' in stark contrast to the threat of a heterogeneous, inharmonious, present and future (Yilmaz, 2006). This threat comes from primarily Muslims framed as non-Western. Ethno-national populism focuses on the "strategy of presupposing or stressing difference" (Wodak, 2015, p.54) and 'utterances' of discrimination are typically implicit or 'coded' (ibid: p.50) often with denial (Van Dijk, 1992). Myth and oversimplification of an Us v Them dichotomy, is a key element of populist discourse, embroiled within a conspiracy myth of political elite fostering support for Muslims over the perceived 'indigenous' (Stoica, 2017).

As stated in Chapter One, the rise of right-wing populist parties in Europe is significant because the discourse they utilise can be reinforced or "spread to different fields and relate to or overlap with other discourses" (Wodak, 2015, p.48) such as the press. The right-wing populist rhetoric functions as a dialectical relationship of power with other discourses such as security and citizenship. Discourses on Muslims, including immigrant Muslims, is often used with a 'fictionalization of politics' or the 'blurring of boundaries' whereby distinctions between reality and fiction is unclear creating entertainment information and simplifying complex topics such as the plurality of societies (ibid, p.12). Yilmaz (2006) states the Left have opened a field of opportunity for the Far right to embrace liberal left ideals via the "Left's adoption of neoliberal orthodoxies [that have created] a political void where discontent with the system was no longer represented in the mainstream political system" (p.7).

Therefore, much like Foucault's notion of power, right-wing populist rhetoric functions as a dialectical relationship of power with other discourses like security and citizenship. Due to this dialectical relationship, discourses are dispersed from a 'field of action', such as political advertising, but can be "disseminated to other fields" and (sub)genres (Wodak, 2015, p.48). Regarding this research, it is essential to examine the rise of right-wing populist parties to understand their popularity has a dialectical relationship with the press. Right-wing populism is not exclusive to one region; it is visible in all parts of Europe and rather than a

'regional' issue is "part of a new broader global political reality" across different areas (Aydın-Düzgit & Keyman, 2017, p.3).

The media and media discourse are 'processual', subject to change and influenced by, whilst also influencing, events such as the rise of right-wing populists (Cottle, 2003, p.18). An important element to acknowledge is the notion that the dialectical relationship, the relationship between two elements, between institutions such as the press, political parties, events and the general public, means that within the bottom-up form of power, voters partially dictate the discourse surrounding Muslims and multiculturalism (Grillo in Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). If people vote for right-wing populist parties because of anti-Muslim discourses, parties from all stances may be influenced by this and adapt rhetoric on Muslims, and the different communities within, and multiculturalism to secure votes. However, mainstream parties, influenced by the far right/right-wing, typically mix positions 'to bridge conflicting preferences' amongst voters (Akkerman, 2012, p.63).

Right-wing populism was present in the 2016 American Presidential Election whereby, the "great ideological trick of the neoliberal Right", of using binary opposites: positive *Self* and negative *Other* was evident (Samuels, 2016, p.19). The wealthy were not blamed for any issues, but the 'cultural elites' (liberal media and government) were the culprits for ills within society. Within the research project, this 'ideological trick', has also been witnessed in Europe and growing resentment and blame towards the 'liberal media' for the failure of multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010).

The rise in right-wing populism has been theorised as involving two issues, the 'economic insecurity perspective' or uncertainty of job security for the 'left behinds' and the 'cultural backlash' perspective which emphasises the dilution of the nation's 'values' due to Muslim communities (Inglehart & Norris, 2016, p.2). Nationalist parties are not a new phenomenon in Europe (the rise of nationalism was evident in the 1960s notably in Germany and France) (Inglehart, 2015). The legitimisation of an 'acceptable' nationalism within nationalist parties (often employing national identity building myths in opposition with the 'Other') (Eatwell, 2000) has become prominent in recent years as a rhetorical tool to 'appeal' to 'common sense of ordinary people' as an aid to "counter charges of racism and

right-wing extremism" (Betz & Johnson, 2004, p.315). Additionally, it functions as a tactic of populism and fascism (Stanley, 2018).

Two central arguments are focused on in the rise of the far right; economic and cultural. Inglehart & Norris (2016) argue that the focus has primarily been on culture and voters fearing traditional values eroding, replaced by new values of "greater approval of social tolerance of diverse lifestyles" (Ibid: p.20). Wodak (2013, p.26) notes that 'normalization' of Othering is evident in politics, media and public discourse where populist rhetoric 'recontextualizes' anti-Semitic prejudice onto other groups such as Muslims. Right-wing populists have common features in that they; believe only they represent the People, operate with exclusionary rhetoric, increasing utilisation of gender (focusing on freeing veiled Muslim women who are 'trapped' by fundamentalist Islam) and are media savvy (Siim & Mokre, 2013). This is the interdependent relationship or right-wing populist perpetuum model, whereby they continue to push the boundaries of what can be said about important topics in the media (Wodak, 2015). The strategies of right-wing populists have 'forced' the media into a 'no win' situation where if they do not report on xenophobic utterances from right-wing populists they may be viewed as supporting them but by reporting, they further disseminate the rhetoric (ibid, p.32). Right-wing populist parties are also not exclusively 'right' of the political spectrum, some support left views on welfare and the elderly (like the DPP), favouring what 'the ordinary citizen' supports. Thereby being more complex than simply stating they are 'far-right' even though positions on Muslim communities remain right (Aalberg et al, 2016). This is important to note because it may be that not all voters of right-wing populist parties vote because of far-right stances.

Part of the strategic media agenda populist parties utilise is when racist utterances are made; party members typically respond in contradictory ways using submissive (the admission of wrongdoing, often times resulting in the disciplining of accused members) and confrontational strategies (alleging no wrongdoing) (Hatakka, 2016). These strategies are employed to 'appease racism' (Hatakka et al, 2017, p.268); the discursive strategy of *calculated ambivalence* or the technique of retaining extreme voters whilst not 'breaching liberal-democratic values' (ibid, p.264), often utilise freedom of speech as a defence (Wodak, 2013). This strategy functions to normalize racism, pushing the boundaries of what can

be talked about (Engel & Wodak, 2012) and allows for multiple, differing 'ambiguous interpretations' (Wodak, 2003, p.142) of topics potentially considered taboo. Due to the interdependent relationship between the rise of right-wing populism and the media, it is important when analysing national identity and Muslim representation in the British and Danish press to examine the rise of right-wing populism in both countries.

3.1.2 Danish People's Party

	Party	Cabinet	Composition	Period
Denmark	DF	A.F.Rasmussen I	V-KF-(DF)	2001–2005
	DF	A.F.Rasmussen II	V-KF-(DF)	2005–2007
	DF	A.F.Rasmussen III	V-KF-(DF)	2007–2009
	DF	L.L.Rasmussen I	V-KF-(DF)	2009–2011
	DF	L.L.Rasmussen II	V-(DF)	2015–

Table 3.0: DPP Entering Mainstream Politics. Adapted from (Akkerman et al 2016, p.3)⁸

The DPP was established in 1995 after members of the Progress Party (an anti-tax populist party) left to form the party with Pia Kjaersgaard as the leader. At the time DPP were not viewed as a serious political threat, previous Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen famously stated they would never become mainstream (Meret, 2010). However, in 1998 they received 7.4% of the vote establishing themselves as a leading right-wing party. By 2001 general election, the DPP entered mainstream politics, with the Progress Party support dwindling, after receiving 12.6% of the votes, resulting in the Liberal Party (Venstre) and Conservative People's Party along with DPP receiving equal majority of seats in parliament. Liberal Party and Conservative People's Party formed a minority government, with Anders Fogh Rasmussen as Prime Minister, with parliamentary support from the DPP under the condition from DPP that stricter policies to control Muslim immigration and the Muslim community were implemented (Pedersen, 2006). This resulted in an "influential coalition" partnership with Venstre (Andersen in Liang, 2016, p.103) which has seen the DPP establish stricter

⁸Table key: V = Venstre, KF = Conservative People's Party, DF = Danish People's Party

immigration laws targeting Muslim communities. DPP have been instrumental in establishing the notion that “it is struggling to reclaim Denmark from a political elite” (Hervik, 2012, p.212) [the ‘halal hippies’ (Boe & Hervik, 2008)] “that betrayed it and turned it into a multicultural society” (Hervik, 2012, p.212). Social problems are linked to perceived “Muslim immigration” in “ethnic terms” because of “moral lassitude” with tighter immigration policies being the solution (Rydgren, 2010, p.61). This discourse has been dominant since the 1990s and is also evident in the Danish mass media (ibid). With the cultural compatibility of Muslims and the perceived erosion of ‘Danishness’ becoming dominant within Folketing (parliament) attributed to the rise of DPP (Pedersen, 2006; Rydgren, 2010; Hellstrom & Hervik, 2014).

The historical context of the Danish welfare system reframed as the ‘link’ between ‘homeland’ “to people’s struggle for democracy and social welfare” (Siim & Meret, 2016, p.112) with a focus on gender equality has aided the rise of DPP. They frame themselves through a welfare-nationalist approach as protector of the ‘people’ who have contributed and built the welfare state in contrast to Muslims (ibid). The anti-Muslim sentiments of the DPP have been evident in several proposals such as in 2004 when the party proposed restrictions on the hijab in the workplace. The headscarf was framed as ‘culturally decided’ and not aligned with Danish gender equality (Siim & Skjeie, 2008). Gender equality and the gender model in Denmark and Nordic countries has been viewed as a strong political discourse focusing on men and women working; equality has become institutionalised (Bergqvist, 1999). However, like other right-wing populist parties, the party is selective in the gender equality agenda, and ‘integration’ has shifted to focus on Muslim women (Roggeband & Verloo, 2007).

Members of the DPP are on various boards such as day care and school boards, thus having an influence and impact in the wider society, which may explain the popularity of this party.

The shift towards more right views on Muslims and perceived Muslim immigration happened before DPP came into the mainstream. In 1982 the new right-wing coalition government began implementing neoliberal policies; marking a shift for the Social Democrats and the Left focusing on an ideological “third way” shift to neoliberal ideas, particularly on unemployment (Betz & Meret, 2013). This shift

away from 'classical left' support for the welfare state left working-class voters, disillusioned with the Left and paved a way for right-wing populists to dominate discourses of the working classes typically reserved for the classic Left, and introduce right ideas about groups of people (Yilmaz, 2012). The 'issue' of Muslims and Muslim immigrants has been pushed by the far-right such as debate on the 1983 Asylum and Immigration Act predicted to cause tension in Denmark (Mikkelsen, 2019). Periods of crisis are used as an avenue for right-wing populist discourse to dominate salient issues and construct dominant discourses. It is necessary to reinforce these periods of crisis within discourse to remain 'popular' even after certain events (Yilmaz, 2006). This is necessary to consider when analysing and comparing discourses diachronically and choosing events that could be classified as 'crisis' such as terrorist attacks, because it aids in the examination of shifting discourses. This idea coupled with the rising popularity of electoral support for right-wing populist parties and incorporation of populist rhetoric from left/right of the political spectrum and the fight for discourses regarding Foucault aids the analysis.

Danish politics is grounded in consensus politics and function under a multi-party structure – coalitions are the norm - there has been no one party majority in Folketing (parliament) since 1909. Since 2001 Denmark has had five general elections, the current parliament is 'Blue', a Centre-Right party led by Lars Løkke Rasmussen (Venstre) and is, unlike previous years, not a coalition government, after talks of forming a coalition with the DPP fell through. However, because they are a minority government with only 34 out of 179 seats in parliament, they will be influenced by the DPP and other right-leaning parties regarding policies and legislations (Deutsche Welle, 2015).

The rise of DPP is evident when examining votes in general elections over the years, by 2015 election they were the second most popular party. Parties of the left have employed the rhetoric of DPP with Mette Frederiksen, leader of left Social Democrats), stating a 'bond' on immigration policies, focusing on Muslim communities, with the Danish People's Party (Wienberg, 2018) signalling the mainstreaming of DPP (Christiansen, 2017). The DPP have shifted their rhetoric from focusing on the need to tighten immigration and integrate Muslims into Danish society, to the 'danger' Islam poses to Western values or the Clash of Civilizations discourse. This discourse has been utilised by authors like Jespersen

& Pittelkow (2006) citing the conflict between freedom of speech, a key component of the traditional ideals of Danishness, and the 'power' authoritative Islam has created over Europe following the perception of a large influx of Muslim immigrants (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2011).

The main focus of DPP is nativist, native Danes are under threat by Islam, whereas previous research has indicated high unemployment leading to higher support for populist parties, the opposite is true for Denmark. This is because it opens an avenue to frame Muslims as a threat via "value-based issues" (Bachler & Hopmann, 2017, p.32). The DPP has had charismatic leaders (Pia Kjærsgaard 1995 – 2012 and Kristian Thulesen Dahl 2012 – present) and MP's; Morten Messerschmidt received the 'most personal votes in history' in the 2014 EU elections (Liljeqvist & Voss, 2014, p.1).

1993 – 2001 was a period of left-wing governments, where focus on Muslims and Muslim immigrant communities, from opposing parties on the right including right-wing populist parties were used as part of agenda-setting and this aided the rise of DPP because the left would not discuss the 'issue' of "immigration". However, immigration was still pushed as an important topic discussed on all political spectrums (Green-Pedersen & Mortensen, 2010). This agenda-setting has involved DPP linking issues with Muslims and Muslim immigration, such as economy welfare and crime as a communication strategy to keep Muslims and Muslim immigration a dominant topic (Aalberg et al, 2016). The interdependent relationship between right-wing populists and the media means the discursive strategy of linking Muslims with other topics may be employed in media discourse.

The strength of right-wing populist parties lies in normalisation of the idea that the populist right has successfully presented traditional Left's "humanitarian and internationalist traditions have been successfully presented by the populist right as the main reason for the erosion of the welfare system" (Yilmaz, 2006, p.176). Over the years, mainstream parties of both political spectrums have employed the DPP rhetoric because the DPP is "closely associated with the general tone of the mainstream debate on immigration" (Hellstrom, 2016, p.7) and because the rhetoric has entered mainstream debate, it is difficult for other parties to negatively portray right-wing populists. (Hellstrom & Hervik, 2014). Hellstrom & Hervik (ibid) found the media tended not to question DPP views on Islam or

framed Islam as the '*beast*' (ibid, p.462). Therefore, the rhetoric has continued unquestioned, in some cases, Danish newspapers have supported the DPP (Hervik, 2012).

3.1.3 UKIP

In Britain there is usually a majority party (except between 2010 and 2015) and from 2001 – 2015 British politics shifted toward the Centre Right.

UKIP, a right-wing populist party, was founded in early 1990's by members of the Anti-Federalist League (Ford, et al 2012) during a time when multiculturalism experienced a 'backlash' against a discourse of "rise in nation building and common values and identity, even 'return for assimilation'" (Kymlicka, 2012, p.4). Euroscepticism and hostility to Muslims and Muslim immigration after UKIP's success in 2004 and 2009, have had an effect on mainstream politics and media reporting on Muslims and Muslim immigrants (Hayton, 2010; Sheets et al, 2015); opening a "'space' for the radical right" (Ford & Goodwin, 2014, p. 280). Furthermore, the rise of far-right parties such as the BNP have paved a platform for UKIP to enter mainstream (Allen, 2010).

The party describes itself as "democratic, libertarian party" (UKIP, 2012), although, UKIP is defined in some areas of the media and academia as a populist party (Wodak, 2015 & Abedi & Lundberg, 2009). Table 4.0 highlights the rise in voter support for UKIP and the neo-Nazi BNP⁹. UKIP voters and BNP voters read tabloid papers towards the right of the spectrum and critical of Muslim communities (Ford & Goodwin, 2010; Ford et al, 2012).

⁹ Unlike UKIP (who are a 'moderate alternative' to BNP (Lazardis & Tsagkroni, 2016, p.249), BNP (with fascist origins) have never won a seat in parliament and are overtly racist and anti-Islam with neo-Nazi ideology, considered impolite and thus not adapted by the mainstream.

Selected European right-wing parties 1986–2013, national elections

	1986	1988	1990	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1999	2001	2002	2005	2006	2007	2008	2010	2012	2013
United Kingdom Independence Party (UK)*				0,01					0,34		1,48		2,2					3,10	
British National Party (UK)				0,1					0,1		0,2		0,7					1,9	

Table 4.0: Rise in Voter Support for UKIP. Source: Wodak, 2015

A 'post-imperial crisis' in Britain has allowed a "structural susceptibility to populist politics" (Gifford, 2006, p.857), because of Britain's lack of "unifying conceptions of ethnic or civic nationhood...[amidst] imperial decline" (ibid, p.856) due to a post-imperial and multi-national history. This has witnessed a 'need' for the Other to redefine a 'new' British identity. Originally, like UKIP's first 'enemy of the people', the Other was Europe (since 1970s), supported by Enoch Powell focusing on anti-Europeanism and English nationhood. UKIP is currently an anti-immigrant, anti-Islam, populist party (although the EU remain an enemy). This is part of an "'integrative' identity concept, related to nativist body politics" (Wodak, 2015, p.41), whereby 'traditional' and 'new scapegoats' are presented in opposition to the pure people (ibid). European Identity has been used by UKIP strategically in opposition to the influx of Muslims into the UK, particularly after 9/11, and more recently during the refugee crisis starting in 2014.

Although the Commonwealth and Immigration Act 1962 "set the terms of debate" around race (Webster, 2018, p.11). The rise of right-wing populism rhetoric has been witnessed pre-UKIP, Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech did more than ignite anger, it successfully linked;

"the issue of immigration to the question of race relations so intimately that in British political discourse the two are inseparable"

(Cohen, 1994, p.53)

This racialized notion of immigration has shifted to a culturalized image of the Muslim Other, via 'liquid racism' (Weaver, 2010) or the 'new' racism (Barker, 1981), irrespective of being an immigrant or not. Focusing on common sense

discourse (Allen, 2015) the reinforcement of cultural differences is dominant (Fox et al, 2012).

The rise of UKIP has been accredited to voters' lack of trust for main political parties regarding Muslims and immigration (McLaren, 2013), coupled with the founding leader Nigel Farage's 'ordinary man' British image (Lazaridis & Tsagkroni, 2016) and celebrity members such as talk show host Robert Kilroy Silk. Additionally, the media-savvy, campaign style of Farage has been credited with gaining agenda-setting media coverage (Cushion, Thomas & Ellis, 2015).

It is predicted that UKIP will continue to do well in elections because "immigration is having detrimental effects on public attitudes to the political system in Britain" (McLaren, 2013, p.17) and increasing links with the Far Right. The rise of UKIP, xenophobia, anti-Muslim sentiment and scepticism about immigration, which is framed as linked to Muslim communities, in the UK has resulted in shifts in immigration policy in the mainstream parties. The rise in people voting for UKIP indicates a wider trend within politics in the UK (Hayton, 2010). The four countries of the United Kingdom are allocated into parliamentary constituencies; however, the Government is responsible to Westminster. Since 2002, there have been four general elections; the current government is led by Theresa May (Conservatives with support from DUP).

Some voters, viewed as 'polite xenophobes' (Ford et al, 2012), have shifted party support from Conservative and Labour to UKIP because of their anti-immigration stance. Journalists, such as Andrew Neil, have described UKIP as a party supported by unhappy Conservatives. As evident with two Conservative MPs Douglas Carswell and Mark Reckless defecting to UKIP in 2014. However, UKIP has been viewed as attracting previous Labour working-class supporters (Ford & Goodwin, 2014).

UKIP has shifted from starting as an anti-EU party (applying pressure to the Conservatives to become more Eurosceptic) with support from middle-class Eurosceptic Conservatives to focusing, post 2009, on anti-Muslim and anti-immigration stance; gaining support from previous Labour supporting working-class voters (Ford & Goodwin, 2014). Taking over the Conservatives 'ownership' of immigration (Dennison & Goodwin, p. 179).

The rise of UKIP and demise of Labour in 2010, with Gordon Brown's "Mrs Duffy" altercation, highlighted the lack of voter confidence in Labour's "ability to manage migration" (Carey & Geddes, 2010, p.864). The result of which led to then Labour leader Ed Miliband 'admitting' that Labour "got it wrong on immigration" and should have acknowledged the public's concerns over immigration or perceived "immigrant" groups (Miliband in Little, 2012, p.1).

Some mainstream politicians have shifted further to the right due to local and regional success for members of UKIP (Wodak, 2015). This was evident in the Conservative 'in/out' referendum on Europe, and Home Office mobile poster 'Go Home' campaign aimed at illegal immigrants (Deacon & Wring, 2016).

Chapter Four: The Press

Chapter four examines and outlines theories of the press including mediatization, agenda setting and framing, press systems in the UK and Denmark and outlines examples of media representation of Muslims within Europe and UK and Denmark. Examining these areas is important because representation in the media is mediated; it is re-presented. This results in embedded ideologies (Hall, 1997), which must be examined within discourse, the primary tool used to analyse the data, and how this re-presentation is achieved aids the research process and analysis.

4.0 The Function and Historical Development of the Press

The theory of the press as the fourth estate (Carlyle, 1841), developed in the 18th century, starting first as a term to mock journalists used by MP Edmund Burke. It indicates that the press should have a standing in the 'political system' (Schultz, 1998, p.15) to report to the public, reflecting different opinions and seen as a way to diminish governmental powers. This is viewed as on equal par with other estates of power such as the executive, the legislature and the judiciary (Hess & Walker, 2017).

The press is viewed as 'free' or autonomous from government influence. Journalists must report on issues the public should be aware of and adhere to rights of liberal society, particularly, freedom of speech (Ward, 2014). This is known as the 'Whig' version (Curran, 2002). The press has a duty to the people to report accurately and report the opinions of the public to the legislative; serving as a critical function of democracy.

Within this theory the press has an essential role in monitoring and reporting on the influential and powerful sectors within society such as government and business, functioning as a civil 'watchdog' for the public, "expos[ing] - and thus - preventing abuse" of government (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003, p.24). This allows the public to form opinion on a variety of issues and enable social change.

The free press provides a forum for discussion and help form political communities (Bollinger, 1991). Habermas defined this forum for discussion as 'the public

sphere', or an essential conceptual or physical space where the public may debate issues in a 'democratic forum' independent from the state (Livingstone & Lunt, 1994).

Jamieson & Waldman (2002) outline that when journalists function as watchdogs, particularly when scrutinising politicians, they often become "amateur psychologists" analysing the 'psyches' (ibid: p.24) of politicians which goes beyond the watchdog role of the press. This is in contrast to the previous authoritarian approach of the 17th century viewing the press as supporting authority (Ward, 2014), which ended when the press licencing 1695 in England expired, the Court of Star Chamber in 1641 was abolished and the repeal of press taxation 1853 - 1861 allowing for a free press to emerge (Briggs & Burke, 2009). The financial growth of newspapers allowed them to become independent from government subsidies further, with journalists paid better, allowing improved reporting and use of sources (with less reliance on 'official sources'), partly contributing to the development of a free press (Curran & Seaton, 2009). Although, the liberal theory of a free press should also consider the barriers to entry into the market. The first Royal Commission on the Press (1949) (established from concerns of press concentration limiting free speech) advocated for 'free enterprise' or free speech in the press and did not classify concerns of ownership or advertising an issue. This has not resulted in a diverse range of representation (most newspapers in UK and Denmark are right-wing) due to the financial difficulty to enter the market and starting a newspaper (ibid, 2009). Additionally, although the press is 'free' the majority is right-wing and thus frame stories in line with political stances.

The business model of the printed press functions as a cash cow and is two-fold; stories are selected for readers to interpret and readers are sold to advertisers (Picard, 2010). The rise of 'infotainment' or journalistic focus on entertaining rather than informing, negates the principle of a watchdog press reporting on stories to inform the public and scrutinize those in power; transforming the press into "lapdog[s] for publicists", selling entertainment to readers and readers to advertisers (Perebinossoff, 2008, p.172). As Habermas stated, a "refeudalization" of the public sphere in which commercialisation and infotainment "came to control and manipulate the media and state" has had the opposite effect of the press

functioning as a watchdog for the people and an essential part of democracy (Kellner, N.D, p.4).

4.1 Press Histories and Structure

Examining Hallin and Mancini's (2004) press structure theory of media systems of each country is essential in linking Foucauldian theory of power whereby political leanings of newspapers potentially aid as a 'power tool' when constructing national identity and representation of Muslims. The contextual question of how each country developed their press systems is essential because, "institutional patterns inherited from earlier periods influence the direction they take" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.11). The theory of the press as 'one-dimensional', focusing on the market solely is contested by Bauder (2011) who suggests that the media still function within a dialectical relationship to wider society.

4.1.2 UK

The British press developed from pamphlets, ballads and weeklies', filled with romance or politics (with clear political stances) and purchased by elites (Rubery, 2009) to the expansion with new competitors into the market following the abolishment of the Stamp Duty Act in 1855 (after protests from newspaper owners on the "tax on knowledge"). With the increasing financial reliance on advertising, radical newspapers relied less on politicians and political parties, although subsidies were still present. Coupled with new forms of news emerging such as foreign news, the introduction of *The Telegraph* embraced this new form of news, adopting American style paper with top journalists. The early 1900s saw the expansion of advertising in the press, growing from "£20 million in 1907 to £59 million in 1938" (Curran & Seaton, p.44) reducing the focus of politics favouring entertainment.

Additionally, this era saw the development of the press as the 'fourth estate'; *The Times* (in 1803 moved away from government subsidies) and *Manchester Guardian* editors were free to edit without ownership or political intervention (Williams, 2009).

The UK print press was dominated by press barons in the 20th and 21st century, who were predominantly ideologically right – far right leaning politically (McNair, 2009). Press barons created vast empires reducing the concentration of

ownership to the Harmsworth brothers; Lord Northcliffe (who owned *The Times* and *The Daily Mail* amongst others), Rothermere (owner of *Association Newspapers Limited*) and Sir Lester Harmsworth and Lord Beaverbrook (the *Daily Express*, *London Evening Standard* and the *Sunday Express*). News propaganda, although popular, was accompanied with increasing focus on entertainment (Curran & Seaton, 2009).

The Harmsworth brother's newspaper ownership provided a platform for personal political interests. Lord Northcliffe, particularly, sought to use this. He was known as a supporter of Nazi Germany (Thompson, 1999). Newspaper campaigns were run by the Rothermere press, for example, to protest relocating Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany (Greenslade, 2005). This politically influential campaign prevented granting asylum to some Jews. The small concentration of ownership and publishing costs meant little opportunity for other competitors to enter the market.

This political concentration was evident during the press baron's era when for economic and political reasons, advertisers 'discriminated' against the left press (Curran & Seaton, 2009, p.49), resulting in many left newspapers closing. However, the development of market research in advertising saw the advent of promoting the 'working class reader' to advertisers (who at the time were politically left and read the 'radical press') (ibid). The emergence of entertainment-focused news was contested by the 1949 Royal Commission on the Press, citing that *The Mirror* mainly dedicated a large proportion of space to headlines reducing and simplifying news, distorting events (Parliament, 2018), leading to the establishment of the Press Council in 1953, replaced by the Press Complaints Commission in 1991. Concentration of ownership has led to reports such as the McGregor Commission (1974 – 1975) citing political bias in news reporting and establishing the Code of Practice (Curran, 2000), the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) and later IPSO (independent press standards organisation).

The year 1969 saw the emergence of press baron Rupert Murdoch after he acquired *News of the World* and *The Sun*, and in 1981 *The Times*. By 1987 Murdoch owned one in three newspapers and established the stage for 'tabloid values' (Williams, 2009, p.211) dominating the industry so much that quality

newspapers began including 'tabloid-size sections' (ibid) in their papers. Murdoch's papers have been cited as reducing journalistic standards. *The Sun*, particularly, is a paper which changed the market via infotainment, with the adoption of new technology resulting in the 1986 Wapping dispute. Murdoch transferred his newspapers to Wapping; firing 5,000 print workers. This shifted power relations of newspapers and news production (Franklin, 2008). It changed the production process of newspapers in UK with most newspapers utilising News International printing practices and relocating from Fleet Street to the Docklands by 1988 (ibid). The now-closed *News of The World*, following the phone-hacking scandal and resulting The Leveson Inquiry, revealed the growing political power Murdoch has achieved since Wapping, allowed for the phone hacking to happen (Macintyre, 2016). IPSO replaced the Press Complaints Commission (PCC, 1990 – 2014) as press regulator in 2014 following the Leveson Inquiry. However, like the PCC, IPSO has an Editor's Code of Practice, has limited power, has never fined nor ordered a newspaper to apologise for inaccurate reporting (Temple, 2017).

The UK media is concentrated, with concerns that it is endangering "media pluralism and diversity" (Iosifidis, 2016, p.425). Although, legislation to protect pluralism is in place, such as the Communications Act (2003) and Enterprise Act (2002). The Communications Act (2003) removed the sanction of joint ownership in television and radio allowing Murdoch's empire to grow further (ibid). Pre-Communications Act (2003), Margaret Thatcher allowed Murdoch (despite owning *The Sun* and *News of the World*) to acquire further ownership of media such as in the 1980s when News International acquired *The Times* and *Sunday Times*. This reflected the interlinked relationship between the press, ownership and political affiliation; that it remains partisan. Media concentration continues to grow in the UK with the Barclay Brothers who own/owned: *The European*, *The Scotsman*, *Sunday Business*, *The Telegraph Media Group* (*The Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph* and *The Spectator*). In 2006, 133 journalists were made redundant by *The Telegraph Group* prompting National Union of Journalists to accuse them of illegal redundancies.

4.1.3 UK Media System

The UK is a 'liberal' media model with a history of early development of press freedom and 'mass-circulation'. It does not have as high a circulation as the

'democratic model' and is deemed closer to 'the world of business' and "highly partisan" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Like Denmark, is theorized as having a 'stronger commentary tradition' (ibid, p. 75 – 76).

This liberal model is similar to the 'democratic corporatist' model (Benson et al, 2012). The 'liberal' model is categorized as having "a high differentiation...from "other social bodies"" (p.80). Producing predominantly commercial news; commercialization is the most 'advanced' out of the three models. Hallin & Mancini (2004) state that media systems continually evolve. This is the case with the UK, which is less liberal than the outlined model, closer to the democratic model with an "ideologically polarized press" and high government intervention (Brüggemann et al, 2014, p.1043).

Press partisanship is strong in the UK and newspapers have a history of 'revising' support for political parties and politicians. In the 1992 general election, *The Sun* supported and credited themselves for the Conservative's election success with the headline "*It was the Sun Wot Won It*". However, by 1997 *The Sun* had shifted support to the Labour party. In 2010 *The Sun* headline was again used in the 2010 general election (Wring & Deacon, 2010). Unlike the Danish newspapers, UK newspapers have shifted support for parties.

The UK is ranked forty in the Press Freedom Index (Reporters without borders, 2018), down two points since 2016 with the Terrorism Act (where journalists must provide information on sources potentially limiting freedom of speech) and affecting ranking (Aitken, 2018). The July 2005 bombings and government involvement such as the Investigatory Powers Act 2016 are cited as restricting freedom of speech (Reporters without borders, 2018).

The World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers 2014 report highlighted concerns of UK Government's 'repressive regimes' (p.28) limiting freedom of speech after the Leveson Inquiry. The report found "a lack of constitutional-level guarantees for freedom of expression" (p.28) creating a press system open to abuse by Parliament (p.28). Furthermore, post-Leveson saw interpretations of the British media becoming fearful of libel in reporting certain issues. These have been attributed to other 'factors' such as time-constraints and staff shortage (Morrison, 2017, p.25). Within the UK several Race Relations Acts have been

passed since 1965, and in 2010 The Equality Act was passed, creating one Act by combining 116 aspects of legislation to “protect the rights of individuals [and] equality of opportunity for all” (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016, p.1).

4.1.4 Danish Newspaper History

A brief history of the Danish press outlines that up to the mid-19th Century the translation of foreign newspapers was used in Scandinavia (Høyer, 2003). In 1675 the first Danish newspaper was launched. The rise of the newspaper entrepreneur in Denmark saw J.C Ferslew own four papers from the 1860s – 1880s, whose editorial organisation of papers and ‘popular daily’ style influenced the Scandinavian press (ibid, 2003). Ferslew newspapers targeted upmarket and downmarket focusing on a style similar to the socialist’s newspapers to gain more readers (ibid, 2003). However, 1848 has been viewed as the “year of abolition of censorship” and rise of the free press (Søllinge, 1999, p. 36). During this period the daily became popular and newspapers printed on average six times a week. The constitution of 1848 mentioned freedom of speech, but the right to print was added in 1953 (section 77) transitioning from ‘limited monarchy’ (Strömbäck, Ørsten & Aalberg, 2008, p.26)

During the 1860s, political parties and the opposition began to publish papers to influence voters within Scandinavia. This four-party system representing each political party was most evident in the 20th century. There was a paper for socialists, liberals, agrarians and conservatives, although the party press was predominantly socialist (Shultz, 2007). Establishing a ‘voice’ for the parties, it involved linking the party and the newspaper by focusing on the ownership, content and readership to increase support (Høyer, 1995). The newspapers were regionally spread according to specific areas, political orientation, used as a ‘weapon’ politically (Søllinge, 1999, p.39) and were a monopoly. Party papers were edited and written by party members and during election periods were used as propaganda.

The age of press reform began when *Politiken* was transformed into an omnibus paper by Henrik Cavling in 1905 (Thomsen, 2008). In the 1960s several newspapers closed, and ‘other’ political voices were included in papers to move

away from the political loyalty of the past and create an omnibus press as the new press system (Dahl, 2016). During this period, press ethics were reformulated and growing professionalism established through educational institutions. In 1964, the Danish Press Council was established to regulate the Danish media, ensuring the media uphold to press ethics of Section 34(1) of the Media Liability Act (Pressenævnet, 2017).

Although this was a gradual process; newspapers were divided into morning (focusing on news) and evening newspapers (focusing on 'elite' issues like culture) (Søllinge, 1999). The rise of the politically neutral public service broadcasting companies in the 1960s also contributed to the shift towards balanced journalistic reporting in Scandinavia overall (Dahl, 2016). Readership became more demanding of news coverage for newspapers to provide "universal information to think and talk about" (Søllinge, 1999, p.44). This saw the reformation of the newspaper layout with the addition of images, to meet the increasing competition for a readership, not attainable by political leaning alone but via varied 'universal' content.

Since the 1990s, the formation of a triopoly of morning newspapers consisting of *Berlingske*, *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten* was established. These papers continue to be the most popular newspapers (in circulation terms). Concentration of ownership is evident in the Danish media landscape. Berlingske Media have, since 1995, owned many newspapers including two of the 'big 5' newspapers; *Berlingske Tidende* and *BT* (the remaining newspapers of the big 5 being; *Politiken*, *Jyllands-posten* and *Ekstra Bladet*). However, the Danish Competition Authority is in place to prevent monopolisation of the media (Terzis, 2007). Due to the reduction of newspapers in the market-place, the politically dominating newspapers altered to appeal and gain the custom of the varied readers (Sterling, 2009), shifting from marketplace pluralism to internal pluralism (Hjarvard, 2007). The 20th century has witnessed a divided press system in Denmark, paid newspapers are commercial and focus on political comments and "attitude-oriented journalism" (Hjarvard, 2007, p.50).

4.1.5 Danish Media System

Denmark is a 'democratic corporatist' media model (Benson et al, 2012). Denmark has a high newspaper circulation, high level of freedom of speech and is viewed as a 'social institution' to which the State 'has responsibility' to support the democratic function of the media (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.74). Laws and regulations of the private press were established "securing the autonomy of the press" (ibid: p.35), focusing on journalism education and 'indirect subsidies'. Press subsidies in Denmark were introduced in the 1960s and viewed as "cultural policy" to "safeguard regional and political diversity" (Syvertsen, et al, 2014, p.47) to "uphold...diversity of political opinions and geographical diversity" (ibid: p.54). These subsidies are direct (government funds given to newspapers) and indirect (newspaper exemption of VAT – although not digital editions) (Hjarvard & Krammer, 2015). A high level of professionalism is evident in Denmark with early establishments of associations such as Association of Copenhagen Journalists 1880 (Esmark & Blach-Ørsten, 2014) and the merging of unions and associations – The Danish Union of Journalists - in 1961 (ibid).

The 'democratic corporatist' media system has historically, a high level of political parallelism. Hallin and Mancini (2004) note that political parallelism is 'diminishing' and eventually the commercial aspect will dominate. Media systems within the 'democratic corporatist' model contain a "legacy of commentary-oriented journalism" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.74). This legacy, in Denmark, has led to the development of "new political bloc parallelism" (Hjarvard, 2007, p.33) where newspapers now support the centre-left or right political parties. Although not all news topics are centred on politics they are framed to show sympathy for the paper's party bloc. It is strident in promoting *ytringsfrihed* (freedom of speech), a dominant principle in debate on Muslims and Muslim communities following Muhammedkrisen (Mohammed cartoons crisis) (Berg & Hervik, 2007). Denmark is recognised as valuing *ytringsfrihed* over human rights of ethnic minorities (ENAR, 2005). The Danish Penal Code criminalises any threats and defamation against religious or racial groups. In recent years mainstream and far-right parties have debated altering the Code, because too many people are prosecuted under it (ENAR, 2014).

Hallin and Mancini's theory of press models' is effective, changes in media investments and profit demands across Europe have developed the argument that the different press models are potentially 'diminishing' (Allern & Blach-Ørsten, 2011, p.93). During the years after World War II newspapers were generally owned by political parties, family companies and local shareholders. However recently, the concentration of ownership has intensified, and now large companies own newspapers, including mergers with companies overseas and commercial competition is rife (Sterling, 2009).

Allern & Blach-Ørsten (2011) theorize, institutional research into the Scandinavian media systems has demonstrated commercialization and political parallelism co-exist. This is achieved by viewing political parallelism in two strands at the "organizational and ownership level news media content and ideological orientation" (ibid: p.93). Additionally, they found political affiliation affects how issues are framed in Danish newspapers, denoting that Denmark is not a 'pure' democratic press system, but becoming more 'liberal' (Esmark & Ørsten, 2014). This is reflected in the shift from independent news to a 'competitive news regime' with increased competition from advertisers, metro newspapers and social media (Curran et al, 2009). Journalists now 'collaborate' with politicians to "co-produce political news" (Blach - Ørsten, 2014, p.94). Denmark has evolved from a partisan press to the "omnibus principle" where a new press era of "commercial interests" has developed focusing on readers as target markets (Willig, 2007, p.11).

The rise of online media, wider competition, such as free newspapers and online media, and decline in advertising have affected the Danish press and a 're-politicization' of newspapers occurred post 1990s, evident in coverage of the Iraq war, whereby newspapers offered more 'opinion' pieces (Hjarvard & Kristensen, 2014). This was also evident in the anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant, DPP supporting campaign run by *Ekstra Bladet* in 1997 (Hervik, 2012, p.20). With news shifting from descriptive to interpretive and investigative; as Albæk (2011) found *Politiken* has acknowledged readers search for current events via social media but "background information, analysis and commentary" from print (ibid: p.346).

Weekly printed newspaper readership in Denmark 2015 was 42.5% (Nordicom, 2015), this year marked the time of “stabilisation in the decline of printed newspapers” and the level of trust in news was 46% (Schrøder et al, 2017, p.1).

Denmark is ranked four on the Press Freedom Index (2017) and places a high value on freedom of speech; the constitution of 1848 outlines the right to freedom of speech. Due to the liberal values of ‘free press’, state regulation involves “journalistic education and indirect press subsidies” (Esmark & Ørsten, 2008, p.35).

4.2 Economic Factors Influencing the Press

Historically, “institutional patterns inherited from earlier periods influence the direction they take” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.11); the political economy in both countries must be examined because the media ‘stimulate’ social and cultural ‘modernization’ (Mosco, 2009). Political economy theory of the mass media examines power relations influencing the production, distribution and ‘consumption’ of the mass media. It derived from and influenced by Marxism and democratic politics. The examination of political economy of the mass media, development and structure of the press contributes to utilising the Foucauldian ‘archaeological’ diachronic approach in the research.

The “large bureaucracies of the powerful subsidize the mass media” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p.389) in that governments supply the mass media raw materials such as speeches in advance, write PR friendly documents and provide commentary on news stories. This results in the subsidy becoming “routine news sources” (ibid) and therefore the ‘dependency’ (ibid) on this relationship between government’s results in the media potentially avoiding critical examination of governmental practices to maintain this relationship. As outlined in the Press History sections, media ownership and political affiliation are inter-related, and this relationship is complex, with a fluid and changing nature of power. The media is influenced by politics, politicians and governments, but also influence government and politics.

Neoliberalism or pressure of neoliberalism has been cited as instrumental in how media content is produced (Freedman, 2014). The concentration of media

ownership, selling of audiences/readers, out-sourcing of news content all work within a neo-liberal agenda (Mirrlees, 2013).

4.2.1 Media Concentration

Media concentration, concentration of ownership, is of concern for a variety of reasons stemming back to the idea of democratic function of the press as the 'Fourth Estate'. Ownership of the press is ownership "of ideas, of knowledge, of culture" or cultural institutions and concentrated ownership leads to control from limited groups over "who has the right and the power to speak" (Hesmondhalgh, 2008, p.108). This presents a variety of issues, specifically lack of representation of pluralistic ideas, foregrounding of ideologies as 'common sense' and propagating inequality such as gender, class, and ethnicity. This is why it is important to acknowledge concentration of ownership as, in political economy theory terms, this may affect how Muslims are constructed in the British and Danish press. Although, media pluralism regarding ownership does not necessarily equate to pluralism of representations or ideas (Perusko, 2010). Arguments against concentrated ownership suggest this leads to the "monopoliz[ing] the creation of opinion in a society (Kranenburg, 2017, p.2).

Doyle (2002) cites that a concentration of media ownership negates pluralism; pluralism should consist of diverse ownership and "diversity of output" (ibid: p.12). Democracy and the notion of the press as the Fourth Estate, becomes under 'threat' when only one viewpoint is expressed or dominant potentially leading to;

"over-representation of certain political viewpoints or values or certain forms of cultural output (i.e. those favoured by dominant media owners, whether on commercial or ideological grounds) at the expense of others." (ibid, p.13)

The concentration of media ownership may threaten the notion of political pluralism, although the diversity of output or the internal pluralism within a media organisation *may* counteract this idea. A concentration of media ownership allows 'the possibility' of a small group of owners "exercising enormous, unequal and hence undemocratic...power" (Baker, 2007, p.16). A wider dispersal of ownership

should ensure more pluralist distribution of power 'safeguarding' democratic rights and the function of the press as the fourth estate and lastly concentration of ownership focuses on higher profit, investing less in journalism. This lack of ownership dispersal can lead to the 'Berlusconi effect' (ibid: p.18) Silvio Berlusconi owned 45% of media in Italy and used this ownership to influence the public and gain power in 1994 and 2001.

Within the UK, media concentration has been a "lever to promote market liberalization" promoted by New Labour and Conservative-Liberal Democrat governments (Noam, 2016, p.425). Media Reform Coalition report (2015) found 71% of the newspaper market is dominated by three companies, indicating a "very high degree of concentration" in the UK market (ibid: p.5) with News Corp UK and *Daily Mail* Group controlling approximately 60% of newspaper circulation. However, media regulation like the Enterprise Act (2002) and Communications Act (2006), enforced by Ofcom, are in place to ensure open competition and promote pluralism. Nevertheless, these acts have ensured that media moguls such as Rupert Murdoch have expanded their empires into joint ownership of television and radio stations. A 2016 Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom report found there was high horizontal ownership (or the expansion in the industry such as newspapers) concentration and 92% risk of commercial and owner influence over editorial content; this "presents a risk to media plurality" (Dzakula, 2016).

In Denmark, there is no ownership limit except under competition law (Media Reform, 2015). Willig and Blach-Ørsten (2016) found a high risk to media pluralism regarding media ownership concentration (92%) (as did a European Parliament report (2016)) and medium risk to cross-media ownership. The risk to political independence and influence from editors was low. This is because the Danish state owns two broadcasting companies and Denmark is a small media market, where "ownership concentration and cross-ownership must be expected" (ibid). For a long time, there has been "consensus" on the need to maintain pluralism and adhere to the national culture by having "market intervention and strong public service media" (Søndergaard & Helles, 2010, p.5).

Denmark's media system operates within the Nordic "media welfare state" where media "play an important role in the development" of the welfare state (Kammer, 2017, p.37). The media welfare state is viewed as providing diversified and pluralistic representations to inform and educate the public. However, in 2014 three quarters of newspaper circulation in 2014 were linked to four firms (ibid).

Two types of ownerships dominating the media market in Denmark exist. The foundation where foundations and funds own newspaper are used for continual development within the newspapers, JP/Politikens Hus which owns *Extra Bladet*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* is an example. The second type of ownership is publicly traded company such as Berlingske Media which owns *Berlingske* and *BT*. This is an international ownership constellation with investment from outside (Kammer, 2017).

Foucault's theory of power relates to the examination of media ownership and concentration because as outlined a concentrated media market can result in potentially homogenized representation of ideas/people such as Muslims. The ideologies of newspaper owners, political leaning and affiliation of newspapers, if unchallenged by including more diversity of ownership, carry power and power "produces, it produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth." (Foucault, 1977, p.250). Concentrated ownership potentially constructs a limited notion of 'truth'; access to construct a 'regime of truth' in society is limited from concentrated ownership.

4.2.2 Readership and Advertising

The media work within 'dual product' markets; they produce content and audiences (that can be 'sold' to advertisers) which can be commodified, and sold separately (Picard, 1989, p. 17 – 19). This opposes the duty of the press as the Fourth Estate to report on essential news which the public must know. Audiences are a commodity to the media resulting in advertising revenue; a main source of revenue for newspapers (Doyle, 2013). With rising competition from 'free' online newspapers and readership fragmentation, the press has faced greater challenges in securing advertising revenue with readership figures dwindling (ibid).

This relationship between readership and advertising is an influencing factor in how the media represent issues and agenda setting. However, the macro environment, regarding this research, of the rise of right-wing populism also impacts on how the press report on issues such as immigration. Demonstrating the interrelated relationship between the media, politics, the public sphere and political economy theory of the media. This justifies examination of the micro and macro environment. The European Election Survey 2014 found UKIP and Conservative supporters more likely never to read *The Guardian* (traditionally centre-left) and likely to read *The Sun* and *The Telegraph* (Leruth et al, 2017).

DPP voters are likely to read *Jyllands-Posten* and *B.T* (Bonnen et al, 2009) and are according to Megafon (Astrup, 2015) typically male, older, with low education and low income. Within political economy theory of the mass media, to generate revenue the press must attract readers with content that will be desirable and interesting to sell these readers to advertisers. Therefore, if right-wing populism is rising and the rhetoric of Muslims is changing, it will influence how newspapers report on Muslims and Muslim communities, with some newspapers employing this rhetoric to attract readership. However, the industry has developed since the 19th century from concentrated ownership to technological developments in the 21st century; increasing pressure on editors to journalists from owners to create entertainment from all types of news (Frost, 2011).

4.2.3 Emergence of Web 2.0 and Impact on the Press

The 1990s saw new challenges for the printed press. The emergence of the internet and online press was predicted to cause the 'death' of the printed press or media displacement. However, some studies have alluded that new media is not displacing old media (print press) rather there is media saturation, whereby users switch between new and old media depending on news needs. Newell et al (2008) found rather than old media declining it is used in complimentary terms with new media and some cases there was a rise in old media usage. This cross-media approach, where a variety of news platforms are used, has gained popularity with consumers, particularly with mobile phones and traditional news (Westlund, 2016). It cannot be established that the print press will 'die out',

although it is evident that cross-media news consumption has increased news competition.

Age is an essential element of media platform choice. Ørmen (2016) found in Denmark that pensioners or people with more free time were likely to read broadsheet newspapers and young people with less free time, tend to 'check-up' (ibid: p.171) throughout the day on news via mobile devices. Although, young people did also indicate reading traditional print media. An Ofcom (2018) report found 21% of 16 – 24 years olds consumed print news but, 60% of over 65's read printed newspapers. Overall, 40% of people used print newspapers as a source of news (ibid). Although, the study did not examine how users combine and 'compliment' cross-media use like Westlund (2016). However, these behavioural tendencies may also contribute to how Muslims are constructed in the British and Danish press because print media is competing with more media platforms and must, therefore 'grab' the readers' attention. Schrøder (2015) found from 2008 to 2012 print news consumption among Danes declined, however, consumption was dependent on situation, i.e. commuters on trains favoured mobile, and print news, whilst cyclists preferred radio. Likewise, print consumption in the UK was favoured in the home (Statista, 2014). In the UK Thurman & Fletcher (2017) found more time is spent consuming print media rather than online version; 18-34-year olds spent average 23 minutes reading print news but only 43 seconds with online versions, with patterns of newspapers such as *The Guardian* increasing their print readership.

Monopolisation, or ownership domination of the market, of the press and changing industry has been debated post-Leveson Inquiry, whereby a relationship was formed between "media and political power [allowing] the former to exercise political advantage in the pursuit of corporate profit" (Franklin, 2012, p.671). The link between media ownership and political association can be examined from a political economy viewpoint because it potentially leads to less "investigative reporting" and more sensationalizing stories to gain readers (McQuail, 2010, p.96). This presents questions of democracy and the 'free press' (McChesney, 2012) and may influence how Muslims are represented according to the newspaper's political stance.

News media have the power to penetrate “[daily] into popular consciousness” (Montgomery, 2007, p.1) and news functions as a form of ‘reality maintenance’ (p.4) an analogy which aided the historical analysis of the discourse. The media has “colonized politics” surrounding perceived members of immigrant communities, specifically Muslims, (Boswell, 2009, p.172) and function as the “central communication between the public and politics” (p.168). In theories of media political economy, audiences are viewed by media producers, as “commodities sold to advertisers” (Talbot, 2007, p.4). This commodification of news is considered when examining the media in UK and Denmark. The implications for the concentration of power and emergence of web 2.0 results in a particular set of trends within media representation.

4.3 Media Representation

The media by reporting events/issues mediate these which results in a representation of the event/issue. This means that events/issues through the media are re-presented as constructed reality because the media report and present news-stories within; the socio-cultural context, specific journalistic frames, editorial stances, ownership influence, journalist/organisation ideologies, design layouts and the focus of the target reader/reception. Media representation involves the formation of “agendas at play” where “values, attitudes and identities assumed and normalized” (Kidd, 2015, p.3)

Within media representation a variety of media effects may be used to influence what the public thinks about, the research project examines; mediatization, agenda-setting theory and framing in the construction of Muslims in the British and Danish press; these are outlined in the section below.

4.3.1 Mediatization

Mediatization is the prevalent role media has on culture in everyday life, the “transformations in society...that are shaped by the modern media and the processes of mediation” (Lundby, 2009, p.4). Media influences culture, such as the concept of national identity and effects how ideas or groups of people are debated. It stems from Altheide & Snow’s (1979) media logic theory, whereby

“media logic functions as a form through which events and ideas are interpreted and acted upon” (ibid: p.240).

Various definitions for mediatization exist. Schulz (2004) outlines mediatization as “[social] changes associated with communication media and their development” (ibid: p.86). Therefore it “includes media effects” (ibid: p.90). Media effects can be agenda setting, priming and framing. Four ‘processes’ to the theory of media play a part in social change; extension (how media messages can be extended in space (geographic distances) and time), substitution (the substitution of ‘social activities’ or face to face social interactions changing their ‘character’ such as physical meetings which can now be conducted via the Internet (ibid: p.88), amalgamation (mediated activity merging with ‘non-media activities’ for example watching a film with friends) and accommodation (individuals accommodating to the way the media operate, for example, a politician accommodating messages to what the press need/want).

Hjarvard (2008) describes mediatization as; “the process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic” (p.113). The media has developed into a “semi-independent societal institution” (Hjarvard, 2016a, p.9) and other institutions have become increasingly dependent on the media because of mediatization. The relationship between politicians and the press is complex because politicians must, to an extent, adhere to the media and tailor messages accordingly (Hjarvard, 2016b). Depending on newspaper circulation/press ownership/ideologies/readers may influence how Muslims are represented in the press. Regarding Muslims, mediatization has developed a ‘threat society’ governed by a culture of fear (Nohrstedt, 2013, p.311) through the rise of right-wing populism and the mediatized relationship between media and politics.

Mediatization works with the concept of mediation in that messages and events are ‘experienced through media – that is, mediated’ (Esser & Stromback, 2014, p.4). However, the focus is predominantly on the increasing influence media has on society and culture.

The changing dynamics of the media shifting to an audience/reader-focused, market-oriented culture, with the rise of infotainment, has generated a form of media populism which has provided a platform whereby right-wing populism can flourish. In some instances, if a newspaper's ideological stance 'favours' perceived in-groups, such as promoting a homogenous notion of a national identity excluding Muslims, it can function as a promoter in "populist agenda" (Mazzoleni, 2014, p.49). Although mediatization is not merely other institutions adapting to the media, like Foucault's theory of power, the media also adapt because of other institutions in cultures such as government.

4.3.2 News Values

According to Galtung and Ruge (1965) events become news through the interplay of twelve 'news values' or factors; eight that are culture free and four that are culture-bound. Events are chosen and ideologically framed by institutions (Bell, 1991) as 'news'. This occurs from a development of examining and selecting news as a 'chain of news communication' (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p.28) based on relevance and compatibility to the twelve 'news values' outlined.

The twelve news values (Galtung and Ruge (1965) are: *frequency, background, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity* and *composition*. These are viewed as 'culture free' news factors, although some scholars have argued all news factors are culture-bound (Bednarek & Caple, 2013).

Galtung and Ruge (1965) state 'culture-bound' news values are: *reference to elite nations* (this is known as 'cultural proximity' focusing on 'ethnocentrism' (Fowler, 1991, p.16), *reference to elite persons* and *personalisation* or whether an event can focus on individuals or groups of people, for example, a terrorist attack personalised to link Muslims and Muslim communities as a whole to attacks of Britishness/Danishness.

Fowler (1991) indicates that news values are constructed through discourse and influenced by cultural and contextual factors in society. Therefore, it is necessary to examine culture as it contributes to how news stories about Muslims are chosen, framed and constructed. Fear of "Muslim terrorist[s]" is greater than other terrorists and this is a main factor in the media tending to cover terrorism

committed by Muslims over other religions groups (Kearns et al, 2019). If events reinforce a stereotype or normalised view of a group, they are more newsworthy (Lundman, 2003) with the framing of terrorism as a 'Muslim problem' more likely due to dominant discourses (Sultan, 2016).

4.3.2.1 Agenda Setting

Walter Lippmann academically observed agenda-setting, suggesting that the media can change what individuals think about and can construct representations of events or groups via agenda-setting (Rogers et al, 1993). McCombs and Shaw state "the mass media force attention to certain issues" (1972: p.177). The media cannot tell the public what to think. However, they can inform what the public "should think about, know about, have feelings about" (ibid); the media filter and shape reality. The media foreground specific issues over others, this is known as first level agenda setting, informing individuals what to think about, and the salience attributed to specific objects or elements of a news-story is second level agenda setting, or informing individuals how to think about the issue.

This theory developed from a study using surveys of students in Chapel Hill during the 1968 election in America. Results showed a "strong relationship between the emphasis" on campaign reporting in the media and "judgements of voters as to the salience and importance" of different campaign issues (ibid: p.180). This involves rhetorical cues to the audience indicating the salience or importance of a news item via 'frequency of repetition', how prominent stories are displayed or 'priming' (front page, font, placing in newspaper), 'degree of conflict' within the news story (scandals are often seen as more newsworthy because they sell more newspapers) and the framing or the context a news-story is situated (Laughey, 2007, p.22). Furthermore, agenda setting involves what the media choose to select or to include in a news story and omission or what the media elect to omit from a news story (Weaver, 2007).

Dearing & Rogers (1996) posit three main types of agenda setting; public agenda setting (ideas the public hold is affected by the media), media agenda setting (the message media wants to construct, which can be affected by politicians and policies) and policy agenda setting (is affected by both the media and public agenda setting). Furthermore, individual experiences and real-world indicators also affect agenda setting. The media, via favouring stories over others, can set

the agenda for public opinion. Several studies have identified agenda setting within newspapers when representing Muslims (see Kabir & Bourk, 2012, Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009, Powers, 2008, Nickels et al, 2012, Moore et al, 2008 & Vliegenthart & Roggeband, 2007).

The media can be viewed as agenda setting in that they potentially postulate "problems worthy of public and government attention" (Entman, 2007, p.164). Therefore, the relationship between political leaning, media ownership, and representation of Muslims is important to consider as it may influence or set the agenda for how Muslims are discussed. The media "play an intermediary role in the reproduction of...public discourse" (Van Dijk, 1987, p.41). The mass media potentially determine what the public debate and the discourses of Muslims through agenda setting. This links to Foucault's theory of power; agenda setting can construct the 'regime of truth' within society any given time, by foregrounding issues and backgrounding other issues, power to construct a particular representation of Muslims may be possible.

4.3.2.2 Framing Theory

An important aspect of media agenda setting is framing. Framing is the construction of a story and how information is aligned around the topic affecting how the public understands the issue thus changing the connotation. First introduced by Goffman as a "schemata of interpretation", individuals use their categorisations from experiences and cultural contexts to interpret texts/events (1974, p.46). Frames are essential for journalists as 'tools' aiding in constructing 'complex issues' in a manner that the general public can comprehend (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.12).

For Gitlin (1980, p.6 - 7) framing is a way that the "world beyond direct experience" appears 'natural', reality is constructed through an individual's experiences and culture and by the news who use framing as "symbol-handlers [to] routinely organize discourse". Kinder & Sanders (1990) allude that frames are the combination of an individual's mental categorisations and the constructions within media discourse by journalists.

News-stories can be constructed from different frames in the way they are presented and made salient; framing involves frame building or how the frame

'emerges'. This is influenced by organisational structure, ownership, political leanings/affiliations, journalistic ideologies and the intended reader, (de Vreese, 2005, p.51) and frame setting (the relationship between media frames and audience interpretation) and the salience applied to specific attributes of an issue (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002). Framing is ideological, and a variety of factors can influence how a journalist frames a story particularly; cultural context and political environment, newspaper owners, intended audience and advertisers.

News stories are framed four ways; conflict (the highlighting of conflict between people), attribution of responsibility (who is responsible for the issue or who is praised), economic consequences (financial consequences to society i.e. the reader) and human-interest (this functions to personalise a story and focuses on "an emotional angle to the presentation of an event") (Valkenburg et al, 1999, p.551).

Frames are an important element of power within discourse, because to Foucault discourse goes beyond the realm of language and is a process of framing 'knowledge' and 'truths' about an issue/event.

For studies which have included aspects of framing theory when researching Muslim construction in the media see Rane et al, 2014, Hussain, 2000, Morey & Yaqin, 2011, Morgan & Poynting, 2016, Poole & Richardson, 2006.

4.4 Media Reporting on Muslims

Mary Talbot (2007) states that media discourse functions in a way that what we perceive as 'common sense' is "largely ideological" in preserving the status quo. The media lens naturalises perceptions as common sense (ibid), regarding the research naturalising perceptions of national identity and Muslims. The media often; act as "the mouthpiece of political parties or other powerful groups" and have been "influential in constructing migrants as 'others'" as well as immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees and Muslims indigenous to Europe (Wood & King, 2013, p.2).

The thesis has provided previous research on media discourse throughout. This section of the literature review is complementary to the interwoven aspects of the ways and reasons (wider context) for media construction of national identity and Muslim representation.

Poole (1999) stipulates the Iranian Revolution 1979 as the 'signifier' of political Islam developing as a response to colonialism and oppression, enabling the West to reaffirm the dominant Western identity whilst 'construct[ing]' Islam as *the* enemy (ibid: p.1, emphasis added). After 9/11 media reporting on Muslims has focused on the threat of Islamist terrorism affecting how Muslims are "identified and relayed to the broader public" (Morey & Yaqin, 2011, p.77), with particular focus on young Muslims (Mythen et al, 2009). Muslims are constructed in the Western media as "monolithic, static, different and oppositional" (Rane et al, 2014, p.180) because of media news values focusing on negative and controversial stories and normalised framings of Muslims, crime and freedom of speech as evident in the Charlie Hebdo attack (Hjarvard & Lundby, 2018). These function within an "agreed cultural paradigm" in the West of negative 'perspectives' on Islam and Muslims (Martin-Munoz, 2002, p.1) linking Muslims with terrorism (Ewart et al, 2017).

Media portrayals of Muslims involve categorising the good ("moderate") and bad ("extremist") Muslim in a binary fashion, whereby a 'moderate' Muslim is represented as a person "who sides politically with Western interests" (Karim, 2014, p.162). Karim (ibid) posits that the media and other institutions, such as academia and government, use terms like 'Islamism' in ambiguous "loose usage" (ibid; p. 153) to denote authority, knowledge and establishing ideologies when many have limited knowledge of the area. Islam and Muslims are 'excluded' in newspapers from the homogenised 'space of liberal democracy' contradicting the ideals of liberal democracy such as equality (Ehrkamp, 2010). Furthermore, non-terrorist events/topics are linked to Islamist and terrorist agendas such as wider crime involving Muslims, gender issues and halal meat (Thomas & Selimovic, 2015).

4.4.1 Gender

Gender somewhat affects media representation of Muslims, whereby dress is a focus when debating female Muslims; the hijab, in European media discourse, is symbolic of repression (Christiansen, 2009) and non-integration (Byng, 2010). Muslim women are depicted, through rescue narratives, in need of saving from the 'dangerous' Muslim men (Razack, 2008, p.17) within their 'misogynistic'

religion (Rashid, 2016; Shirazi & Mishra, 2007) by the West and represented as passive and submissive (Haque, 2010). This is a right-wing populist tactic (Miller-Idriss & Pilkington, 2017). Although the media often do not grant Muslim women a platform to express opinion thus denying 'access to this discourse' (Navarro, 2010, p.100). Gullestad's Star System theory would allude that Muslim women are granted a platform for opinion when that opinion conforms to dominating discourses constructing Muslims negatively. These discourses are often used to justify sanctions directed towards Muslims (Riley, 2013). Media debate surrounding the veil and burqa has heightened since the French and Belgian debates on the burqa ban (Thielmann & Vorholzer, 2016). Discourses on female Muslim wear is viewed through an Orientalist 'gaze' of ideologies rooted in colonialism and nationalism viewing 'veiled' women as one 'foreign' group (Alrasheed, 2013). With focus on the veil as a 'floating signifier' used to discursively link a "range of problems" (Lentin & Titley, 2011, p.93).

Muslim men are often represented in media as being 'dangerous' and associated with 'sexual violence' following widespread media reports on rapes committed by Muslim 'gangs' portrayed as an attack on white people (even when victims were of other races) (Dagistanli & Grewal, 2016). This representation, utilised from specific events in France and Australia, has evolved into a global/Western racist discourse in which Muslim men are the 'universal enemy' representing what the West 'is not' and how the West is 'better' (Dagistanli & Grewal, 2016, p.138). The new folk devil (Alexander, 2000). The concept of family honour and representation of masculinity as domineering over women and often violent authority is associated with Muslim men (Ewing, 2008). Post 9/11 Muslims, especially Muslim men, have been represented as terrorists, possessing threatening behaviour and 'barbaric' (Rashi, 2016).

Steiner (2017, p.266) found in Swedish newspapers, gender played "only a small role" in a study of Muslim representation, although the researcher could have acknowledged the cultural context of the country (Sweden) as a leader in gender-neutral language as an explanation for this. Thus, demonstrating the need to acknowledge cultural context of each country when analysing differences in discourses. For wider European reporting on Muslims see Appendix C.

4.4.2 British Press Reporting on Muslims

In the British media, the construction of multiculturalism as “the weakest link in British national identity” has resulted in “obsessive scrutiny” of Muslims and Muslim ‘culture’ focusing on difference in binary opposition of ‘us’ and ‘them’ lens (Morey & Yaqin, 2011, p.77). This has constructed a division between “‘Islam and the west’ and ‘Muslim and Westerner’” as a marker value difference between West and Islam (Richardson, 2004, p.113). Muslims are a ‘threat to ‘us’” (Allen, 2012, p11) through Orientalism (Saeed, 2007) and Islamophobia has increased since the murder of Lee Rigby (Shaw, 2016).

Coverage of Muslims in the British press has increased since 2000, with some newspapers substituting the word ‘Muslim’ for ‘immigrant-dominated’ (Moore et al, 2008, p.38), negating acknowledgement of the many Muslim communities. Overall, Moore et al (ibid) found newspaper articles predominantly representing Muslims through Orientalist framings, including discourse concentrating on the threat from Islam and Muslims. Poole (2011) similarly found that the UK discourse focuses on culture clash between Muslims and British values. This discourse has penetrated into a variety of news areas such as religious practice, crime, legal issues, education and relationships (ibid: p. 58). In an examination of the British press from 1974 to 2007 Nickels et al (2012) found Muslims, similarly to Irish, were constructed through a ‘suspect’ discourse and threat frame (threat to security but more so ‘values’) in the British press. Ragazzi (2016) stipulates that this is one side of the discourse arising from counter-terrorism policies and that there has also developed a form of ‘policed multiculturalism’ or the “recognition and management of diversity through a security perspective” (ibid: p.725).

In a study of UK newspapers from 1998 to 2009, the word Islamic and Islam “tends to hold a negative discourse prosody of extremism” (Baker et al, 2013, p.45). This coincides with Said’s (1997) idea that using the word ‘Islam’ is to evoke fear and negative connotations. Baker et al’s (2013) research found immigration and Muslims are often linked despite stories analysed being of British Muslims. Similarly, Poole (2002) found the British press construct Muslims as an out-group using three dominant framing topics; terrorism or threat to national security, threat to British values and culture clash between Muslims and White Britons (Poole, 2006). This coincides with Morgan & Poynting’s (2016)

observation that Islamophobia, defined originally by Runnymede Trust (1997, p.4) as; “unfounded hostility towards Islam.”¹⁰, is a form of “resistance to immigration and asylum seeking” (Welch, 2012, p.x).

Political stance of newspapers in Britain also affects how Muslims and Muslim immigrants are reported; KhosraviNik (2010, p.22 - 23) found conservative newspapers represent a “unanimous identity” or homogenous construction of RASIM (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants who are used interchangeably within the media), with ‘quality’ conservative newspapers more ‘sophisticated’ less ‘obvious’ xenophobia towards RASIM, whereas liberal newspapers were opposite. Bleich et al’s (2015) newspaper headline analysis of representation of Muslims in British newspapers found political stance of the paper affected the tone of headlines, with right-leaning papers more likely to use a negative headline. The mainstream media have a crossover effect on framing of Muslims; British sports news portrays Muslims with the same negative framing as mainstream news (Malcolm et al, 2010). According to Jaspal & Cinnerella (2010) because of the negative representation of Muslims in the British press, British Muslims are constructed as “posing a ‘hybridised’ threat to the ethno-national ingroup” because “both ‘moderate’ and ‘extremist’ Muslims are, to varying degrees” viewed as a threat to the survival of the White British majority (ibid: p.300). Although Muslims were framed as ‘victims’ of strict immigration laws in the 1960s and 1970s, this framing has shifted to a media representation of ‘criminals’ (Webster, 2018).

Significant events like 7/7 have led to ‘Othering’ of British Muslims (Poole, 2011), whereby press discourse in a strategic attempt to avoid accusations of discrimination or racism ‘individualises’ ‘perpetrators’ of crimes, by situating the location of their ‘training’/‘brainwashing’ from outside of the UK and highlighting their privileged background (as has been the case of many perpetrators of terrorist

¹⁰ The definition continues; “It refers also to the practical consequences of such hostility in unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and to the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs” (ibid; p.4). Recent definition by All Party Parliamentary Group on Muslims is; “Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness” (Allen, 2018, p.1)

attacks in the UK). This focus suggests that “if such good citizens” can commit these acts towards their ‘host country’ “so could any Muslim” (ibid: p.56). Furthermore, post 7/7 discourses of ‘home-grown’ terrorists focused on fear of Muslims who are enemy ‘within’ Britain (Allen, 2010) and counter-terrorism strategies such as PREVENT are focused on to create a binary Us v Them in the press (Sian et al, 2012) and suspect communities (CARR, 2019).

4.4.3 Danish Press Reporting on Muslims

Following a 1985 street attack on Iranian refugees resulting from political debates on Muslim refugees and immigrants, the Danish media have employed an Us (Danes) v Them (Muslims) framing (Madsen, 2000). Since the 1990s, Denmark has shifted from ‘humanitarianism to nationalism’ when discussing Muslims (Hedetoft, 2003), moving away from an emphasis on ‘labor market integration’ to “Danish values”, integration and “attempts to counter Islamic radicalization” (Meer et al, 2015, p. 717). The focus on integration discourse in the press has coupled with concerns over security from internal and external Muslims in Denmark post 9/11 (Olwig & Paerregaard, 2011). Denmark has historically been viewed as promoting tolerance. However, this competes with the “more galvanizing discourse of culturalism” viewing ‘cultural difference’ as incompatible and ‘hostile’ (Hervik, 2011, p.79). This finding correlates with Holm’s (2006) idea that the construction of Denmark as culturally homogenous is the ‘most important’ characteristic in the formation of the nation of Denmark. This is reiterated by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) in several reports since 1999, with the most recent (2017) citing a concern for growing Islamophobic political discourse against Muslims in Denmark.

The settlements of Muslim migrants (invited to help grow the Danish economy) in the 1980s saw a new racist discourse emerge, first by scholars and then by the media (Wren, 2001). This form of racism is described as liquid racism (Weaver, 2010); a term built around Zygmunt Bauman’s theory of liquid modernity (nothing retains its shape and social norms are continually changing transforming the experience of being human). Liquid racism focuses on the ambiguity of socio-political issues, or in Foucauldian terms the ‘macro’ environment.

Since 2001, *Jyllands-Posten* has contributed to the rise of anti-Islamic discourses, with news-stories heavily critical of Islam. The 2005 – 2006 Muhammad Cartoon

Crisis in which *Jyllands-Posten* published cartoons of Muhammad in defence of free speech was a significant event within the Danish press. It was constructed by culture editor Flemming Rose and framed within freedom of speech discourse and Danish identity, this event, supported by Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen, has been 'collectively' remembered in Denmark as a freedom of speech issue (Hervik, 2014; 2018; Bødker, 2009; Boe, 2017), similar to UK media representation of Charlie Hebdo attack (Freedman, 2017). The dominant framing of 'failure of integration', or the negative reaction of some Muslims to the printing of the cartoons, was present in Danish newspapers (of all political leanings) and British newspaper reporting (Meer & Mouritsen, 2009). However, this focus on Danish identity, manifested in freedom of speech discourse, has been present within the media prior Muhammad Cartoon Crisis because of the accepted concept of Denmark being homogenous culturally and racially (Agius, 2013).

Books/articles/debates have been published since the 'Crisis', fostering the radical right's framing of Muslims and "ongoing efforts to keep the focus on Muslim immigration as a threat to national harmony" (Yilmaz, 2011, p.17). The rise of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods has further exasperated the Clash of Civilizations discourse. Multi-ethnic neighbourhoods are constructed in the Danish media (and politics) as a site of 'bad integration'. Ghettos are framed as encouraging Muslims to live 'parallel lives', this is in conjunction with the government development of a 'ghetto plan' in 2010 as part of an integration strategy, defining ghettos as 'parallel societies' (Jensen, 2015, p.125 & 129). Demonstrating further semantical Othering of Muslim communities (Simonsen, 2016).

Debates in the Danish media surrounding, particularly, Islamic wear, such as the headscarf, have become politicized (Andreassen, 2007). The headscarf, framed as negatively different, may be portrayed as part of Gullestad's 'imagined same' theory (Christiansen, 2009). This was evident in the media representation of Asmaa Abdol-Hamid a hijab-wearing TV presenter (2006) and socialist Red-Green Alliance candidate for Parliament (2007); Asmaa was represented as in opposition with Danish values, especially gender equality and LGBT rights, in all newspapers even traditionally left-leaning (Andreassen, 2014). Media discourse on the burqa is part of "one of the oldest known value debates in Danish-Nordic society"; striving for openness in thought and dress; the burqa is viewed in opposition to this (Christoffersen, 2016, p.171).

Events in Danish press are framed according to the political stance of the newspaper with events. The Breivik terrorist attacks in Norway were initially framed in the Danish press as the actions of Islamists and even when the attacker's identity was revealed as non-Muslim, some newspapers continued to frame Islam as the cause of the attack (Hervik & Boisen, 2013).

Jacobsen et al (2013) found utilising CDA of Danish newspapers over a two-month period in 2011 that Muslims and Islam are constructed within negative discourses and limited to stories relating to crime, ghettos, gender equality, religion and terrorism, whereby the only Muslim 'voices' present in stories were officials from Islamic organisations (ibid: p.133). However, the research cited that political leaning of a paper contributed to framing; *Politiken* (left-leaning paper) did include stories that were "inclusive of Muslims and Islam", however, it was only 14% of the stories analysed (ibid: p.63).

4.5 Conclusion to Literature Review Chapters

The literature review chapters have outlined and presented the contextual background when examining national identity construction and Muslim representation in the British and Danish press. As the following Methodology chapter outlines, previous literature is fundamental in the research design including; how to approach a diachronic study with the utilisation of 'cluster events' (explained further in the next chapter) and presentation of findings.

Chapter Five: Methodology

A methodology focuses on tools (methods) and types of analysis (practices) used within a research project. Silverman (2010, p.110) defines methodology as;

“the choices we make about cases to study, methods of data gathering, forms of data analysis etc. in planning and executing a research study.”

Furthermore, the researchers' philosophical assumptions/stance must be considered and appreciated when analysing findings for a research project (Scotland, 2012). This chapter focuses on the chosen methodology including; methods used, research design and philosophical paradigm/stance of the researcher. Due to the myriad of approaches within a research methodology (McNeill & Chapman, 2005), justification is provided to explain utilising of specific methods and philosophical frameworks.

The research focuses on examining how national identity is constructed to represent Muslims in the British and Danish press. This aim focuses on three sub-questions;

1. How has the media reporting on Muslims in Denmark and Britain developed over a specific time period?
2. Are there differences in the reporting styles of British and Danish media covering Muslims over a specific time period?
3. How is national identity used and formulated in media discourse to represent Muslims in Britain and Denmark over a specific time period?

The focus of the research is on language, language use and culture which are key areas within qualitative research (Hennink, 2008). The content and context of a research project can be defined as being to a degree unique (Bailey, 1994). However, all research projects must involve suitable objectives, research design and adequate methodology (Bell & Walters, 2014).

5.1.2 Interpretivist Paradigm

The research project focuses on qualitative methods (qualitative content analysis and CDA). Creswell & Poth (2017) define four philosophical approaches utilized by qualitative researchers. They are; *ontology*, or the 'nature of reality' and the notion of working within many worldviews or realities, *epistemology* (theory of knowledge) whereby close interaction between researcher and respondents is desirable because it results in knowledge, *axiological* or the values and positioning the researcher brings to the research, reflected in their 'social position' (ibid: p.20). A researcher may position themselves within analysis, i.e. if they have a Muslim background they may position or 'see' themselves within newspaper articles about Muslims, and this may be reflected in findings. The last approach is *methodology*; defined as 'inductive' and 'emerging' and the overarching approach is informed by the researcher's 'experiences' (ibid: p.20).

These philosophical assumptions are rooted within an interpretivist paradigm and framework. Interpretive research "assumes that reality is socially constructed" (Merriam & Tisdell, p.9) and that humans' function within different or multi-realities influenced by the wider cultural context such as society, family, education and political views. Within this stance, knowledge is constructed rather than discovered. Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* influenced the definition and construction of the interpretivist paradigm. Kant theorised that knowledge of the world is more than 'direct observation'; other factors influence perception such as the individual 'interpretations' of the observation (Ritchie et al, 2013, p.11). Additionally, William Dilthey's use of 'verstehen' (understanding) and German sociologists such as Weber's introduction of 'verstehende' and 'Wissenssoziologie' ('sociology of knowledge') encouraged focus on participants experiences and consideration of wider socio-cultural contexts to which these experiences are created or "that man's consciousness is determined by his social being" (Luckmann & Berger, 1991, p.17). Verstehen, in Weber's terms, is 'emphatic understanding' the idea that how an individual 'feels inside' constructs meaning and can explain 'personal motivations' and social action (Neuman, 1994, p.61). Social action, according to Weber, is the meaning an individual relates to an action, or the subjectivity or interpretation of the individual is key (Alatas, 2017).

By the latter half of the 20th Century a 'rise and fall' opinion that social sciences methodologies had to be based on natural science methodologies commenced and became dominant (Outhwaite in Outhwaite et al, 2007, p.5). This period saw the rise of critical theory and theorists such as; Giddens and Bourdieu, as a non-scientific approach to research. Interpretivist research focuses on how social meaning is created via "ongoing processes of communication and negotiation" (Neuman, 1994, p.62). For Schutz (2004) the main aim of the social science researcher is to gain "organised knowledge of social reality" (ibid: p.213). Social reality is the wider socio-cultural context, including the inter-subjective encounters (within a culture) individuals have with their wider habitat.

This is the fundamental aspect of the research. How is the 'social meaning' of national identity constructed and negotiated against or with construction of Muslims? This involves examining the cultural context of the 'social reality' on national identity and Muslims in the Danish and British press.

This is the philosophical stance of the researcher and a general theoretical approach used in textual analysis; and crucial in understanding worldviews expressed in discourse (Collins, 2010). The research project is a cross-cultural, comparative study of Danish and British press. The social contexts of each country have to be recognised, and the (multi)discourse's about Muslims within the media interpreted accordingly.

5.1.3 Social constructivism

The methodology is determined through analysing the researcher's philosophical viewpoint - that everything can be interpreted and that context (the researcher's individual experience and the wider cultural context) and research cannot be separate. The nature of qualitative research focuses on using an interpretivist framework (although also aspects of pragmatism). This is because qualitative methods "are better ways of getting at how humans interpret the world around them" (Willis et al, 2007, p.6).

The hermeneutic circle, the process whereby a researcher will interweave thinking between theory and analysis of findings, is used throughout the research process. In the hermeneutic circle, interaction with theory and the wider social context will

influence opinion and interpretation of results by the researcher. This is because "all social actors, it can properly be said are social theorists, who alter their theories in the light of experience" (Giddens, 1984, p.335). Within hermeneutic theory, is the idea that the subjectivity of the researcher is ever-present in analysis of text and through developing a deep relationship with the text better understanding may be fostered of the meanings embedded. This aligns with Ricoeur's idea of meaning; "being is never immediate but always mediated in a continuous tensional or "conflicting" process of interpretation" (Helenius, 2016, p.3).

The research uses CDA to analyse how national identity is used to construct a representation of Muslims within the Danish and British press. CDA focuses on how language, power and ideologies are systematically used to construct a version of 'truth' as outlined by Foucault (1980). Within discourse, there is always construction and representation, and this construction or 'truth' is a result of power structures and ideologies embedded in language. Therefore, the stance of the researcher is the ontological position of constructivism.

Constructivism is "processes inherent in the individual mind – as opposed to human relationships – as the origin of people's constructions of the world" (Gergen & Gergen, 2007, p.461). Constructivism is defined within three 'movements'; critical, or the examination of ideological workings within texts pioneered by Foucault, the literary/rhetorical movement or the idea that literary theory is understood through an individual's personal. The third movement is mental construction and the social movement or the focus on the 'social processes' or cultural context, influencing the growth to "knowledge, both scientific and otherwise" (ibid: p.462). For constructivists, the concepts of 'truth', objectivity/subjectivity, science and myths and the material world are created through interrelated societal relationships. The process of observation includes observing the researcher (including their contextual background) and how this affects the relationship between the research subject. Thus, the researcher and research subject are interrelated. Perspective to constructivists is inescapable and affects what is understood (Franklin, 2010). However, interpretivists do not consider culture a 'fixed' entity, rather constantly subject to change. Although as Becker (1982) states culture does have a reality "that persists and antedates the

participation of particular people” (ibid; p.521) which in turn has an influence on an individual’s construction of meaning.

This is why the cultural and political contexts of each country must be examined when analysing discourse, as a possible explanation of why a particular discourse has been utilized when representing Muslims. Additionally, the diachronic approach of examining texts within specific cluster events over 10 years from 2005–2015, allows the researcher to examine *how* the wider context influences ‘negotiations’ and ‘interactions’ with constructed representations of national identity and Muslim representations and explain *why* these negotiations and interactions happened.

To constructivists, the social ‘origins of knowledge’ are discovered in language (Gergen & Gergen, 2007, p.463) and are “explicitly language-based metatheory”, with scholars like Mihail Bakhtin, Michel Foucault and Ludwig Wittgenstein influencing the focus on discourse (Taljia, 2005, p.89). Concentration on language is why constructivism, as a philosophical paradigm, is additionally chosen for the research because the research examines language, language use, construction of meanings and representations.

5.2 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research focuses on beliefs and values and how they influence the findings and overall research project;

“it consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible...qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.3)

Cresswell (2013, p.44) adds “qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry...that is both deductive and inductive and establishes patterns or themes”. Additionally, qualitative research focuses on studying social or human problems that need to be examined (Miller & Crabtree, 1999). The research investigates the construction of Muslims in the British and Danish press, as established in previous chapters, the debate on Muslims has been viewed as

contentious, even a 'problem' in the mainstream media (Cisneros, 2008, p.569). Qualitative data is described as a process of collecting data through investigating documents, talking to participants and observations. Regarding the research project, secondary data has been collected by accessing newspaper databases. The research involves both inductive and deductive reasoning, through working 'bottom-up' with the data; by organising data into "abstract units of information" (Creswell, 2013, p.45).

5.2.1 Textual Analysis

The research utilises qualitative research methods in the form of textual analysis. Textual analysis is "a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world" (McKee, 2003, p.1). It is favourable for researchers who examine cultures and meaning-making systems, that construct social realities, regarding the project – language (Brennen, 2017). This approach involves investigation of text, defined as the application of interpretation on "something's meaning – a book, television programme, film, magazine, T-shirt or kilt...we treat it as a text" (McKee, 2003, p.4). In the research, texts are newspaper articles and in some instances images and video used within articles. Textual analysis does not measure accuracy of 'reality'. According to the philosophical stance of the researcher, the measure of reality is dubious. If individuals exist within a world constructed in multi-realities, how can one measure the accuracy of 'reality' of an individual against another? Textual analysis focuses on exploring culture and meaning-making systems; how is national identity and the culture of each country evident in the construction or representation of Muslims in the press?

5.2.2 Hermeneutic Circle

As part of the research process, it was decided to keep a digital research diary documenting thoughts and opinions on the research topic and process. Values and the idea of value-free research is an area of discussion within the interpretivist and positivist paradigm. Values and opinions are tied to subjectivity (interpretivism), whereas positivists argue that research should be value-free (objective). Although, Weber argued for 'value-free' objectives in sociology, value neutrality, or the idea of excluding ideological assumptions from research. This is ironic considering Weber was a nationalist and free-market supporter with his

work described as 'deeply ideological' (Allen, 2004, p.13). Demonstrating, through his work, that 'value-free' objectivity is not supported in interpretivism. Objectivity, or lack of, has been a criticism of textual analysis, (see Widdowson, 1995). However, as Fairclough (2003, p.14) states; "there is no such thing as an 'objective' analysis of a text", and although, Fairclough's philosophical stance is based on realism, the researcher takes a constructivist stance and agrees with the quoted observation. In textual analysis researchers must state their position on the research topic, this stance is reflected throughout the research diary. Baker et al (2013) highlighted the need for reflexivity when they conducted media representation of Islam in the British press and the emphasis that there can be a variety of interpretations of data, but that reflexivity be highlighted to the reader of the work.

Due to the nature of the philosophical stance of the researcher, it is believed that a research diary to document how these values and opinions are influencing the research process be beneficial. Furthermore, this is to coincide with the relationship between constructivism, interpretative social science, and hermeneutics or the hermeneutic circle. The hermeneutic circle, see figure 1.0, first discussed by Friedrich Ast, focuses on an in-depth reading of a text and the idea that analysis of text is not free from the subjectivity of the researcher (Mantzavinos, 2009).

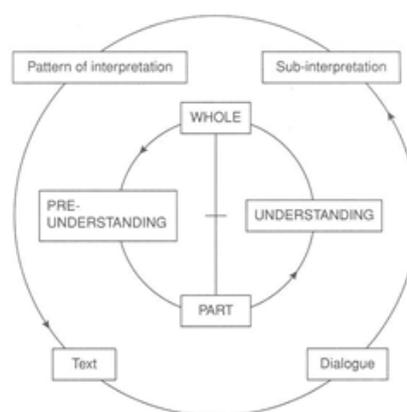


Figure 1.0: Hermeneutic Circle. Source: Alvesson & Skoldberg (2009, p. 104)

Hermeneutics is derived from the Greek word 'hermeneia' (interpretation); it is the circle of interpretation. Heidegger alludes that, within the hermeneutic circle

a text is understood in correlation to other texts (Mulhall, 1996). Similarly, Ricoeur emphasises interpretation as “an elucidation of one’s own world through the encounter with that of an other” (Helenius, 2016, p.147). The experience or ‘encounter’ between the researchers’ world and texts are in a consistent relationship of negotiation and engagement. Concerning the research, this negotiation and engagement are between researcher, text and other data and theory, by circulating the hermeneutic circle, a researcher can extend their perceptual horizon. The researcher engages with the data, retracts to studying theory, then re-engages with the data, developing an understanding of the text. Documentation of this is reflected in the research diary, see section 5.4.

5.2.3 Content Analysis

The data are reviewed first through content analysis. Content analysis within media research was first introduced by Harold Lasswell in his model of mass communication in 1920s to examine propaganda. Thereon, the method was increasingly employed in media research (Macnamara, 2005). Content analysis is “a research technique based on measuring the amount of something” (Berger, 1998, p.23). Alternatively, as Weber (1990) theorises, it is “a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text” (ibid: p.9). Content analysis can be performed in a variety of ways, and researchers “must judge what methods are most appropriate for their substantive problems.” (Weber, 1990, p.13).

Content analysis was viewed as quantitative because of the original statistical description of findings Neuendorf (2016). However, content analysis can be utilized both quantitatively, involving mutually agreed meaning of words/numbers such as documenting the number of men and women in a newspaper article or qualitatively (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2005).

Scholars have advocated the benefits of utilising content analysis qualitatively. Qualitative content analysis falls into the research areas interested in the “characteristics of language as communication” (Tesch, 2013, p.79). For Tesch, (ibid: p.80) it is the “exploration of word usage” which classifies the qualitative elements of content analysis, whereby researchers focus not only on the frequency

of words but examine the “‘key-word-in-context’ index” (ibid) or the syntagmatic relationship between words.

This presents the opportunity to devise a suitable framework of qualitative content analysis to coincide with the wider textual analysis. Qualitative content analysis is:

“a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative material. It is done by classifying material as instances of the categories of a coding frame...[it is] an option if you have a degree of interpretation to arrive at the meaning of your data.” (Schreier, 2012, p, 1 - 2)

Content analysis can generate statistical findings and reveal patterns but, “has not been able to capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful” (Newbold et al, 2002, p.84). The context can be a variety of elements such as the intended readership and their characteristics (potentially affecting the decoding of messages), the cultural context and credibility (how credible the media text is, including factors such as the use of expert sources) (Macnamara, 2005). Content analysis is descriptive rather than explanatory and does not explain ‘why’ or the context (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). Combining CDA with content analysis is beneficial; content analysis can identify word/phrase frequency. CDA examines meaning in the text including wider context and the elements of the “textual surface” or cohesion (Titscher et al, 2000, p.22) to explain the frequency.

It can reveal trends over time to complement CDA’s wider examination of power (Krippendorf, 2004) to “reveal shifts, changes and pervasiveness of particular positions” (Feltham-King & Macleod, 2016, p.5). Content analysis seeks to “uncover reality as it exists” whilst CDA uncovers “reality as it is produced” (Saraisky, 2015, p.27). It is anticipated that conducting content analysis will reveal trends and frequencies concerning words surrounding national identity and Muslim representation.

5.2.3.1 Keywords

Articles were read to determine which words (units of analysis) were used regularly and how their relation to different keyword categories. Baker et al

(2008) utilized keywords and keyness¹¹ to analyse how Muslim refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants were represented in the UK press. From using this method, they were able to “create a general impression of the presentation of RASIM (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants)” in the press (ibid, p.278).

Content analysis alone can offer a representation, a description, of common keywords in newspaper articles or a ‘generalisation’. However, it cannot provide the contextual background, or highlight meaning behind linguistics in media texts “and relate these meanings to broader sociocultural processes” (Gillespie & Toyne, 2006, p.138). Furthermore, content analysis cannot analyse and critique how and why these words have been used justifying combining the content analysis with CDA. The content analysis provides further evidence of national identity and Muslim construction in the British and Danish press ‘complimenting’ the CDA.

In the following section terms and units utilized in the research are explained further.

5.2.3.2 Deixis

Michael Billig’s (1995) theory of ‘banal nationalism’, the construction of nationalism in the media via deixis, was used during the content analysis. Deixis is reference to words such as ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘us’ and ‘we’; they “rely...on context. The ‘origo’ is the context from which the reference is made, the viewpoint that must be understood in order to interpret the utterance.” (Wodak, 2008, p.61).

Banal nationalism words chosen for this project are; ‘us’, ‘our’, ‘we’ for both countries. National identity construction relies on identification of the existence of an ‘Other’. Therefore, words to describe the ‘Other’ (such as ‘them’, ‘they’, ‘their’) are also included in the content analysis. However, deictic words do not just construct national identity. The word “‘We’ does not merely reference the speaker and the hearers: ‘we’ may be the party, the nation, all reasonable people

¹¹ Defined as “statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus” (Baker et al, 2008, p.278).

and various other combinations” (Billig, 1995, p.106). This has been acknowledged in the findings and analysis, where, if a deictic word is not a reference to national identity for example if a politician is quoted as referring to the party, it is not counted as part of the content analysis. The addition of ‘hot’ nationalism words such as ‘United Kingdom’ and ‘Denmark’ is used to compliment the banal nationalism words. Additionally, ‘freedom of speech’ added for Denmark, as highlighted; freedom of speech is viewed as the expression of ‘Danishness’.

During the analysis, these words were used as a starting point, in some texts additional words were discovered that were added into specific categories.

Texts were read multiple times and words were counted via the use of Word, thereon the results were documented in a separate file. An example is provided in Appendix D.

Words chosen to examine as part of the content analysis before commencing the analysis can be found in tables 5.0, 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. As the findings show, some words were not found in some texts, and other words were additionally found within specific texts to signify the different units of analysis and these were included in the content analysis.

Deictic Words - UK	Deictic Words - Denmark	Hot Nationalism - UK	Hot Nationalism - Denmark
We, us, our,	Vi, os, vores,	United Kingdom, UK (both grouped together), Great Britain, Britain, British, Britishness, Briton (all grouped together)	<u>Danmark</u> (Denmark), <u>Dansker</u> (Dane), Danske (Danish) Dansk (Danish), <u>Danskerne</u> (Danes), (all grouped together) <u>Ytringsfrihed</u> (freedom of speech)

Table 5.0: Deictic Nationalism Words

The Other – UK	The Other – Denmark
'Them', 'they', 'their'	'Dem' (them), 'de' ^{12*} (they), 'deres' (their)

Table 5.1: Deictic Words to construct Muslims as the Other.

Immigrant - UK	Immigrant – Denmark
'Muslim', 'Islam', 'immigrant', 'migrant'	'Muslim', 'Islam', 'indvander' (immigrant), 'vandrere' (migrant), 'udlænding/e' (foreigner), 'fremmede' (alien)

Table 5.2: Categories of words for representing Muslims as immigrants¹³

Political Model – UK	Political Model – Denmark
'Multiculturalism', 'integration', 'assimilation', 'community', 'group', 'culture', 'values'	'Assimilation', 'integrere' (integrate), 'parallelsamfund' (parallel society), 'fælleskab' (community), kultur (culture), værdier (values)

Table 5.3: Words Referencing the Political Model of Each Country

¹² The word 'de' (they) in Danish can have several meanings, such as formal version of 'you' and 'the'. Therefore, the word 'de' was only counted in the content analysis if it was in reference to 'they' as an 'Other'.

¹³ These were edited to the event, i.e. if the event was a terrorist attack, whereby an attacker was Muslim, then words were adjusted to suit the context and language of each cluster event. These words included 'terrorist', 'fundamentalist', 'extremist' although they were only considered in this category if they were framing Muslims with these words.

5.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

The second stage of the textual analysis involves CDA. There exist a multitude of approaches to CDA (Van Dijk, 1995). CDA has evolved from a variety of areas such as "rhetoric, text linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, socio-psychology, cognitive science, literary studies and sociolinguistics, [and] in applied linguistics and pragmatics" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.1). It shares similar concepts as the Frankfurt School (Forchtner, 2011), but originates in critical linguistics (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Gunter Kress and Robert Hodge, amongst others, from The University of East Anglia developed critical linguistic theory in the 1970s in an attempt to show how embedded ideologies in texts can be revealed via examining linguistic proponents of a text (Wodak, 2013). CDA developed and saw a growth in the 1990s because critical linguistics did not examine the relational aspects of power and language (Machin & Mayr, 2012). CDA has been defined as;

- "Language as recontextualization of social practice" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.1)
- The focus of the "discursive reproduction of power abuse and social inequality" (Van Dijk, 2008, p.1)
- "CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258)

The dominant theorists within CDA are Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk and Norman Fairclough. There are different approaches to CDA, however, all approaches utilize relational elements;

1. Language
2. Power
3. Ideology (Wodak & Meyer, 2009)

CDA seeks to uncover and "reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives" (Batstone, 1995, p.198) can be highlighted, revealing ideologies and elements of enacted power which may not be visible. CDA seeks to "depresentify" ideologies and power within discourses

because discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972, p.49 & 54).

5.2.4.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Framework

The chosen CDA framework for the research is Norman Fairclough’s dialectical¹⁴ approach, because of Fairclough’s focus on a developed model of CDA, history and dialectics. Additionally, Fairclough’s work on discourse and; neoliberalism, New Labour and political correctness are useful for the research. To Fairclough (2003), CDA is the study of language as social practice with a focus on examining ‘discursive events; which are “language use, analysed as text, discursive practice and social practice” (Fairclough, 1993, p.138). This means that language and society are intertwined and cannot be separated, it is ‘conditioned’ within society and ‘determined socially’. Language is socially and contextually in a dialectical relationship (Fairclough, 1989, p.22 - 23).

CDA or ‘semiosis’ is, according to Fairclough, dialectically “related to others” (Fairclough in Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.87).

Fairclough (2003, p.3) further defines CDA as;

“‘oscillating’ between a focus on specific texts and...the social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and network of social practices. [It is] concerned with continuity and change at this more abstract, more structural, level, as well as with what happens in particular texts.”

Discourses are not stagnant or stand alone, they are linked to other discourses, social practices. Therefore, it is essential to analyse both social context and language (Meyer, 2001). The networking of social practices “constitute a social order” within discourse or an ‘order of discourse’ - originally from Foucault (Rabinow, 1984). The structuring and relationship between ‘diverse genres and

¹⁴ Dialectic means the relationship between elements; here an examination of the dialectical relationships within discourse is the focus. Here, the “process through which discourses become operationalised in economics and societies is...the dialectics of discourse” (Fairclough, 2001, p.233).

discourses and styles' (Fairclough, 2001, p.232) and 'social conditions', or the nature of power in relationships between discourse producer and decoder, influence elements of discourse (Fairclough, 1989, p.19). 'Hegemony' of discourse influence how it is ordered; whether a discourse is legitimised and naturalised as dominant or contested and this 'ordering' is subject to change. This is also dependent on the ideology of the text producer and text receiver. Foucault's (1990) idea that discourse is a space of both power and resistance in that there is a "complex and unstable process" where discourse can be "an effect of power" and also a "point of resistance" (ibid: p. 101), is similar to Fairclough's. Fairclough states that hegemonic discourses, as part of the social system of 'orders of discourse' can be challenged. It is "an open system, which can be changed by what happens in actual interactions" (Fairclough, 2005, p.4).

Utilising Foucault's theory of power with Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of CDA can reveal why certain discourses dominate within a particular time frame. Foucault (1972) states there are 'historical conditions required' to permit a discourse to be 'said', for legitimisation; "one cannot speak of anything at any time" (ibid: p.46). The ability to state 'truth's' functions within relations between a variety of elements such as institutions (government, the press) and wider cultural contexts.

Furthermore, discourse, reaffirms existing social affairs, it is;

"socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. [It] helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it." (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258).

Discourse as social practice works under the "construction of social identities, and representations of the social world" (Fairclough, 2000, p.167). This dialectical approach is useful in the research through establishing links between 'events' and discourses during the time period of 2005 – 2015.

Fairclough CDA was developed using Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a type of linguistics focusing on the relationship between

language and 'social life' (Fairclough, 2003, p.5). Although SFL and CDA are similar, Fairclough stated that there was a need to:

“develop approaches to text analysis through a **transdisciplinary** dialogue with perspectives on language and discourse within social theory and research in order to develop our capacity to analyse texts as elements in social processes.” (Fairclough, 2003, p.6 original emphasis).

Fairclough's approach to CDA utilizes Halliday's idea of SFL through the relationship between language and wider society or what Fairclough calls 'social fields', with added perspective of working with social theories and established research to analyse texts. This relates to the development from Discourse Analysis to CDA, whereby Discourse Analysis was viewed as not focusing 'critically' on the wider social context and neglecting elements of power influencing discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Bridging various theories, CDA functions as a 'dialogue' between potentially adding further dimensions and enhancements to theories and methodologies (Fairclough, 2001). This justifies the outlining and employing of a variety of theories found in Chapter Two.

Discourse analysis is referred to as semiosis. Semiosis can involve focusing on 'social modalities' (Fairclough in Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.87) which can include visual images and 'body language' as well as language. The aim is to examine semiosis with social practices, defined as "stabilised form of social activity", such as 'television news' or 'classroom teaching' (Fairclough, 2012, p.1).

Fairclough employs a three-dimensional approach to CDA;

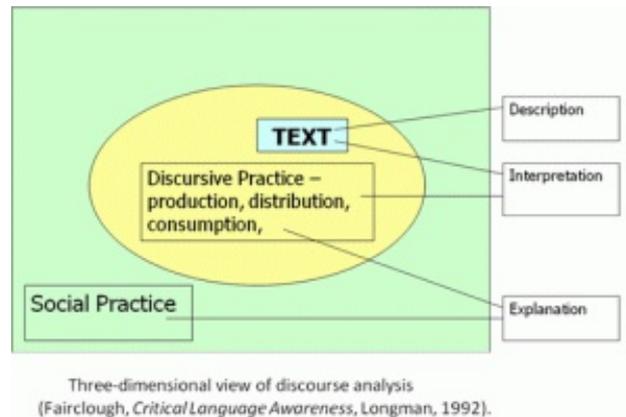


Figure 2.0: Fairclough Three-Dimensional Approach. Source: Fairclough, 1992

This approach involves, three processes of analysis of three dimensions of discourse;

- Text Analysis/Description (linguistic aspects; grammar, syntax) – describing the linguistic aspects of the text
- Discursive Practice/Interpretation - (including the institutional aspects of the text production (newspaper ownership, editorial stances and political affiliations), distribution (audience reach and means of distributing the texts), consumption (how the texts are consumed). The analysis of discourse practices.
- Social Analysis/Explanation – explaining the wider social practice of the discourses and language within the text (Fairclough, 1989, p.26)

Although each stage or level is conducted separately, they are all interlinked and essential for CDA.

The text stage involves describing the micro level or linguistic elements of the text, including deixis (such as national identity 'cue' words i.e. 'we', 'us'). The discursive practice stage involves examining the production, distribution and consumption of the text, including the text producer utilising existing discourses according to media ownership, ideology, socio-political context and how the reader interprets the text; this is the meso-level of analysis (Janks, 1997). Although, as outlined, texts are open to multiple interpretations. The third level involves the

social analysis and explanation of the application of these discourses in wider society and whether the discourses challenge or reinforce wider societal norms. Additionally, this level of analysis contributes to the levels of belief and knowledge in society and is important when analysing constructions of identity as discourse “figures in ways of being in the constitution of identities” (Fairclough, 2012, p.2) related to social practice, or how discourses are used in practice.

5.2.4.2 Ideology

As a main examination of CDA, the analysis of ideologies and ideological practices within texts is fundamental in any piece of CDA, because ideologies are largely ‘acquired’, constructed and ‘reproduced’ in texts (Van Dijk, 2006, p.115). Although, different positions within the CDA ‘school’ differ on the definition of ideology and approach to CDA, there is consensus that ideology and power relations, within an interdisciplinary framework are necessary for analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2015, p.5). This is the ‘critical’ in CDA, focusing on examining and highlighting elements of power involves examining ideology which “conceal the power struggles” within society (Breeze, 2011, p.497).

When examining representations in discourse, it is essential to examine the embedded explicit or implicit ideologies within a text, because ideologies functions to construct representations of the world (Fairclough, 1995). Regarding the research, it is essential to examine how ideologies construct a representation within discourses of Muslims in the British and Danish press.

For Fairclough, within the orders of discourse, the structure of the orders, or which discourses and accompanying networked discourse, genres and styles used to create this order (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002) have greater legitimacy than others and determined by power relationships which are prone to change depending on the socio-cultural context. A part of controlling the orders of discourse involves the ability to adhere to the dominant ideology within an institution or wider society (Fairclough, 1989). Ideological-discursive formations (IDF’s) are evident within institutions, and IDF’s have their own ‘discourse norms’ within their own ‘ideological norms’. In the research this would be a newspaper, and within an institution, there is typically one dominant IDF (Fairclough, 1985, p.739). Fairclough (2003, p.9) defines ideologies as;

“representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation.”

Ideologies can transcend over social institutions and social agents. The way the world is represented in ‘media language’ encompasses representations of people, ‘constructions’ of identities and ‘constructions’ of social relations (Fairclough, 1995, p.12). Ideologies are; “propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination.” (ibid, p.14). Although, ideology within a text is always present it can be implicit or explicit via presuppositions, ideological positioning of the audience, or what is taken as ‘common sense’, what an audience ‘already know’ (Fairclough, 1989, p.153). However, ideologies are ‘most effective’ when they are not ‘visible’ or are implicit (ibid: p.85) because implicit ideologies function to maintain the view that a discourse is ‘common sense’ therefore, masking the hidden power relations, because if an ideology is viewed as common sense, there will be no requirement to examine power relations.

Within media discourse, ways of detecting the presence of ideology are by rhetorical devices such as conversationalized discourse. Conversationalized discourse can be viewed as a power shift from the media to ‘ordinary people’ because it is ‘informal’ and a way of ‘speaking’ in a conversational tone. This function of rhetoric within media discourse can also be viewed as ideological (Fowler, 1991). Although, Fairclough does not completely support Fowler’s idea that ‘conversational discourse’ within the media is always ideological (Fairclough, 1995), he does acknowledge the rise of a ‘public colloquial language’ developed within the media ‘modelled’ on informal, conversationalized ways of speaking (ibid: p.38). Fowler’s (1991) definition of conversational discourse functioning within media is to “naturalize the terms in which reality is represented, and the categories those terms represent” (ibid: p.57). This aligns with the researcher’s ideas, and thus conversational discourse adhering to Fowler’s definition is used in the research. This is also achieved through the ‘number’s game’ (Van Dijk, 2000) where objectivity is presented in the perceived official use of numbers by a text producer to support a claim as is often used in discourses around Muslims and Muslim communities. Further use of presenting an image of objectivity within

media discourse is modality (Fowler, 1991). Truth modality varies in use, it can be presented as definite (they will not do that) or of 'lesser certainty' (ibid; p.86) (they could do that).

The media can utilise a variety of ideologies, political ideologies are often utilised within media discourse, because of the dialectical relationship between politics and media. Of interest to the research is the idea that 'enemies' are typically constructed, in political ideology, as one enemy against the 'people' because too much ideological diversity results in the 'masses' questioning the legitimacy of the ideology (Fairclough, 1989, p.86). Therefore, diverse ideologies could potentially lead to 'resistance' to a dominant discourse (Foucault, 1990). Regarding the research, too many differing or diverse ideologies on Muslims may potentially cause a power struggle within the press. Therefore, the legitimisation of a right-wing populist ideology viewing Muslims as the enemy 'Other' will be necessary to legitimise a discourse on Muslims within a news-story. This is because of the rise of right-wing populism within Europe influencing the legitimacy of discourses. This justifies the need for examining media plurality (see Chapter Four).

Through the 'critical' view of ideology, examination of social practices such as means of text production (including political stances, ownership/editorial influences and advertisers) and reach must be considered as part of the ideological production mechanism present in text. In this view, the text producer is, therefore, not simply the journalist, it is all the ideological 'forces' behind the journalist such as editors, ownership and wider socio-cultural conditions, this is one aspect of power. Thus, within CDA, power relations must be considered as an essential examination of ideology location, consumption and production.

5.2.4.3 Power and Discourse

Both the literature review chapters and this chapter identify and link the importance of examining power in discourse. Fairclough takes a similar stance as Foucault's notion of power dispersed through society and institutions, rather than 'top down' (Blackledge, 2005). Power is not exclusively held by people or institutions, but functions through social struggle. Although power can be gained it can also be lost and therefore, there is a need to consistently reassert power and this is achieved through discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Wodak (2001, p.11)

further expands that power “does not derive from language” but that language “can be used to challenge power” and to ‘commit’ to ‘social justice’ (Widdowson, in Coffin, 2001, p.99). This idea is essential for CDA. Power and discourse are intertwined, and power governs, constrains and is a site of potential contestation. Fairclough states that discourse embodies “the power effect whereby this discourse type comes to be imposed upon all of those involved (Fairclough, 1989, p. 61)”, including the audience and text producers.

Fairclough outlines two dimensions of power; power in and power behind discourse (ibid). Power in discourse is the idea that ‘powerful participants’ such as journalists, editors and owners “control and constrain the contributions of non-powerful participants” (ibid, p.46). The content, or what is included or excluded in a text, the ‘social relations’ of people in the discourse and the ‘subject positions’ people are attributed (passive or active), are all forms of constraint. Concerning the research, a key question may be; are Muslims given a ‘voice’ within the discourse or are they excluded, this element of power is necessary to examine in the discourse. Due to the ‘one-sidedness’ of media discourse, there is always power present which must be examined (ibid: p.49).

Power behind discourse is the extent that discourse can be enforced into the social order as a ‘hidden effect of power’ (ibid: p.55) or how discourses become legitimate and naturalised in the ‘orders of discourse’ and wider society (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Three dimensions are outlined as power behind discourse; standardisation, or how language is ‘standardised’ and accepted, such as the development of the English language as the national language for the UK. The second dimension focuses on discourse types as “power effects” (Fairclough, 1989, p.61) which are controlled by ‘power holders’ in institutions such as medical discourse in medical institutions. This functions hierarchically and is how ideology is maintained. The last dimension is access or “who has the power to impose and enforce constraints on access” (ibid, p.62), because access to discourse can result in resistance of the discourse access it is an important element (Van Dijk, 1995). Access to discourse relates to Foucault’s theory of power and discourse, that discourse includes “procedures which govern access” (Janks, 2010, p. 1915). To penetrate the order of discourse, one must “satisfy certain requirements” (Foucault in Young, 1981, p. 62); who may say what and to whom “and in what

context” (Van Dijk, 2008, p.67). If individuals do not meet ‘requirements’ they will not be deemed legitimate. Therefore, one voice may be favoured and ‘legitimate’ over another. This is related to the wider socio-cultural context. For example, the rise of right-wing populism in Europe may support or legitimise a ‘voice’ which uses right-wing discourses to construct an image of Muslims, because it may be deemed as true or part of the ‘regime of truth’.

Outlined in Chapter Two, Foucault defines power as a relational concept; always developing and contested within society. CDA functions to examine the dynamics between these relationships within language and thus to conduct CDA on the corpus of texts as an objective is paramount and links to all other objectives. The concept of national identity and power is one which prominent theorists (see Wodak & Boukala, 2015, Hall, 1997 & Meer, Dwyer & Modood, 2010) have examined. These studies, like all interpretive research, function within context which requires examination of the external and internal environment and elements of power – regarding the research, the cultural, political and social context will be examined.

5.2.4.4 Intertextuality

Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of CDA is situated in the idea that a text must be viewed as a “relation to webs of other texts” with wider reference to the social context essential (Jørgensen & Philips, 2002, p.70). This ‘relation to webs’ of texts is intertextuality. Intertextuality is the building of previous texts or as Kristeva (1986, p.39) defines; “the insertion of history into a text and of this text into history”. Two axes of intertextuality exist; horizontal (the reader and text producer are linked, such as the use of direct or indirect quotes in a text) and vertical (texts are linked to other texts), these axes are linked through culturally shared codes. Richardson (2007) outlines these as internal (horizontal) and external (vertical) intertextuality and essential in the study of journalism and CDA. Intertextuality is defined as the relationship and movement “between a text and all the other texts to which it refers and relates” functioning through the creation of a linkage of ‘textual relations’ (Allen, 2011, p.1). Intertextuality is the relationship between a text and other texts, as expressed within said text.

Media representation potentially “shape many of our preconceptions of others” (Hiramoto & Park, 2010, p.179), therefore it is essential intertextual text, dependent on codes acquired from previous texts, is examined because meaning is layered and understanding of previous texts are potentially altered. For Fairclough (1992a, p.270), this means text, ‘absorbs’ and builds upon texts ‘from the past’ and rewrites ‘history’ of a discursive event; functioning in a transformative (of past texts and present texts) nature, this is recontextualization (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, the process of recontextualization because of intertextuality functions, as Foucault would outline, to contribute to the episteme or structure of knowledge of society within a historical period. Concerning the research, recontextualization functions to contribute to discourses and constructions of Muslims in the British and Danish press.

The analysis of discursive practices; the production, distribution and consumption of texts, and discursive events is a historical process in which texts belong and therefore, intertextuality refers to the past, present and future and based on presupposition interpretation (Fairclough, 1989). It is essential when examining intertextuality that power relations are considered, because someone with power may be “able to determine presuppositions” and ‘impose’ these onto others (Fairclough, 1989, p.152). Foucault’s idea of power is important; power behind discourse and power within a social order is significant because it legitimises ‘truth’ and is *a priori* a “fundamental arrangement of knowledge” (Foucault, 2002, p.172). Presuppositions function to arrange ‘knowledge’ within a particular historical period. In the context of the research, text producers and socio-cultural context may determine presuppositions within texts, and so this relationship is important to consider when examining intertextuality. Thus, intertextuality ‘calls’ on a ‘reader’s knowledge’ of previous texts to apply existing ‘values’ or codes associated with a previous text to the present text (Fowler, 1991, p.118).

Like Kristeva, Fairclough (1992a) outlines types of intertextuality; manifest or the use of quotes or rewording in texts, making explicit reference to other texts and constitutive intertextuality (interdiscursivity) or the relationship a discourse has with other discourses and the mixing of genres in a text. Analysis of intertextuality ‘mediates’ between linguistic analysis and wider socio-cultural analysis (Fairclough, 2003, p.218). Utilizing intertextuality, which can be implicit or

explicit and identified via cues such as quotation marks, and in some cases, numbers such as in the context of the research project 7/7, is important when conducting the CDA. Intertextual analysis highlights “the discursive processes of text producers and interpreters” and how they utilise elements within the ‘orders of discourse’, or discourses which are prominent in society at that present time which indicate what can or cannot be said (Fairclough, 1992b, p.213).

The text producer cannot know the ‘intertextual experiences’ of a reader; thereby, the text producer constructs an ideal reader complete with required intertextual experiences to arrive at a dominant reading of the text (Hall, 1980). Of importance is that some intertextual experiences have occurred in the minds of the individual, whereby the physical experience or witness of an event or phenomenon have not been ‘witnessed’ by a reader, rather readers have experienced the mediated construction. This presents what Fairclough argues (1989, p.153) as an “effective means of manipulating” or the power mass media can have in constructing the readers’ intertextual experience of events.

5.2.4.5 Criticism of CDA

Criticism of CDA, particularly Fairclough’s method of CDA, does exist (Breeze, 2011). Stubbs (1997) has criticised Fairclough for not providing sufficient evidence in studies, outlining methods used to obtain data and writing findings in such a way that it would be difficult for anyone to challenge them. All articles are available on request. The research provides excerpts from a research diary to trace how the researcher’s opinions on the engagement with theory and data has influenced the interpretation of findings, finally to counteract criticism of lack of evidence within CDA, a multitude of evidence/examples are included in the analysis chapter (see Chapter Seven).

5.3 Diachronic Time Period

The research utilises a diachronic approach – examining ‘cluster events’ reported within the British and Danish press from 2005 – 2015. Other studies which have conducted diachronic analysis of representation of Muslims are KhosraviNik (2010), Jensen (2008) and Poole (2002) amongst others. CDA views language as social practice, meaning language is not static, it is subject to change. Words, regardless of the language, do not operate within a vacuum. Words are not simply

words; "language intersects with the social and political reflexes of power" (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p.2). Tracing and analysing the historical process of media representation on Muslims is necessary to understand how the present situation has arrived. Social and political 'reflexes of power' are additionally subject to change and therefore so is language and media representation of Muslims and national identity. Thus, as outlined through Foucault's (in Young, 1981) notion of 'will to truth', and the idea that 'truth' is historically bound, what a meaning-making system constructs as 'truth' may not be the same 'truth' a decade afterwards, adding an important emphasis for a diachronic approach. How, or has the construction of national identity and Muslim representation developed in the 10-year period?

5.4 Image Analysis

Images function within an analogical communication system, with meaning "based on similarity or analogy" (Messaris & Abraham, 2008, p.216). This can potentially persuade readers to 'overlook' the reality that images are 'artificial constructions', framed by a photographer. Hall (1972, p.84) illustrates that images 'neutralize its ideological function' in newspapers because they are presented within a 'hidden sign' - that the event occurred as the image represents. News photographs function as "a transparent window on the world" depicting 'reality' (Prosser & Schwartz, 2012, p.101) negating to demonstrate the complex steps taken in selecting images and stories to include in a newspaper. Thus, images used in newspaper articles are an element to be examined, because images can immediately 'speak' to a reader and potentially operate ideologically, while appearing neutral. Therefore, it is important to examine selected images in news-stories as they may function ideologically to represent Muslims in the British and Danish press in accordance to specific newspapers' political leanings but not present these ideologies explicitly, thus, exercising power.

Photography as outlined above has been interpreted as 'transparent'. Barthes (1977, p.159) proposes that photography creates a "*having-been-there*" consciousness, providing a "*this is how it was*" and a "reality from which we are sheltered". Images function with linguistic text and should be 'read' together (McIlwain, 2007). Choices such as photograph angle and where the gaze of image

falls, i.e. is the gaze directed at the reader or away from the reader are additionally important to examine in textual analysis (Kress, 2010).

Due to the PhD time frame only select 'cluster events' with images are analysed, these include twenty-three images in total; two images from the 2009/2010 Burka ban debate cluster event, as these are the only images used in the selected articles, and twenty-one images from the 2015 Charlie Hebdo cluster event. These two cluster events were also the only direct comparative events where both countries were analysed. Ahmed & Matthes (2017) found in a meta-analysis of published studies that there was a need for more visual representation analysis of Muslims. Although this project focuses on language it does encompass in some events multi-modal image analysis (Machin, 2007).

Hall discussed how a text is interpreted through codes, see figure 3.0. The text producer encodes a message utilizing the different objectives of the desired meaning, through considering the receivers and meaning-making systems. Thereon, the receiver decodes the message using their meaning making system (such as culture and ideologies).

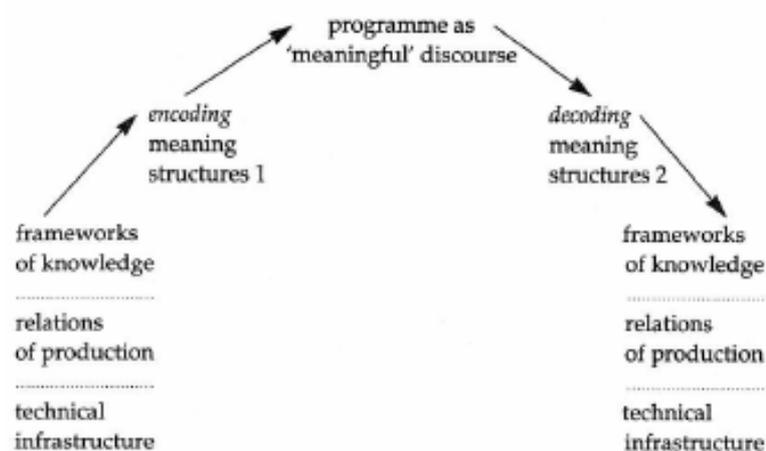


Figure 3.0: Text Interpretation. Source: Hall, 1999, p.94

Interpretations, however, are not always 'successful' to the encoder (successful meaning the receiver decoded the intended message). Different readings can be made of encoded messages, such as;

- Dominant (hegemonic) – intended position
- Negotiated – the decoder accepts elements of the text
- Oppositional (counter-hegemonic) – the intended meaning of the text is rejected (ibid)

This is important to note, as Hall (1980) demonstrates, interpretations are polysemic and there are potentially many interpretations of a text. Therefore, it is essential when conducting a CDA of images/photographs in selected news-stories, that the encoding/decoding model is considered.

5.5 Positioning Research Diary - Reflexivity

Reflexivity, as a main element of journaling the research process, is essential within the development of "one's research and trying to understand how one's values and views may influence findings that adds credibility to the research" (Jootun, McGhee & Marland, 2009, p. 42). Reflexivity is a term used interchangeably in research and has been deemed 'confusing'. Lynch (2000) devised different definitions of reflexivity one being methodological reflexive. This approach to reflexivity can focus on;

1. philosophical self-reflection; the researcher focuses on their own subject position against the research,
2. methodological self-consciousness; the relationship between researcher and research subject of investigation, this includes the 'attempt to correct biases' (ibid; p.29),
3. the methodological self-criticism; 'confessional' style (associated with ethnography)

The research diary encompasses all sub-meanings of methodological reflexivity.

The research diary is intended to demonstrate the conceptual thinking that developed during the project, including; engagement with theory and previous research, critical reflection on personal experiences with the topic (inner

dialogue), conversations with academic peers and members of the general public (such as family/friends) and commentary on stories within the media, demonstrating the hermeneutic circle. According to the philosophical stance of interpretivism; the researcher acknowledges the 'amorphousness' (Gatson, 2003) of the Self as subject to changing opinions and thoughts consistently in negotiation within and out-with culture (or the macro contextual environment) and with the data. It is incorporated as part of the research project to demonstrate how different aspects of reflection by reading and discussion influenced the analysis and approach of the research.

Gerstl-Pepin & Patrizio (2009) state short-term memory loss can lead to important thoughts and ideas during the many stages of the research journey becoming lost. Furthermore, a research diary allows for 'epistemological awareness' and "engagement in their [qualitative research students] epistemological assumptions." (ibid: p. 300 & 303).

For example diary extracts see Appendix E.

5.6 Justification for Print Newspapers

The research analyses print newspapers, however, for purposes of being meticulous, the researcher investigated if all texts are accessible online; 69 out of 101 articles are available. This means approximately two-thirds of the corpus are available online and in print. Therefore, a mix of online and print texts are analysed. Nevertheless, a justification for print newspapers is necessary because print newspapers have suffered from a 'seismic shift' in the production and journalistic practices in news because of advances in technology and accessibility of the Internet (Elliot, 2012, p.9). Although, the challenge of the internet and online news has not been a simple shift from print to online (Conboy & Steel, 2009).

Ghersetti (2014) found the "dwindling financial resources" print media is experiencing is also the same for online media (ibid: p.384). Furthermore, through comparative content analysis of print and online news in Sweden, there were no differences in the article contents or journalistic style (ibid), something Quandt, (2009) reiterates. Tornberg & Tornberg (2016) found in a comparison

between social media discourse and traditional media discourse on Muslim representation that Muslims were represented as a violent, extreme homogenous group with characteristics stemming from Islam in similar ways to traditional media, thus functioning as an “online amplifier” reinforcing discourses in print press (ibid: p.133).

Print news has been found to focus more on future events, with analysis on issues and possible solutions, because online media takes “advantage in representing the recent past” as opposed to temporal limitations to print news (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2015, p.1062). This is something *Politiken* (Albæk, 2011) have acknowledged; readers search for current events via social media but “background information, analysis and commentary” from print (p.346). Ngyuen & Western (2006) and Van der Wurff et al (2003) found a positive, complementary relationship between online and print media, whereby use of online news ‘reinforces’ the utilization of traditional media. Online news is typically used as an “add on” regarding “rapid updating” (Skogerbø & Winsvold, 2011, p. 226), thus complimenting print news. This focus on social issues within print newspapers was fundamental to the research; CDA is language as social practice that seeks to examine a problem or issue. The combination of analysing print and online news articles in light of their complementary relationship is deemed appropriate and balanced for examining how the British and Danish press construct national identity when representing Muslims.

5.6.1 Justification: Selection of Newspapers

The political leaning was considered when selecting corpus of text (see figure 4.0); because the political support of a newspaper may influence textual choices within texts (Fryberg et al, 2012) and can reveal how national identity is used in debates where ‘issues’ around Muslims and the varied Muslim communities is a salient topic. A variety of researchers examining media representation and media coverage of a multitude of topics, including Muslim representation, have utilised a mix of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers individually in both UK and Denmark (see for example Van Dijk, 2015, Kjærgaard, 2010, Hervik, 2014, Taylor 1999, Larsen & Dejgaard, 2013 and Meer & Mouritsen, 2009).

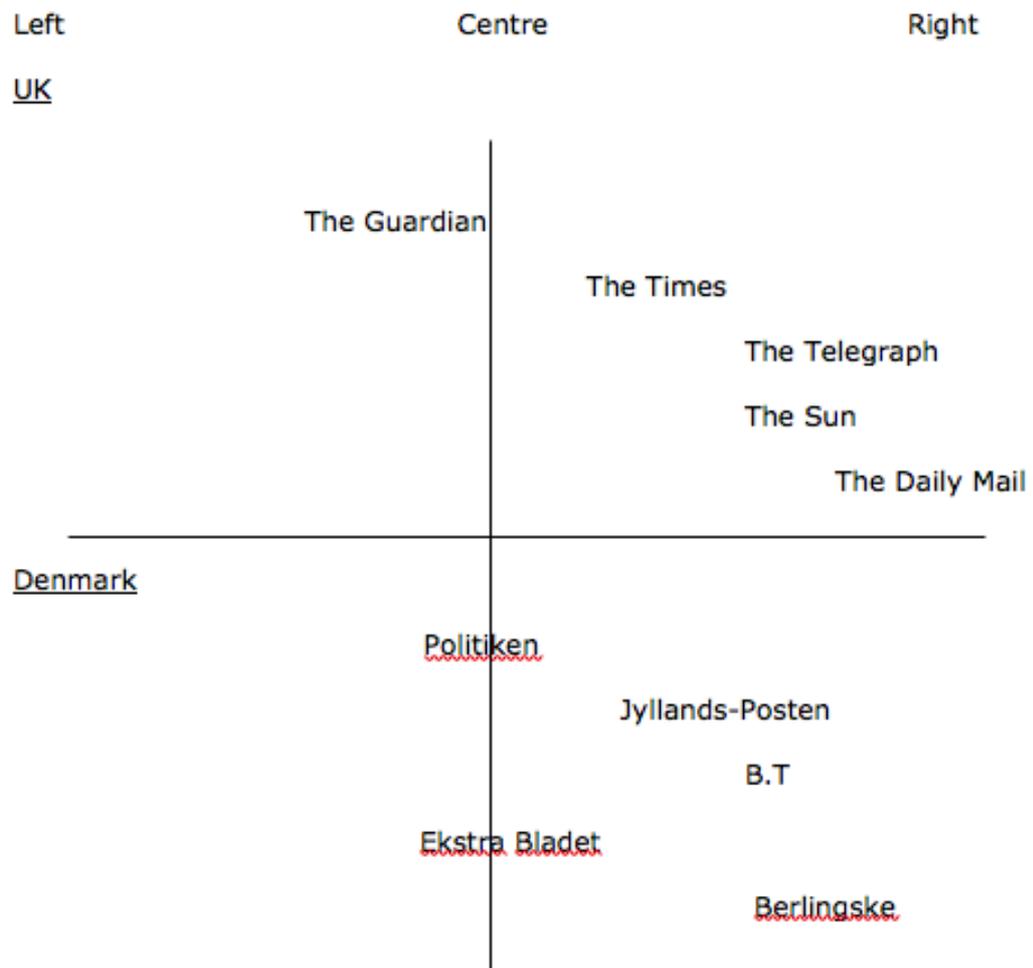


Figure 4.0: Political Leaning of Newspapers: Denmark and UK

5.6.2 History of Newspapers

An overview of the history of newspapers selected for each country is provided, including ownership.

5.6.2.1 Danish Newspapers

The newspapers chosen for Denmark were; Politiken, Jyllands-Posten, Berlingske (all broadsheets), and two tabloids - BT and Ekstra Bladet. These newspapers were chosen because of their circulation – they are amongst the biggest in Denmark (Larsen, 2013), range of political stances and their use in previous

research. Scholars analysing Danish newspapers typically focus mainly on the two dominant newspapers in Denmark; Politiken and Jyllands-Posten, also, because they are on different scales of the political spectrum; Politiken is considered centre left, Jyllands-Posten, centre right.

Yilmaz (2006) has conducted previous research using the same newspapers over a specific time frame (1984 – 87), examining the discourses used within articles about Muslims and Muslim immigrants. Similar techniques as this project were used; first content analysis was employed and then discourse analysis was used to explain the salience of keywords in a contextual environment. Although, Yilmaz also outlined the strategies of Søren Krarup (the Danish priest who launched a media campaign against further refugee laws in 1986) and conducted qualitative interviews in 2001 of members of the general public comparing the data.

5.6.2.1.2 Berlingske

This is the oldest newspaper in Denmark and was founded in 1749 as *Københavnske Danske Post-Tidende* by German printer Ernst Henrich Berling and supported the Conservative party, with a predominantly middle- and upper-class readership (Andersen & Hjermitslev, 2009). In 1841 it became a daily. The printers were the editors and had sole responsibility for the newspaper content, although government involvement was present, in 1808 Daniel Manthey the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the editor (Vogel-Jørgensen, 1949). This changed with the introduction of freedom of speech in the 1849 Danish constitution, with competition in the newspaper market now free. However, it would be several years before 'assistants' were credited as editorial staff in the paper.

Ownership has moved from the descendants of Ernst Henrich Berling who had established Berlingske Officin to Maersk Mc-Kinney Møller investing a large share in the proprietor in 1982 following the 1973 oil crisis which resulted in loss of advertising revenue. Berlingske Officin additionally owned BT and Weekendavisen and was purchased by Orkla in the early 2000s. However, from 2006 – 2014 was owned by Mecom Group Plc, a David Montgomery British media company, and changed its name to Berlingske Media, which had the largest publication of newspapers in Europe with print companies in Poland, Norway, Netherlands and

Denmark (Harrie, 2009). Following a debt of 680 million Euros Berlingske Media was acquired by Belgian publisher De Persgroep (Steffensen & Justesen, 2012).

5.6.2.1.3 BT

BT is the tabloid of Berlingske and was founded by Henry Helleesen in 1916, modelled on a paper in Austria-Hungary (Gustafsson, 2008) and is currently owned by Berlingske Media. During reporting of the war in WW1, the paper was a supplement to Berlingske, however, progressed into a tabloid focusing on entertainment. It has been described as focusing on entertainment and sport in particular 'celebrities' (Grunwald & Rupa, 2009, p.397) with an emphasis primarily on national issues (Jørndrup, 2012).

5.6.2.1.4 Jyllands-Posten

Jyllands-Posten was founded in 1871 and originated in Jutland originally publishing news a day earlier than competitors after securing access to government telegraph wires every day. In 1929 they opened an office in Copenhagen and created a corporation with The Times, helping them access foreign news.

Traditionally, Jyllands-Posten has supported the Conservative People's Party in 1915, opposing socialism. During the 1920s and 1930s the paper reported favourably on the German and Italian authoritarian regimes, particularly sympathetic to Adolf Hitler. Post-World War II circulation rose, and the paper moved from nationalist-conservative to economic liberalism. The paper has in recent years had a number of controversial incidents regarding Muslims, particularly since the shift in 2001 of political rule to the right – Venstre. One incident resulted in the firing of 2001 editor in chief Ulrik Haagerup, following a complaint by the Danish Council of the Press claiming the paper breached regulations on race over an unsubstantiated story published accusing Palestinian refugees of asylum fraud in Denmark (Hervik, 2014).

Ownership in 2003 was JP/Politikens Hus A/S, this merger between Jyllands-Posten A/S and Politikens Hus owns Jyllands-Posten, Politiken, Ekstra Bladet and free newspapers 24timer and metroXpress (Holm, Ulhøi & Uliyanova, 2012).

5.6.2.1.5 Politiken

Politiken was founded as Dagbladet Politiken in 1884 by Viggo Hørup, Edvard Brandes and Hermann Bing and played a role in the formation of the Danish Social Liberal Party (Det Radikale Venstre), declaring itself independent of the party in 1970 but remains of social centre-left stance. In the 1900s the paper had a cultural radical political stance, traditionally valuing the 'wisdom of the people' with a third of opinion pieces contributed by the general public to avoid politicians and spin doctors dominating the paper (Wahl-jorgensen, 2004, p.63). From 1993 – 2011 Tøger Seidenfaden was editor in chief of Politiken, often referred to as the real opposition not Helle Thorning Schmidt (then leader of the Social Democrats) and was influential in founding Iraq Centre whereby Iraqi refugees denied asylum were given job opportunities (Politiken, 2009).

5.6.2.1.6 Ekstra Bladet

Ekstra Bladet was founded – as Politiken's Ekstra Blad, later changing the name to Ekstra Bladet - in 1904 by its' sister paper Politiken publishing telegrams about the war. In 1905 the paper had an independent editorial team and in the 1960s the paper became tabloid form, being the first Danish newspaper to introduce topless images of women and caters to standard tabloid style of being "brazen, disrespectful and loud" (Gade, 2010). It traditionally has a centre-left political stance (Esmark & Ørsten, 2006) however from 2000 – 2007 the editor in chief was Hans Engell a previous member and leader (1993- 1997) of the Conservative People's Party and Defence Minister 1982 – 1987. The paper has been involved in a variety of campaigns and has been noted historically as in "constant battle against BT" (Taylor, 1999, p.39). Like Politiken and Jyllands-Posten, Ekstra Bladet is owned by JP/Politikens Hus.

5.6.3 British Newspapers

The British newspapers chosen were; *Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and *The Guardian* because of their political stances and use in previous research (see for example Khosravini, 2010, Blinder & Allen, 2016, Baker et al, 2013 & Nickels et al, 2012). Although the political stances of the types of newspapers in the UK and Denmark are different (the tabloid *Ekstra Bladet* is

typically centre-left (although this position is questionable considering previous editorial positions), whereas *The Sun* and *Daily Mail* are right, two tabloids were chosen for each country and three broadsheets in light of research question 2 (see Chapter One). The comparative element of the research sought to find if there were differences in reporting styles and although, as explained the newspapers have slightly different political stances, it was deemed necessary to have the same amount of tabloids and broadsheets for each country in respect of balance.

5.6.3.1 Daily Mail

The *Daily Mail* was founded in 1896 by Viscount Jonathan Rothermere and Alfred Harmsworth (Viscount Northcliffe), with Jonathan Harmsworth, 4th Viscount Rothermere the current chairman of the Daily Mail and General Trust which the subsidiary company DMG Media owns the paper, including the online version *MailOnline* as well as several other papers such as *Metro* and *Metro.co.uk* (Daily Mail and General Trust Plc, 2017). The Daily Mail and General Trust was founded in 1922 and is a public limited company run in over 40 different countries. The MailOnline is the “most popular English language newspaper website in the world” (Associated Newspapers Ltd, 2016, p.1).

The paper has a conservative, right-wing political stance, with a history, like Jyllands-Posten of supporting fascism, with owner Lord Rothermere influencing the Daily Mail editorial stance in the 1930s to support friends Mussolini and Hitler (Griffiths, 2015).

The paper has had the same editor in chief since 1992 – Paul Dacre, a “highly influential politically” editor (Heffer, 2007) who is a libertarian-authoritarian Conservative who “beats the words out every night, producing a paper which is his voice, reflects his tastes and views...in a way true of no other paper” (Lloyd, 2007, p.1). He has been stated as changing the politics and demographics of the Mail going from pro-Europe with a high readership in south-east of England and London to Eurosceptic and readership in Scotland and northern and mid parts of England, with his influence helping “bring the killers of Stephen Lawrence to justice” with a Daily Mail campaign to catch the murders (Wilby, 2014, p.1). Dacre’s influence in politics was also evident in the New Labour Blair years,

whereby a hostile dynamic caused by spin doctoring of Alastair Campbell, changed the relationship between the press and politicians (Woodward, 2007).

5.6.3.2 Guardian

The Guardian was established in 1936 by John Scott and was owned by the Scott Trust which dissolved and reformed in 1948 because of the belief that the Trust would become liable to tax because of changes in the law. In 1992 the central objective of the trust was to keep The Guardian editorial stance free from outside influences. In 2008 the trust was wound up and replaced by Scott Trust Limited which owns the Guardian and the Observer amongst other media businesses in the UK. The company is responsible for appointing the editor of the Guardian, who from 1995 – 2015 was Alan Rusbridger. The political stance of the paper has traditionally been central left.

Alan Rusbridger was appointed editor in chief of the paper in 1995 and had been central in changes to the Guardian over the years he has not explicitly stated his political stance but has been 'assumed to share the values' of left-liberals (Wilby, 2012, p.1). In 2005 the paper moved from broadsheet to 'Berliner' format and invested in online news form of the paper. While, the Guardian has not invested in pay wall ideas, it has however, began to move to the 'right' of the political spectrum to gain wider readership where "[Alan Rusbridger] recruited the former Times editor Simon Jenkins and the former Telegraph editor Max Hastings as columnists." (Abunimah, 2012, p.1).

5.6.3.3 The Sun

The Sun was founded in 1964 as a broadsheet, replacing the Daily Herald and became a broadsheet when Rupert Murdoch whose company News International owns *The Sun*, purchased the newspaper in 1969 turning the paper into a tabloid format. He purchased the Times and Sunday Times in 1981 during this period he supported Margaret Thatcher. His company News Corporation now News Corp own a multitude of media companies such as Fox News, 20th Century Fox and newspapers in Australia, American, Fiji, Papua New Guinea as well as in the UK. His influence on politics has made him a successful press baron, during the New Labour years he would meet in secret with Tony Blair and was described as a

“hidden member of Tony Blair’s cabinet” (Hinsliff, 2006, p.1). Traditionally the paper supports Conservative politics, although it supported Labour in 1997 and 2005 elections.

A significant editor in chief has been Rebekah Brooks (2003 – 2009), the first female editor of the Sun, who was also friends of Tony Blair and Cherie Blair and involved in the News of the World phone hacking scandal of 2011. Dominic Mohan then became editor in chief 2009 – 2013 with a background in entertainment journalism. The last editor in chief during the time period covered in this project was David Dinsmore who was editor in chief 2013 – 2015, who during his period as editor helped grow the online subscriptions from 117,000 to 225,000 (Durrani, 2014).

5.6.3.4 The Times

The Times was founded in 1785 as The Daily Universal Register by John Walter and built a reputation of quality by utilising war correspondents and covering a variety of areas such as literature, culture and politics. However, after years of financial issues *The Times* was bought by press baron Alfred Harmsword (Lord Northcliffe) in 1908 and in 1922 John Jacob Astor, 1st Viscount Astor bought the paper selling it on in 1967 to the Thomson Corporation to finally be sold (amidst threats of closure) to the current owner of the paper – Rupert Murdoch (Stewart, 2005).

Rupert Murdoch purchased *the Times* and *Sunday Times* in 1981 during this period where he supported Margaret Thatcher. His company News Corporation, now News Corp, own a multitude of media companies such as Fox News, 20th Century Fox and newspapers in Australia, American, Fiji, Papua New Guinea as well as in the UK.

From 2002 – 2007 Robert James Thomson was editor in chief and left when he became managing editor of the Wall Street Journal. James Harding then became editor from 2007 – 2013 with a history of being a journalist for the Financial Times in 1994 and joined the Times in 2006 as Business Editor and introduced online paying for the paper in 2009 (Harding, 2013). He left his position following a dispute with Rupert Murdoch over how the Times covered the News of the World

hacking scandal. The current editor in chief is John Witherow who has been a reporter for the paper since 1980 when he had a particular focus on the Iran-Iraq and Falklands Wars.

5.6.3.5 The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph was founded in 1855 as Daily Telegraph and Courier by Arthur B Sleigh. The Telegraph Media Group previously the Telegraph Group is the proprietor of Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph. Press Holdings owns the Telegraph Media Group and controls Press Acquisitions Limited. The holding company is owned by Sir David Rowat Barclay and Sir Frederick Hugh Barclay – the Barclay Brothers – they purchased the Telegraph Media Group in 2004. In 2006 100s of journalists were made redundant with the National Union of Journalists threatening to strike. The brothers own a multitude of companies such as retail (Littlewoods, yodel), shipping company Ellerman Lines and politically have been defined as Conservative. The Daily Telegraph has had editors in chief with Conservative ties resulting in the paper being branded – the Torygraph (Willems, 2015).

The paper has had a number of editors in chief since 2003 from Martin Newland 2003 – 2005 (who had worked on Conservative newspapers such as the National Post), William Lewis 2006 – 2009, Tony Gallagher 2009 – 2014, Jason Seiken 2013 – 2014 and current editor in chief media personality Chris Evans.

5.6.4 Newspaper Circulation

In addition to the political leanings of each newspaper, it is essential to include at least two tabloid newspapers to examine if the contrast between the types of newspaper affects Muslim representation. The circulation is also considered and acts as an indicator of the potential reach newspapers have at disseminating debates and stories about and around Muslims. The figures below, tables 5.4 and 5.5, show the circulation of each print newspaper from 2005 - 2015.

Newspaper	2005 Daily Circulation	2006 Daily Circulation	2007 Daily Circulation	2008 Daily Circulation	2009 Daily Circulation	2010 Daily Circulation
BT	460,000	402,000	401,000	426,000	354,000	270,000
Berlingske	356,000	352,000	356,000	347,000	340,000	267,000
Ekstra Bladet	462,000	418,000	425,000	443,000	386,000	304,000
Jyllands-Posten	575,000	545,000	505,000	493,000	482,000	389,000
Politiken	463,000	439,000	432,000	423,000	430,000	368,000

Newspaper	2011 Daily Circulation	2012 Daily Circulation	2013 Daily Circulation	2014 Daily Circulation	2015 Daily Circulation
BT	256,000	242,000	204,000	170,000	150,000
Berlingske	262,000	247,000	240,000	186,000	181,000
Ekstra Bladet	277,000	256,000	223,000	184,000	134,000
Jyllands-Posten	362,000	331,000	321,000	271,000	243,000
Politiken	374,000	353,000	361,000	330,000	307,000

Table 5.4: Danish Daily Newspaper Circulation 2005 – 2015¹⁵

Newspaper	2005 Daily Circulation	2006 Daily Circulation	2007 Daily Circulation	2008 Daily Circulation	2009 Daily Circulation	2010 Daily Circulation
The Sun	3,258,402	3,154,781	2,935,672	2,899,310	2,957,690	2,955,957
The Daily Mail	2,304,299	2,267,741	2,310,806	2,139,178	1,320,629	1,239,691
The Times	645,060	616,881	615,313	600,962	590,765	506,997
The Daily Telegraph	865,730	837,285	873,523	824,244	774,752	683,220
Guardian	341,105	359,303	353,436	343,010	343,359	288,917

Newspaper	2011 Daily Circulation	2012 Daily Circulation	2013 Daily Circulation	2014 Daily Circulation	2015 Daily Circulation
The Sun	2,806,746	2,583,552	2,242,903	2,033,606	1,722,145
The Daily Mail	2,047,206	1,939,635	1,806,569	1,673,579	1,538,618

¹⁵ Sources: Bakker, 2007 & TNS Gallup, 2017. Readership figures are calculated on a 6-monthly basis, figures are representative of the second half of each year.

The Times	400,120	440,581	390,941	393,530	443,361
The Daily Telegraph	622,719	573,674	547,106	514,592	462,899
Guardian	256,283	211,511	187,000	185,313	157,317

Table 5.5: British Daily Newspaper Circulation 2005 – 2015¹⁶

5.7 Literature Searching

The research topic is multi-disciplinary. Previous research utilising both quantitative and qualitative methods has been conducted in areas from law, education, health, to focusing on the media. Therefore, a variety of methods have been used to find appropriate literature. One to one sessions with the Aberdeen Business School librarian were attended to establish appropriate methods of literature searching, with initial search terms being;

- "Muslim", immigrant*, Europe, "media", "press", "newspapers"

Once these terms had been established, they were used to search for literature in the early stages of the project. Table 5.6 shows an example of search terms used and then modified. From these initial searches and subsequent reading of the literature, literature themes (these themes are evident in all parts of Chapter Two, were established in combination with the research design and methodological implications considered.

Topic	Type of Search	Search Term Combinations	Literature Type Result	Comments
Muslim representation Europe	Academic Journals	"Muslim", immigrant*, "media"	Academic journals	Newspaper articles that had been cited in academic articles were displayed in google scholar.
	Google Scholar	"Muslim", immigrant*, migrant*, "newspapers"	Conference Papers	
			Policy Reports	

¹⁶ Sources: Guardian News and Media Limited, 2006, Guardian News and Media Limited, 2009, Guardian News and Media Limited, 2010, Guardian News and Media Limited, 2012, Guardian News and Media Limited, 2014, Press Gazette, 2016.

		"Muslim", "representation", "media", "newspapers", "press", "Europe" "Muslim", "representation", "Denmark", "Danish", "press", "newspapers"	Charity/Public Organisation Reports Newspaper Articles	Whilst searching in ¹⁷ Google scholar, the advanced search was selected to limit the year of publishing to only show recent, up to date, research.
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Table 5.6: Initial Literature Search

Initial search results indicated that in many instances literature on Muslims was on, or framing Muslims as immigrants, or when literature referred to immigrants the indication was non-Western immigrants and at times focus on refugees or asylum seekers also included reference to immigrants and vice versa. This demonstrates the inter-changeable use of the term 'immigrant' is not reserved for the media or policy, but also, in some instances academia. Additionally, it reiterates that Muslims are framed as "immigrant" within and out-with academia.

An example of literature theory search terms is provided in table 5.7. This table highlights how literature on theory was collected, in the example below the focus was on power and representation.

Topic	Type of Search	Search Term Combinations	Literature Type Result	Comments
Theory: Power	RGU Library Catalogue Google Books World Cat	Michel Foucault Power, Foucault Foucault, Discourse	Theoretical textbooks	When suitable textbooks were located via Google books and not available from the RGU library an Inter-library loan request was filed.
Theory: Power	Academic Journals Google Scholar	"Foucault", "power", "media" "Foucault", "power", "represent*"	Journal Articles	

¹⁷ Citation alerts were created in academic journals and google scholar.

Theory: Power and Representation	¹⁸ Online Videos	Foucault, discourse, power Representation, power,	Videos of seminars, lectures, interviews	Particular interviews especially of Stuart Hall aided in understanding and accessing further literature on representation.
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Table 5.7: Literature on Theory

Bibliography databases like SAGE Journals Online, Wiley Online Library, SpringerLink, Taylor & Francis Online, Business Source Complete, Emerald, Web of Science with Google Scholar Zetoc citation alerts created. Books were further used, specifically when examining theories (see Literature Review, Part 1) and used to establish citation chaining which further expanded the literature searching (Boland et al, 2017).

Furthermore, during the Denmark field trip in 2016, literature only accessible through a computer database in the library, was examined. Additionally, researchers within the field were contacted requesting information with some providing pdfs of their work (like Professor Karim H. Karim) and recommending key texts required for the research specifically Vertovec and Wessendorf's (2010) book *The Multiculturalism Backlash*.

5.8 Data Collection

5.8.1 Corpus of Texts

The data collection involved selecting 'cluster events' within the chosen period under investigation – 2005-2015. A 'cluster event' is an event which occurs, is reported on in the press and then monitored in the articles for a set time period. Certain events have been monitored for a longer time period than others to collect a larger or smaller corpus of texts to be examined. For example, some events like the *Jyllands-Posten* Muhammad cartoon 'crisis' were reported on for more than 6 months and covered two years. However, the essence of the discourse was fluid. Thus the 'initial' reaction is recorded over two months. Thereafter, reporting (in February 2006) of how Anders Fogh Rasmussen dealt with the aftermath of additional developments such as Danish goods boycotted in the Middle East and

¹⁸ Due to the learning style of the researcher online videos were a supporting resource to the project.

Imams travelling to the Middle East to denounce Denmark is also examined. Other 'cluster events' have been monitored and collected over typically a date range of 1 – 2 months, this is to ensure the maximum number of articles could be collected for the corpus of texts, to be filtered at a later stage.

Reading relevant literature determined that different categories of events had to be chosen. Vliegenhart & Boomgaarden (2007) applied the idea of utilizing 'cluster events' within three subcategories; 'institutional events' (like general elections), 'unpremediated events' (such as terrorist attacks) and 'deliberated events' (such as social actors e.g. Pim Fortyn provoking debate) when conducting a diachronic content analysis of immigrant media, including Muslim immigrants, coverage in the Netherlands. This study inspired the use of 'cluster events' within the research topic. Additionally, the application of 'cluster events' has also been employed previously (see Van Dijk, 1991 & Baker et al, 2008).

Events have been chosen based on the perceived salience that the representation of Muslims would have within newspaper articles. Coinciding with the justification of choosing specific events; studies have found commentary and events, can function as a 'permissive' signal within the mainstream media to discuss Muslims in a negative light (Lesinka, 2014). As the literature reveals, social actors such as prominent politicians (e.g. Pim Fortyn) play a role in influencing the discourse around Muslims in the media. Therefore, it is necessary to include 'cluster events' of a mixture of political commentary/speech to diachronically investigate the discourse on Muslim representation in the British and Danish media.

Events and texts function within an interrelated relationship. Texts are "part of the action...they simultaneously represent aspects of the world and they simultaneously identify social actors, contribute to the constitution of social and personal identities" (Fairclough, 2006, p.25). Therefore, events and texts, for example newspaper articles, are a 'space' where identities and representations can be constructed or contested. This is why analysis of 'cluster events' over a specific period is essential in examining how the Danish and British press have utilized and constructed national identity and Muslim representation.

From a Foucauldian perspective; 'cluster events', could serve as an opportunity to exercise power by constructing national identity and 'legitimizing' or 'normalizing' an overall negative representation of Muslims within some parts of the media.

5.8.1.2 Collection Process

Data collected for the research are newspaper articles. A corpus of texts is required to meet specific research objectives, particularly objectives 2, 3, 4 and 5 (see Chapter 1 section 1.1). Robert Gordon University has a subscription with the International Newsstand and LexisLibrary databases, therefore, it was established that access to UK newspaper articles would be accessible within the UK.

The Aberdeen Business School librarian gave adequate training in using the database. However, it was established remote access within the UK to the Danish InfoMedia database was not financially viable, therefore a field trip to the Royal Library of Copenhagen, Denmark was conducted in July 2016.

The data were collected from media databases in May, June, July and August 2016. A stratification system was used to plan the data collection and reduce the corpus of texts. This required establishing a system of 'essential requirements' for the data to be considered for collection. Additional data collection was conducted in the UK via a 30-day subscription of Danish online versions of each selected newspaper.

To meet these requirements, keywords were generated to be used when searching for articles, see figure 5.0. It is important to note that because Denmark follows an assimilation model of integration, whereby citizens are expected to conform to the national identity of the country the word *integre** (integrate) was used to fulfil both the political model of integration and national identity. This is because these two categories of keywords are interlinked, even more so under an assimilation model and as the literature review has revealed, the word 'integrate' often means to assimilate. Each cluster event utilises the following keywords, see figure 5.0, when searching for articles, however, specific words are used to refer to the event, for example; the London 7/7 bombings. This is to ensure the filtering out of other articles not citing the event.

These keywords were decided in phase two of the stratification system where a pilot test was conducted to gauge whether the selected keywords would produce sufficient data for analysis. The pilot test involved selecting a 'cluster event', the July 2005 London bombings, and following the literature review, utilising words the researcher expected would frequently be used such as; 'immigrant', 'migrant', 'multiculturalism', 'assimilation'. However, this did not produce a high volume of data, therefore a process of experimenting with different keywords within the search function in the International Newsstand newspaper database was undertaken until the researcher was satisfied a sufficient amount of data was achievable.

Country	Political Model of Integration: Keywords	National Identity of 'host' nation: Keywords	Immigrant Citizen: Keywords
UK	Multicultural or multiculturalism	Integra*, culture	Immigra*, Migrant*
Denmark	Integre*	Integre*, Kultur	Indvandrер* (immigrant) vandre* (migrant) Udlænding* (foreign*) Gæstearbejd* (guest work*)

Figure 5.0: Keywords, search terms for Data Collection

5.8.1.3 Corpus Size & Stratification System

A three-phase 'filtering' system, as adopted by Barthes (1990) is employed refining the corpus of texts within the large time frame.

Phase One

Phase one consisted of deciding on a set number of 'clusters' to analyse. This was achieved by referring to pre-existing research which had utilized a diachronic

approach (see for example Vliegenhart & Boomgaarden, 2007, KhosraviNik, 2010 & Yilmaz, 2012).

Phase Two

Phase two involved searching for these 'cluster' time periods within media archive databases using specific keywords. This process additionally involved scanning each newspaper article to determine whether it was potentially suitable for analysis. The texts were then filtered further in phase three.

Phase Three

Phase three involved a systematic method of corpus reduction using a stratification system to select specific news stories. The systematic method requirements were:

- News stories must feature or construct specific stories involving Muslims
- News stories must reference national identity of perceived 'host' nation
- News stories must be published within specific time frames
- News stories must connect with issues which reference the political model the country follows

5.8.1.4 Corpus Size

The final corpus of texts contains 101 items; this number is deemed appropriate for the time given and methods used; content analysis and CDA. Furthermore, the corpus is defined as having reached its end when no further or new discourses can be found, as expressed by Ooi (2001, p.179) in reference to corpus size;

“the optimal size can be reached only when the collection of more texts does not shed any more light on its lexicogrammatical or discourse patterning”

Ensuring the corpus size of the data represent all discourses is challenging, yet important and considered throughout the stratification stages. Baker & Levon (2015) compared corpus-based (analysing a corpus of 44.1 million words) and qualitative analysis (CDA on 51 articles from the same corpus) on the same study to determine whether the differing approaches would affect the representation of findings. Results demonstrated that both methods of analysis “uncovered a set of shared findings” (ibid: p. 233), and the two methods complemented each other. A smaller corpus for CDA remained representative of findings identifying “more subtle social and linguistic patterns in the texts and to situate its interpretations of these patterns within a multi-level understanding of the broader ideological context.” (ibid: p. 233). This level of close critical analysis of texts is essential in examining the broader ideologies utilised to construct national identity and Muslim representation within the British and Danish press.

5.9 Presentation of Findings

Findings of the research are presented in chapters six (CA) and chapter seven (CDA) with wider discussion in chapter eight. Through reviewing literature, the presentation of summarised newspaper articles in a table is taken from Peter Teo’s (2000, p.10, see table 6.0), work on racism in the news. All newspaper articles analysed are summarised in a table and numbered to ensure the findings chapters presentation is concise. Articles in the analysis are referred to by their number as opposed to author and a key noted for each cluster event in the analysis.

<i>S/N</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	2 May 1995	<i>Herald</i> , p. 6	A key witness who allegedly saw an Asian gang bash a schoolboy to death was placed under protection when a Cabramatta gang threatened to kill anyone who talked to the police.
2	16 July 1995	<i>Telegraph</i> , p. 8	Asian youths brazenly peddle drugs at the Cabramatta train station area, seemingly oblivious to the police patrols and crowds of commuters nearby.
3	16 July 1995	<i>Telegraph</i> , p. 9	Cabravale Park has become the new drug haven for Cabramatta's heroin abusers, where syringes and other implements litter the park.
4	8 August 1995	<i>Herald</i> , p. 2	Police believe that the three men who were gunned down in Cabramatta were victims of a power struggle in the 5T gang, notorious for heroin trafficking and extortion of Asian shopkeepers.

Table 6.0: Example of Summarising Articles. Source: Teo (2000, p.10)

5.9.1 Presentation of Content Analysis

Content analysis findings are presented in tables (available in the appendices) with the more significant, select findings presented in a graph as a visual aid to be more helpful for the reader to visualise the findings. This is because written qualitative content analysis can be cumbersome and thereby, a visual presentation in the form of a graph deemed useful in ensuring clarity of the analysis and discussion chapter.

5.9.2 Presentation of Critical Discourse Analysis

The presentation of the CDA findings is taken from the technique Ruth Wodak employs in her research, see figure 6.0. The grouping of discourses visually is deemed complementary to the written text.

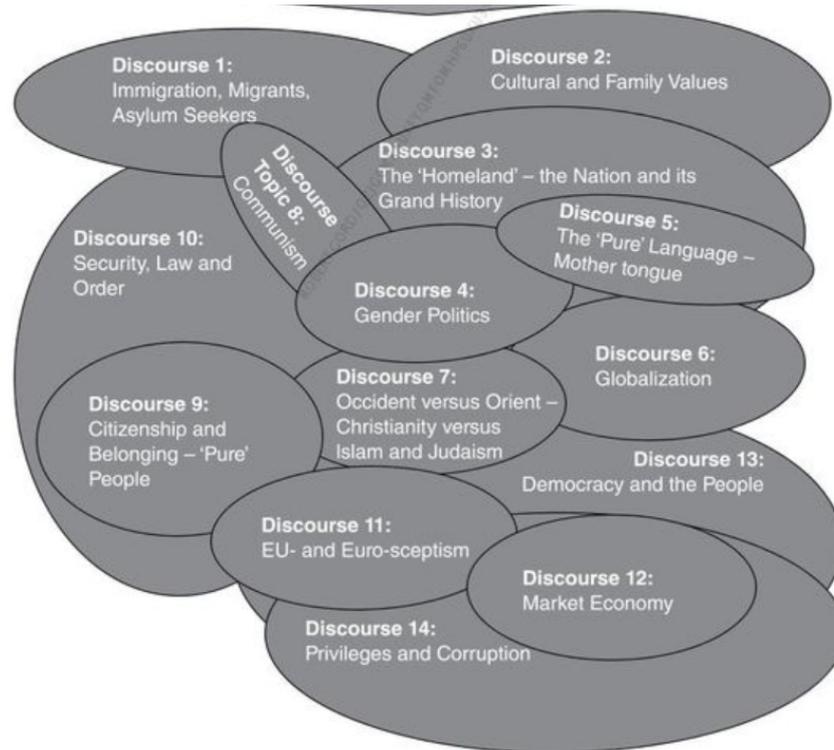


Figure 6.0: Discourses about right-wing populist agenda.

Source: Wodak, 2015, p. 49

5.10 Translation

All examples are translated by the researcher with an indicative example of the translations available see Appendix F. However, all data analysed is archived and freely available.

Chapter Six: Content Analysis

The research is a diachronic study examining how national identity is constructed to represent Muslims in the British and Danish press. Using an interpretivist philosophy, the project uses textual analysis of newspaper articles in the form of content analysis, CDA and for two events CDA of images utilised.

This chapter outlines findings of a top-level approach to content analysis conducted on all cluster events in chronological order. The cluster events are; July 2005 London bombings, 2005 Muhammad Cartoon Crisis I, 2005 Sleepwalking into Segregation, 2006 Jack Straw veil comments, 2006 Muhammad Cartoon Crisis II, 2007 Asmaa Abdol-Hamid hijab comments, 2009/2010 Burka ban debate, 2013 Murder of Drummer Lee Rigby, 2015 Charlie Hebdo terrorist attack and 2015 Copenhagen terrorist attack.

The chapter is presented in chronological order within the timeline for selected 'cluster events' from 2005 – 2015. Findings are presented visually, in the form of graphs, timelines and venn diagrams and using examples from texts with wider discussion embedded. The chapter is divided into sections comprising of the content analysis, which discusses three categories; 'national identity', 'political model' and ¹⁹'immigrant' cue words/markers.

6.0 Content Analysis

The content analysis has been conducted by examining elements that adhered to the stratification system outlined in Chapter Five. The three elements are that texts should include reference to; national identity, political model and Muslims. This is achieved by examining and documenting specific 'cue' words, or words that according to Fairclough (1989) aids the interpreter. In this research 'interpreter' means the reader, interpretation is that which aligns to the text producer's intended ideology. Whether the dominant or preferred interpretation is decoded is not evident nor is it an aim of the research, nevertheless, it is important to

¹⁹ As the literature outlines European Muslim communities are frequently framed as 'immigrant' irrespective of whether they are European or not. Therefore, this categorisation was deemed appropriate for analysing one aspect of potential negative Muslim representation and Othering.

acknowledge this aspect as being one of the key drivers for news production – to achieve a dominant interpretation (Hall, 1973).

A summary of each cluster event is provided in table 6.1.

Cluster Event	Date	Summary	Justification
London Bombings	July 2005	On the 7 th of July 2005, Mohammad Sidique Khan, Shehzad Tanweer, Germaine Lindsay and Hasib Hussain committed a succession of terrorist attacks in London, involving three bombs on London Underground trains and one bomb on a bus in Tavistock Square, three of the attackers were British nationals (BBC, 2015). 700 people were injured, and 52 people were killed in the attack which was the first prolific terrorist attack committed by British nationals.	The event was chosen because, it has been viewed as a significant event in the 'backlash' against multiculturalism, although as the literature reveals this backlash did occur before the event. Nevertheless, it was deemed an appropriate event to start the UK side of the diachronic analysis.
Muhammad Cartoon Crisis	September 2005	On 30 th of September 2005 <i>Jyllands-Posten</i> published 12 cartoons depicting Muhammad. The justification was that freedom of speech was being expressed and defended against self-censorship which according to the newspaper was linked to Islam. The cartoons included Muhammad wearing a turban with a bomb on top. Following the publication protests from some Muslims in Denmark followed and several Danish and Danish-based imams travelled across the Middle East to inform people of the publication. Debate of the cartoons received some attention in wider Europe, however, news coverage became intense in 2006 which is covered in the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2006 cluster event.	This was chosen as a cluster event because it has been viewed as a key event in Denmark and was viewed and became known as the "biggest international crisis since 1945" (Rynning & Schmidt, 2006, p.1).
Sleepwalking Into Segregation	September 2005	In September 2005 Trevor Phillips, head of the race relations body gave a speech to the Manchester Council for Community Relations and his comments that "Britain is sleepwalking into segregation" was widely reported in the British media two months after the July 2005 London bombings.	This was selected as a cluster event, because Trevor Phillips was a member of the Labour Party and has been chairman for the Runnymede Trust from 1993 to 1998. This incident was marked as a shift from people on the left.

Jack Straw	October 2006	<p>In October 2006, then Foreign Secretary, MP Jack Straw, wrote an article in his constituency newspaper <i>Lancashire Evening Telegraph</i> whereby he stated that he would request women wearing a face veil (niqab) to remove them when in his office, although they had the choice to refuse.</p> <p>In this article Jack Straw said was to encourage debate about the veil and 'implications of separateness' (BBC, 2006, p.1). In 2010, Jack Straw made a public apology over his comments in 2006 (Joly & Wadia, 2017)</p>	This cluster event was chosen as it was perceived and framed in the media as a further 'mark' of the left shifting opinion on Muslims and immigrants. It is marked as a changing point with the veil becoming a talking point for as "an iconic symbol of cultural difference" in Britain (Khan & Mythne, 2018, p.96).
Muhammad Cartoon Crisis	February 2006	The Muhammad Cartoons did not become a 'crisis' until 2006 when Muslim countries boycotted Danish goods because then Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen refused to apologise to Muslim ambassadors for <i>Jyllands-Posten</i> publishing cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad.	This cluster event was chosen to compare with the initial reactions in 2005 to the publishing of the Muhammad cartoons in the hope that it would demonstrate how discourses change over a short period of time.
Asmaa Abdol-Hamid	2007	In 2007 Asmaa Abdol-Hamid announced her candidacy as MP for the Red-Green Alliance (socialist and green political party) in the General Election in Denmark. Abdol-Hamid was known in Denmark as the first presenter to wear a hijab on national television in Denmark on the show "Adam and Asmaa" in 2006. When she announced that were she elected she would wear a hijab in parliament, this became a focal point in the election and media. Particular comments from DPP Søren Krarup comparing the hijab with the Nazi swastika achieved media attention. He had close ties to Danish Association, established in 1987, who were vocal in opposing refugees framed as non-Danish (Meret, 2010).	This cluster event was chosen because it caused debate not over the changes Asmaa Abdol-Hamid would implement should she be elected, but the wider influence of Islam on parliament were she elected. Additionally, the debate focused on the removal of Islamic head wear as the debate was in 2006 for the Jack Straw cluster event.

Burka Ban	2009 & 2010	<p>In 2009 and 2010 there was a Europe wide debate on the potential banning of the burka. This debate was evident in the UK (started in 2010) and Denmark (started 2009) as well as in Belgium, Italy and France (Hartwich, 2010). A bill banning the wearing of a burka and/or niqab in public were eventually banned in France in 2010 (Hunter-Henin, 2012).</p>	<p>The burka ban debate was chosen as a cluster event, because it demonstrates that debate on Muslims as highlighted in the introduction, a 'domino effect' whereby debate in one country can and does influence debate in other countries. Additionally, it was also determined because of the Europe wide attention an appropriate event to directly compare how countries construct national identity whilst representing Muslims.</p> <p>Furthermore, research suggests that Muslim women who wear Islamic dress are increasingly being targeted in hate crime (Choudhury et al, 2005)</p>
Murder Drummer Lee Rigby	2013	<p>On the 22nd of May 2013 Lee Rigby was attacked and killed in daylight by two Muslim men Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebowale. Lee Rigby was a fusilier in the British army and was targeted because he was wearing a Help for Heroes t-shirt, which the attackers cited as the reason Rigby was chosen to be attacked as he represented British soldiers that "Muslims are dying daily by" (McEnery et al, 2015, p.238).</p>	<p>The murder of Lee Rigby was chosen because it was considered a 'shock' due to the nature of the murder (Lee Rigby was run down and partially beheaded) in a London street during the day. Furthermore, the event promoted media and political attention on Islamist extremism and radicalization and the new Tacking Extremism and Radicalisation Task Force (TERFOR) focusing on education and Mosques and in general focusing on Muslims (Peters & Besley, 2014).</p>

Charlie Hebdo	January 2015	<p>On 7th of January 2015 two gunmen Said and Cherif Kouachi, French Muslim brothers, entered the headquarters of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris and killed 12 staff from Charlie Hebdo and injured 11. Amongst the dead were cartoonists, editors, maintenance workers, police officers and guests. The attack was described as a terrorist attack with the attackers shouting "Allahu akbar" ("God is great") (Withnall & Lichfield, 2015).</p> <p>Following the attack, two days later a friend of Said and Cherif Kouachi, Amedy Coulibaly took hostage over 15 people shooting dead 4 Jewish people in a kosher supermarket in Port de Vincennes (Macfarlane et al, 2015).</p>	This cluster event was chosen because it was viewed as a significant event committed against an organisational member of the media and provoked wide debate. Additionally, this cluster event was covered by both the UK and Danish media and therefore, both countries selected newspapers were analysed and compared.
Copenhagen Terrorist Attack	February 2015	<p>On the 14th and 15th of February 2015, Omar Abdel Hamid El-Hussein committed two terrorist attacks killing two people and injuring five. There were two attacks, the first was at a freedom of speech event, 'Art, Blasphemy and Freedom of Expression' at the Krudttønden café with 30 + people attending. The event featured Swedish cartoonist, Lars Vilks as a speaker, the man who in 2007 depicted Muhammad as a dog; he was believed to have been the main target of the attack. The second attack was committed during a bat mitzvah at the Great Synagogue in Krystalgade, the attacker was later shot dead by police (Hegghammer & Nesser, 2015).</p>	The Copenhagen terrorist attack was chosen as a cluster event because, like the London July 2005 terrorist attack, it was the first Islamic militant inspired terrorist attack committed in Denmark, by a Danish citizen. Although, there have been acts of violence committed in Denmark under the guise of political terrorism, the 2015 Copenhagen attack was the most prolific attack, as it was followed one month after the Charlie Hebdo attack.

Table 6.1: Summary of Cluster Events

The content analysis findings are presented in a timeline in chronological order from 2005–2015. They are sectioned by year and dominant keywords are positioned underneath these dates/titles. The timeline presenting dominant keywords is indicated by circles with keywords positioned hierarchically so that the circle at the top is the most frequent keyword with the circle beneath the second most used keyword and so on. As previously stated the keywords are separated into three categories; national identity, political model and Muslim “immigrant” cue words/markers. Therefore, the timelines are divided into these categories with the following abbreviations used within the content analysis timelines; NI = national identity, PM = political model, IC = immigrant identity, UK = United Kingdom, DK = Denmark.

The presented findings in the timeline are the dominant keywords or keywords that were found to be used most within each cluster event. This does not mean that other keywords have not been found, rather that they have not been found to be as frequent as the keywords in the timeline. See Appendix G for tables of all repetitive keywords found and Appendix H for results for all keywords in chronological order.

Additionally, some keyword marker sections do not have dominant cue words such as the political model keyword category for Asmaa Abdol Hamid 2007 cluster event. However, the texts do have phrases used to indicate reference to these keyword categories and this is explained further in the next section.

Certain words such as ‘British’ also refer to other word classes from this word such as ‘Brit’, ‘Briton’, ‘Britain’, ‘Britishness’. The following list of words used additional word classes when conducting the content analysis, see table 6.2;

<i>Word Presented</i>	<i>Additional Word Classes</i>
Danish	Dane, Danishness, Denmark
Jewish	Jew
Community	Communities
Integrate	Integration, integrated
Multiculturalism	Multicultural
Muslim	Muslims
Culture	Cultures
Immigrant	Immigrants, immigration
Islamist	Islamists

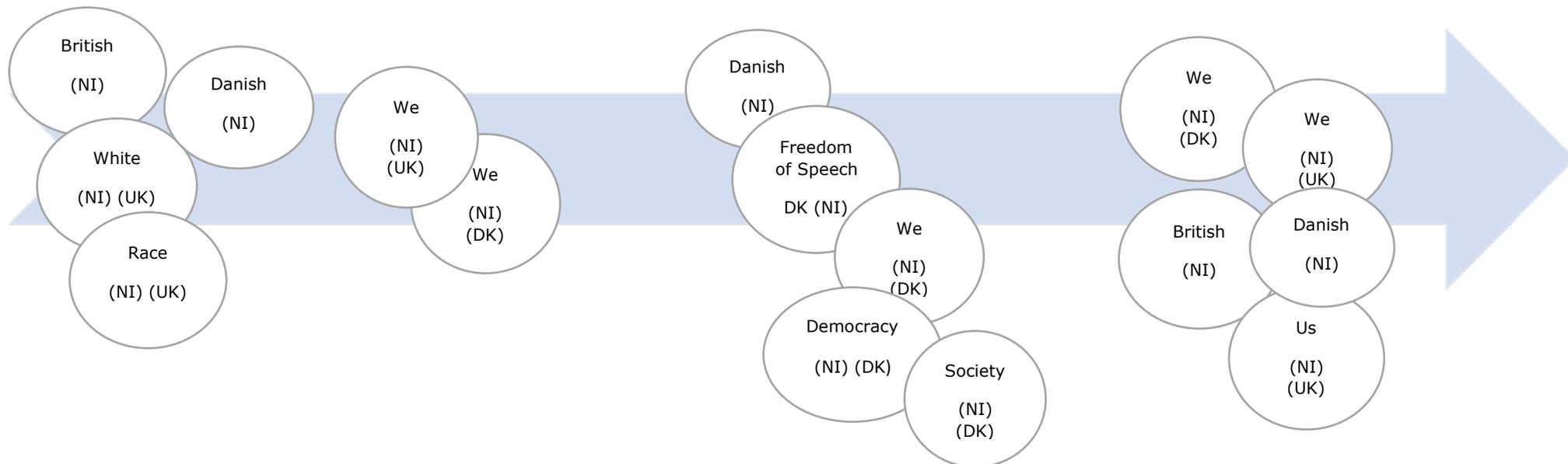
Table 6.2: Additional Word Classes

This should be referred to when examining the content analysis and the following section presents the analysis including the cue/marker keywords as presented in a timeline, with explanation of each year.

6.1 Content Analysis Timeline

National Identity 'Cue' Words Timeline

2005	2006	2007	2009/2010
7/7 (UK)	Jack Straw (UK)	Asmaa Abdol Hamid (DK)	Burka Ban (UK & DK)
Muhammad Crisis I (DK)	Muhammad Crisis II (DK)		
Sleepwalking (UK)			



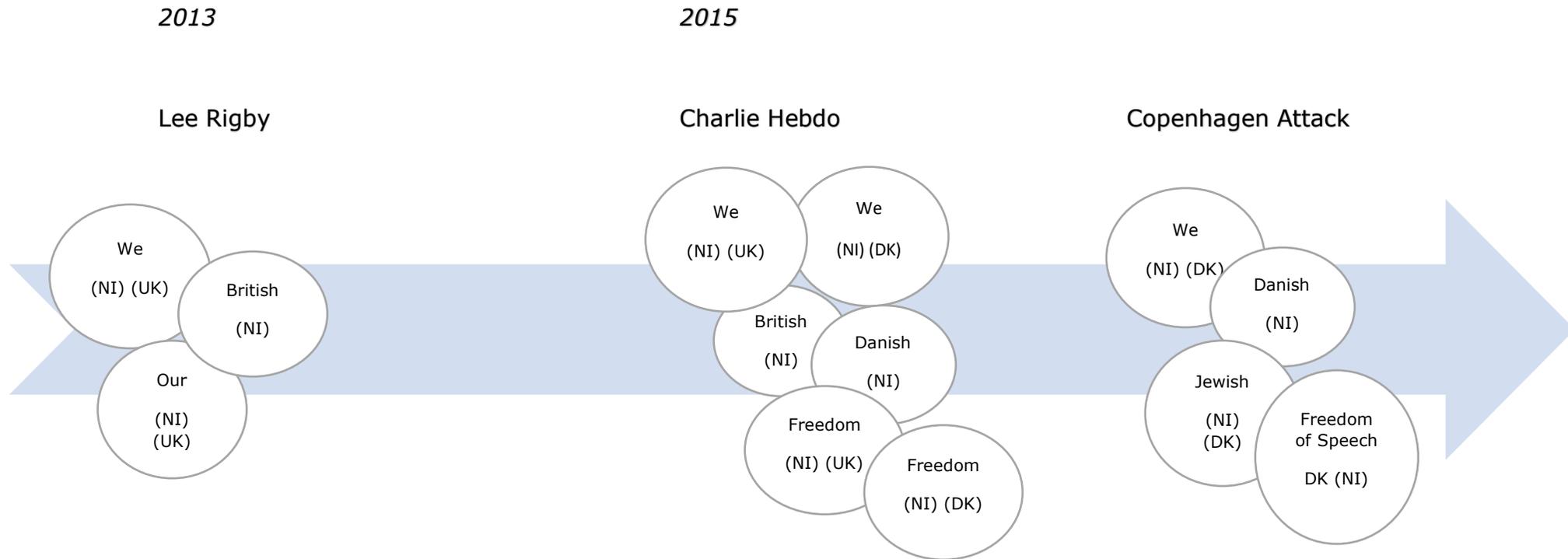


Image 1.0: Content Analysis National Identity Timeline

The National Identity 'cue' words/markers from 2005–2015 indicate that the years 2005 and 2006 use similar national identity cue words with “hot flagging” words (Billig, 1995) such as 'British' and 'Danish' predominantly used. 'Hot nationalism', the more explicit expression of nationalism, is dominant within the cluster events and most consistently used word over the diachronic time period, particularly for Denmark.

Furthermore, the deictic word 'we' is prevalent for cluster events in both countries from 2005-2005, with the British texts using the word most frequently across texts and cluster events. Regarding concentration within texts the Danish right-wing texts, particularly *Jyllands-Posten*, use the word more consistently; a total of 29 times in the 2005 Muhammad Crisis I.

Within the 7/7 cluster event national identity cue words identified during the analysis are 'white' and 'race'. This was not previously anticipated, however as the figure below indicates, see figure 6.1, it was of emphasis within the right-wing press in the UK. This relates to Gilroy's (2004) theory that Britishness is centred and 'imagined' (Anderson, 2006) as a homogenous 'white' community, taking the essentialist view (Meer & Modood, 2012). This essentialist view, focusing on race and whiteness within a British national identity, is dominant without acknowledging the British colonial past, or recognising that Britain comprises of many races (Hall, 2000).

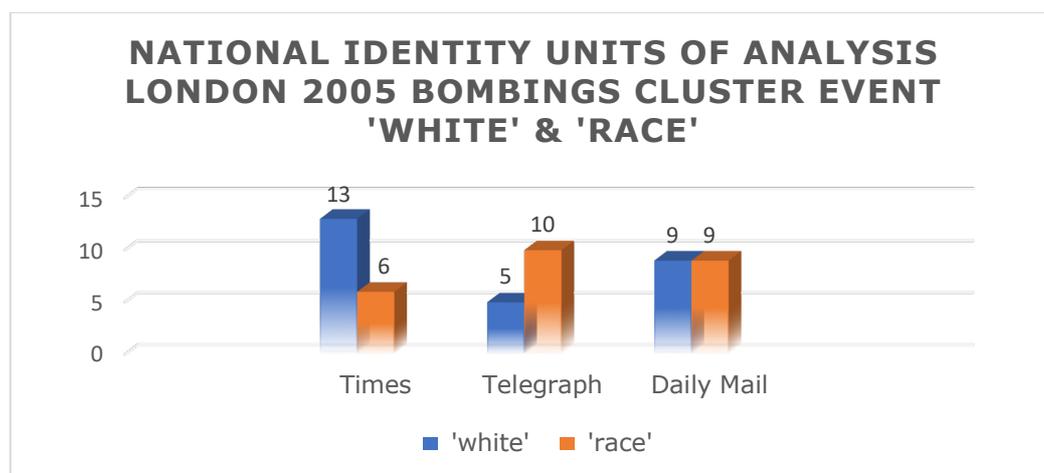


Figure 6.1: National Identity Units of Analysis London 2005 Bombings Cluster Event 'White' & 'Race'

Additional national identity cue words/markers and phrases found in some UK texts are 'tolerance/tolerant', 'equality', 'respect', 'liberal/liberalism'. These words reinforce the 'myth' of Britain as liberal, progressive and free (Marquand, 2009) and is evident more in the right-wing newspapers for the UK cluster events from 2005–2006. This becomes more evident equally within the left-leaning newspaper *The Guardian* as the years progress, with the 2015 Charlie Hebdo cluster event displaying these results in binary opposition to an oppressive presentation of the Muslim community.

Similarly, some Danish texts also use the word 'tolerant/tolerance' however, further national identity markers are; 'freedom', 'tradition' and 'Christianity'. The use of Christianity and 'freedom' is also evident in the Charlie Hebdo cluster event and relates to the development of the idea of a Grundtvig Danish national identity whereby uniting of the Danish people under Christianity in combination with secular humanism was key (Veninga, 2014). The notion of tradition and national identity is further expanded in the CDA of the 2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid cluster event.

6.1.1 2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid

Within the 2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid cluster event, like 2005 and 2006 'hot flagging' 'Denmark' is the dominant national identity keyword, see figure 6.2, with *Politiken* using the word most (30 times), followed by *Jyllands-Posten* who used the word 22 times). The deictic word 'we' is also dominant with *Politiken* utilising the word most (22 times) and *BT* only once.

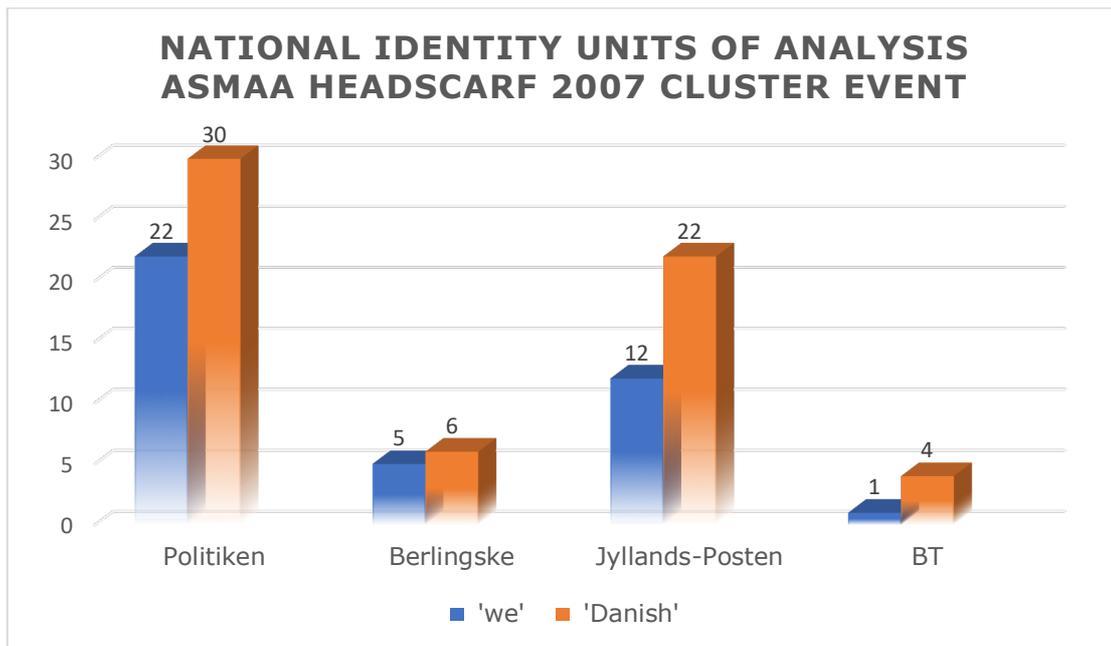


Figure 6.2: National Identity Cue Words Asmaa Abdol Hamid 2007

However, 'freedom of speech' is the second dominant cue word, coinciding with Bødker (2009) that 'freedom of speech' within the media has become a focal point in Denmark, whereby the 'threat' from Muslims to this Danish right or 'harmony' is growing in Denmark (Yilmaz, 2011). This coincides with the word 'democracy' as does the word 'society' to frame Denmark as valuing above everything else freedom of speech and democracy. This is used to frame Asmaa Abdol as an immigrant who does not represent these Danish ideals as explained further in the CDA of that cluster event.

Additional national identity words found in some newspapers are 'secular', 'enlightened' and 'shaking hands'. These words are used within right-wing newspapers particularly the tabloid *BT*. Reference to 'shaking hands' is a national identity cue word because it represents that Denmark, unlike Asmaa, is a country where all sexes shake hands with each other. It is the norm and has been highlighted in 2013 by Integration Minister for Venstre Inger Støjberg as a Danish 'value' (Strauss & Friedman, 2018).

6.1.2 2009/2010 Burka Ban UK & Denmark

Within the 2009/2010 Burka ban cluster event, the banal nationalism deictic word 'we' is used most in both countries, with the Danish newspapers using the word more than the UK newspapers. *Jyllands-Posten* use the word 17 times, followed by *The Daily Mail* (5 times) with *The Sun*, *Politiken* and *Ekstra Bladet* using the word 3 times.

The hot flagging words 'British' and 'Danish' are like previous cluster events dominant for both countries. However, the UK newspapers use 'British' slightly more within texts than the Danish newspapers do with the word 'Danish', see figure 6.3.

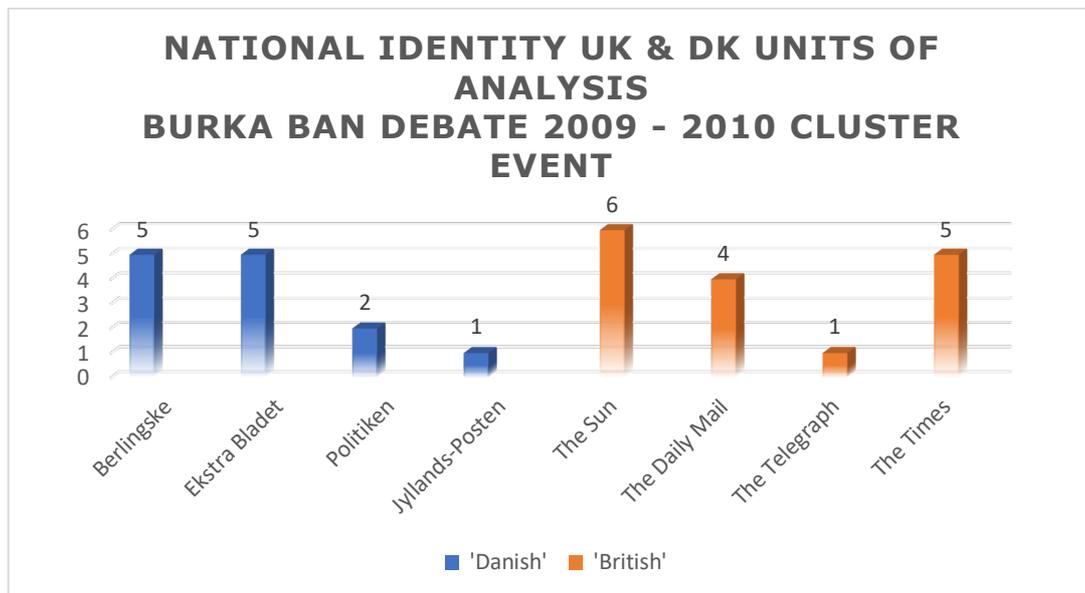


Figure 6.3: National Identity UK & DK Units of Analysis Burka Ban Debate 2009 – 2010

Additional national identity cue words for the UK texts are 'democracy', 'equality', 'tolerance' and 'enlightened'. Similarly, some Danish texts also use 'democracy' and 'equality' with the addition of the phrase 'shaking hands', which as previously mentioned is a Danish norm.

6.1.3 2013 Lee Rigby

Like previous cluster events, the deictic word 'we' is dominant in the Lee Rigby cluster event. Figure 6.4 shows that *The Times* use 'we' 31 times, followed by *The Sun* (26 times).

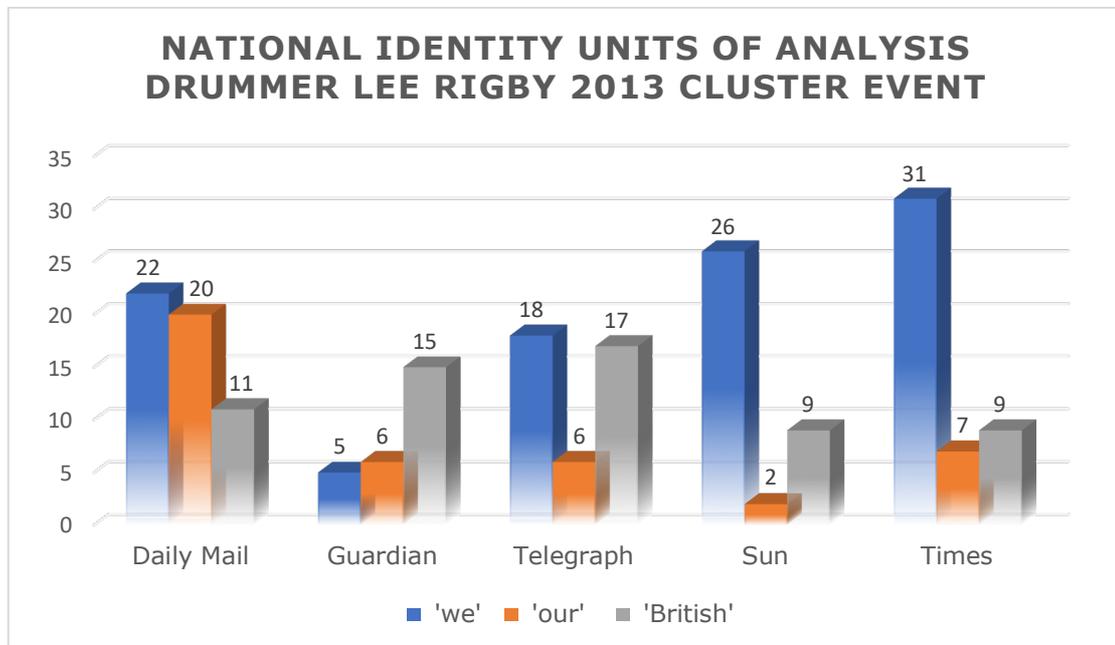


Figure 6.4: 2013 Lee Rigby National Identity Units of Analysis

The hot flagging word 'British' is used most by *The Telegraph* (17 times) and second by *The Guardian* (15 times). Additionally, unique to this cluster event is the dominant use of the deictic word 'our' which is used most by *The Daily Mail* (20 times), followed by *The Times* (7 times).

Additional national identity words found are 'tolerant', 'democracy' and 'civilised'.

6.1.4 2015 Charlie Hebdo & Copenhagen Attack

The Charlie Hebdo and Copenhagen attack cluster events both utilise in the Danish texts the deictic word 'we' as the dominant national identity cue word marker. In the Charlie Hebdo event, *The Daily Mail* uses the word most (30 times), followed by *The Telegraph* and *Berlingske* (24 times) and *Politiken* (18 times). In the Copenhagen attack *Berlingske* uses the word 37 times, followed by *Politiken* (18 times).

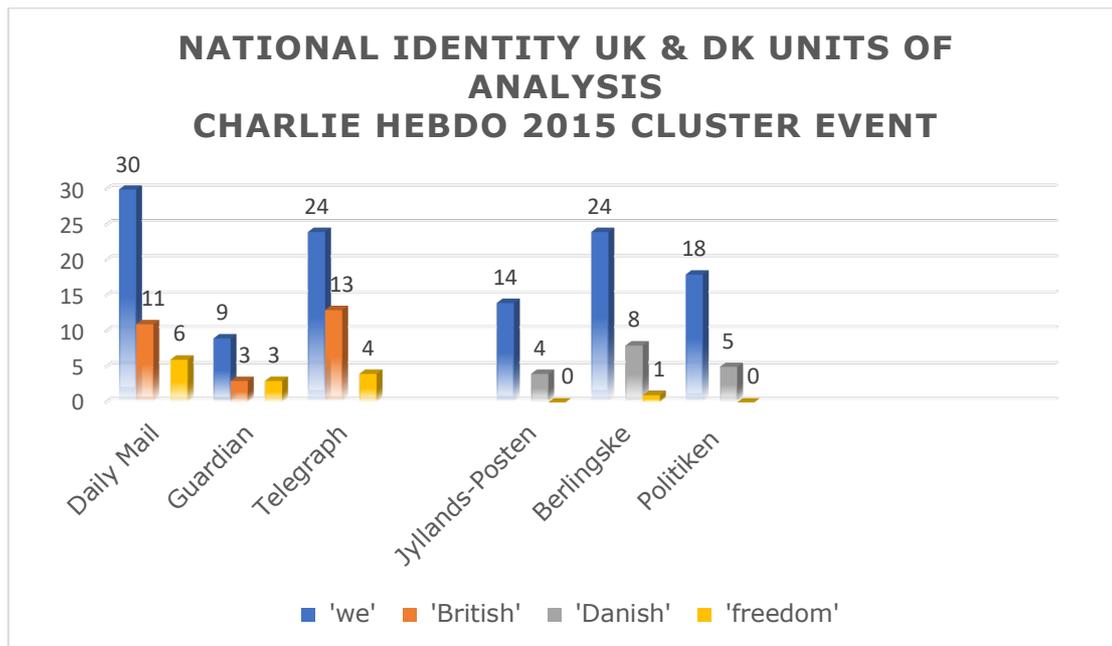


Figure 6.5: Charlie Hebdo 2015 UK & DK National Identity Units of Analysis

The hot flagging (Billig, 1995) national identity words of 'British' and 'Danish' are also dominant with the UK newspapers using hot nationalism more than the Danish newspapers. Of the British newspapers *The Telegraph* uses the word most (13 times) followed by *The Daily Mail* (11 times) and in the Danish newspapers *Berlingske* uses it 8 times. The Charlie Hebdo cluster event is the first event where 'freedom' is a dominant national identity cue word/marker for the British texts with *The Daily Mail* using the word 6 times. Although the Danish texts use the word in relation also to freedom of speech it is not as prevalent as within the UK texts.

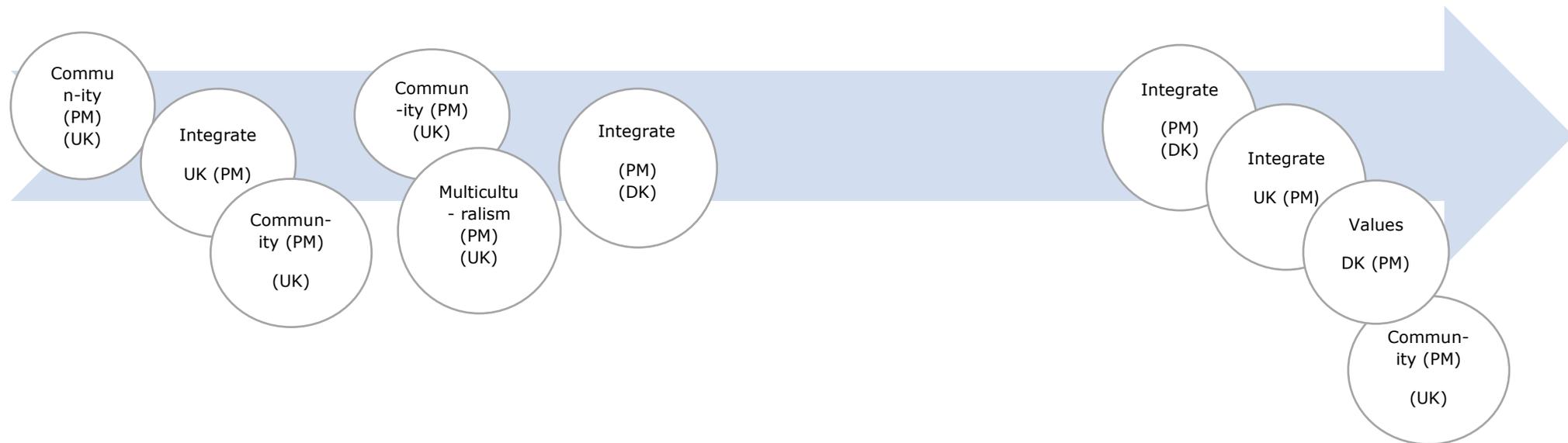
Additional words used for both countries are; 'tolerance', 'democracy' and 'West' with the UK also using the word 'Enlightenment' and Denmark using 'Christianity'. These words contribute to the creation of an Orientalist discourse, whereby use of these words offer a positive Self presentation of the West (Said, 1995).

The Copenhagen attack uses 'we' predominantly and 'Danish' along with 'Jewish' as markers of national identity. 'Jewish' is in reference to the Second World War when Denmark famously saved Danish Jews during the Nazi occupation of Denmark by helping them travel to Sweden (Lauder & Wiesel, 2018). Like the

Charlie Hebdo cluster event, additional words used in the Copenhagen cluster event are 'values' and 'West/Western'.

6.2 Political Model Cue Words Timeline

2005	2006	2007	2009/2010
7/7 (UK)	Jack Straw (UK)	Asmaa Abdol Hamid (DK)	Burka Ban (UK & DK)
Muhammad Crisis I (DK)	Muhammad II (DK)		
Sleepwalking (UK)			



2013

2015

Lee Rigby (UK)

Charlie Hebdo (UK & DK)

Copenhagen Attack (DK)

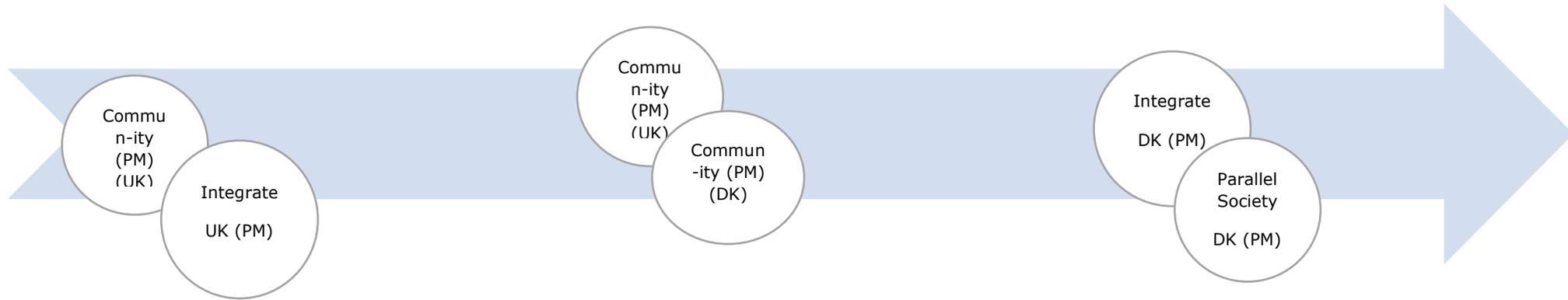


Image 2.0: Content Analysis Political Model Timeline

Of the three categories ('national identity', 'political model' and 'immigrant' cue words), the political model cue words/markers are utilised least, with the UK consistently using more political cue words. This can be explained due to the changing political landscape within the UK and the 'backlash' against multiculturalism which was the political model of integration for the UK but has started to shift (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). Due to, in the UK, the political model of integration being multiculturalism, where in principle a citizen can have a variety of cultures and thus many communities, and the focus during Blair years of creating 'communities' (Pitcher, 2009). Criticism of the previous Blair government and multiculturalism is expected to be prevalent within the UK texts.

Reference to Muslims living in 'communities' or the 'Muslim community' is evident throughout the UK texts and not the Danish texts (although in some there is reference to Muslim 'environments' and in the Copenhagen attack 'parallel society' is a dominant political model marker). This can further be explained due to the Blair policy of providing money to specific communities, and the word meaning has shifted to be framed as a marker of separation, focusing on difference of social groups in "an imaginary order" (Delanty, 2010, p.36). In the 7/7 cluster event 'community' is used most by *The Guardian* (14 times), see figure 6.6, followed by *The Times* (9 times) and in the Sleepwalking event, *The Daily Mail* use the word most (21 times) followed by *The Guardian* (16 times).

POLITICAL MODEL UNITS OF ANALYSIS UK 2005 - 2015

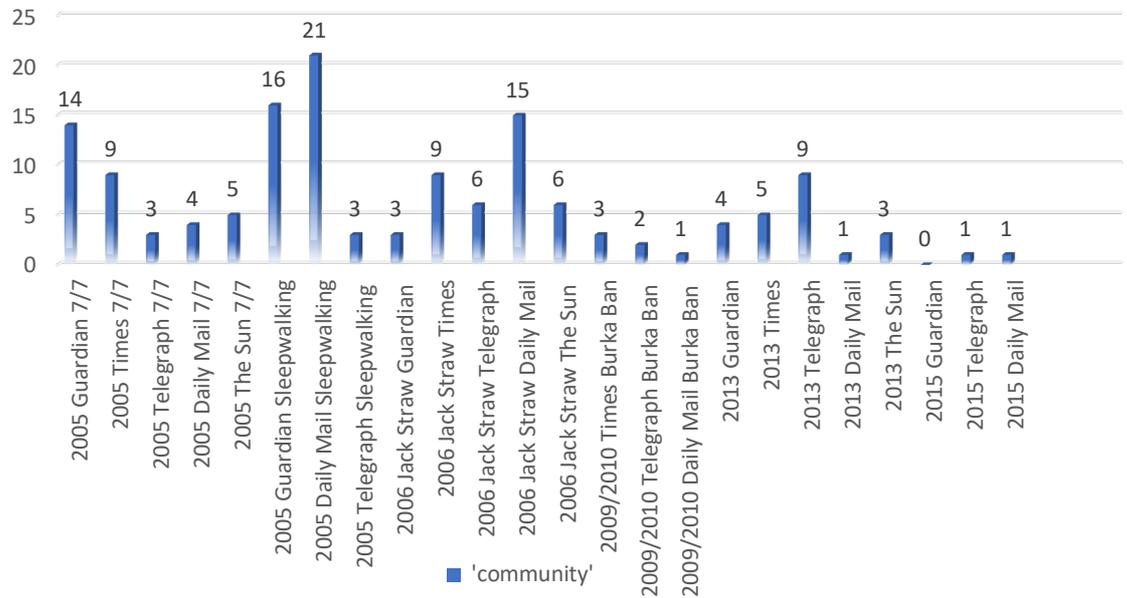


Figure 6.6: Political Model Units of Analysis UK 2005 – 2015

The 2006 Jack Straw cluster event again uses the word 'community' as a dominant cue to the political model with *The Daily Mail* utilising the word 15 times, followed by *The Times* (9 times). The 2009/2010 Burka cluster event focuses less on 'community' within the UK texts although it is still used as a political model marker. However, the word is focused upon again in the 2013 Lee Rigby and Charlie Hebdo events, although not used as frequently as previous cluster events with the highest use being *The Telegraph* (9 times) in the Lee Rigby event followed by *The Times* (5 times) in the Charlie Hebdo event.

However, although the word 'multiculturalism' is used in most cluster events in the UK texts, it is only dominant in the Jack Straw cluster event. Rather, the UK texts focus on the word 'integrate' throughout as do the Danish texts. The three events where this word is used with higher concentration are 2005 Sleepwalking, with *The Guardian* using the word 27 times followed by *The Daily Mail* (6 times). In the Muhammad 2006 event *Berlingske* use 'integrate' 13 times, followed by *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* (6 times). The political model marker is still used in the 2009/2010 and Lee Rigby cluster events but with less frequency. In the 2015

Copenhagen Attack it becomes dominant in the Danish texts with *BT* utilising it 17 times, followed by *Jyllands-Posten* (5 times).

The Danish texts do not use political model words as frequently as the UK texts. This can be explained again by examining the political model the country uses – assimilation. Within this model citizens are expected to become like the host country (or framed as the host country) and therefore more focus on how Muslims are not like the host country is evident in section 6.3 and this aligns with the dominant ‘threat’ discourse to social cohesion discourse (Holtug, 2013) within Denmark whereby ‘difference’ between Muslims and Danes, like the *Ekstra Bladet* campaign on Somali refugees in 1990s, is a signifier that Muslim communities cannot be integrated (Hervik, 2012). This is discussed further in the CDA section. In the 2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid cluster event, political model words are not dominant, however, a focus on Muslim ‘culture’ and a clash or ‘war’ between cultures as being different and incompatible with Denmark is noted in *Politiken* (9 times), and *Jyllands-Posten* (5 times). Thus, the syntagmatic relationship between words and examining the wider socio-cultural context within the CDA is key and justifies the need to use both methods.

Although Danish texts do not focus on the political model of the country, there are additional political model markers identified for Danish texts and some of the words are highlighted in table 6.3 below.

Additional Political Model Words	Cluster Event
‘self-censorship’	Muhammad Crisis I 2005, Muhammad Crisis II 2006, Charlie Hebdo 2015
‘not compatible’	Muhammad Crisis I 2005
‘Islamisation’	Muhammad Crisis II 2006
‘problem’	Muhammad Crisis II 2006, Burka Ban 2009/2010,

	Copenhagen 2015
'political correctness', 'assimilate'	Burka Ban 2009/2010, Copenhagen 2015
'value integration'	Burka Ban 2009/2010
'problem'	Muhammad Crisis II 2006, Burka Ban 2009/2010, Copenhagen 2015
'war', 'clash'	Muhammad 2006, Asmaa 2007, 2015 Charlie Hebdo & Copenhagen
'socially excluded'	Copenhagen 2015
'home-grown'	Copenhagen 2015

Table 6.3: Additional Political Model Words Denmark

Furthermore, the political model cue word 'segregation' and words associated with this such as 'closed', 'divided', 'ghetto' and 'parallel lives/society' are also found within newspapers for the following events; 2005 7/7 (UK), Sleepwalking (UK), 2006 Jack Straw (UK), 2006 Muhammad Crisis II (DK), 2009/2010 Burka Ban (UK & DK) and 2015 Charlie Hebdo (UK & DK).

The results demonstrate that political model cue words are more consistent and prevalent within the UK texts. This can be explained because of the political model the country has followed and the rising anti-multiculturalism discourse and questioning of multiculturalism in the UK (Joppke, 2004; Kundnani, 2002; Ossenwaarde, 2014). Furthermore, the Danish texts do not use political model 'cue words' consistently or in concentration. Rather, there is focus on using words that denote 'separation' from the 'host' country and this is a 'hint' towards the political model of assimilation. Additionally, it is to be expected that a focus on national identity and 'immigrant' cue words and the emphasis on difference between these two is a link to the political model of assimilation because of the

need to be like the host nation. Therefore, to construct binary oppositions of national identity and Muslims presents the argument that 'they' (Muslim communities) are not integrating into Danish society.

6.3 "Immigrant" Cue Words

2005

7/7 (UK)

Muhammad Crisis I

Sleepwalking (UK)

2006

Jack Straw (UK)

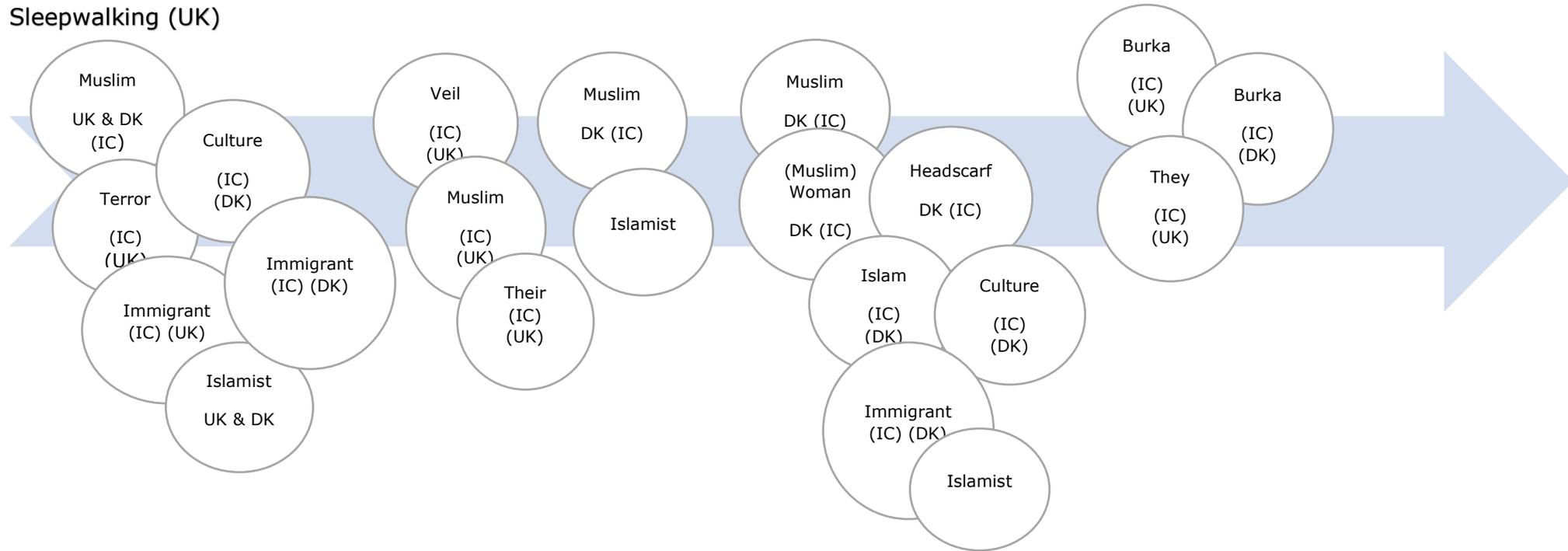
Muhammad Crisis II

2007

Asmaa Abdol Hamid (DK)

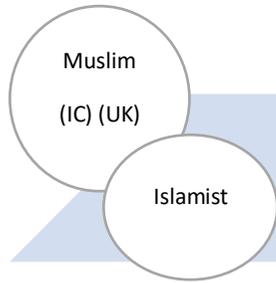
2009/2010

Burka Ban (UK & DK)



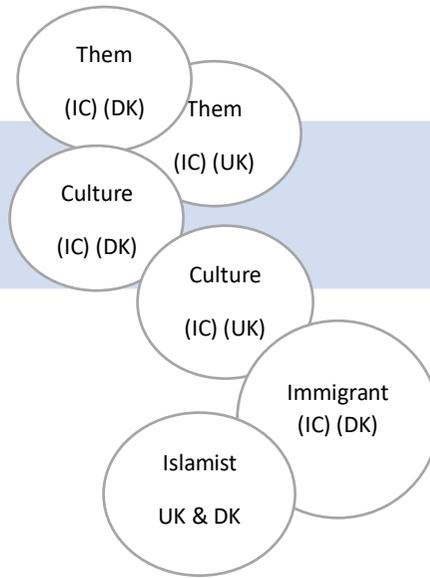
2013

Lee Rigby (UK)



2015

Charlie Hebdo (UK & DK)



Copenhagen Attack (DK)

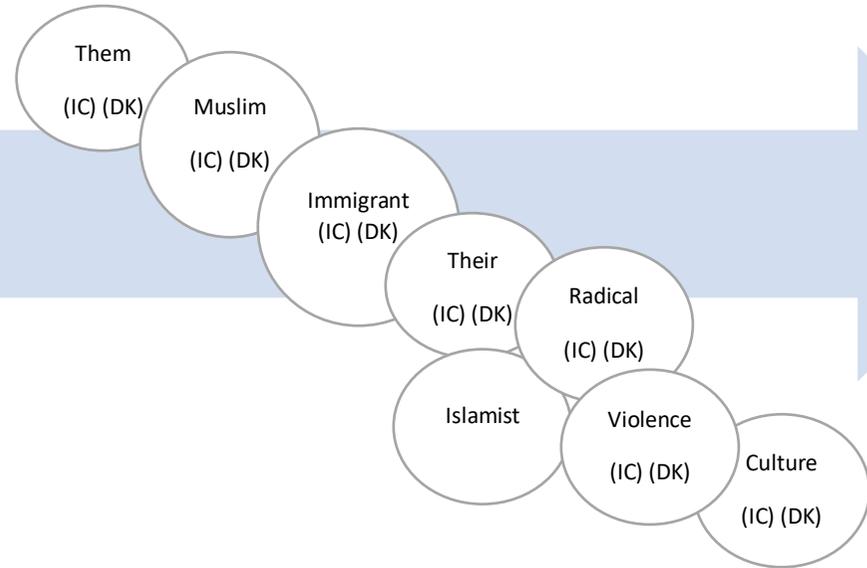


Image 3.0: Content Analysis Political Model Timeline

6.3.1 "Immigrant" Cue Words/Markers

The immigrant cue words category has yielded the most dominant words. The Danish texts use more immigrant cue words than the UK newspapers. Although the UK texts do use additional immigrant 'cue' words, they are not repeated in texts and therefore are not classified as dominant. However, some of these additional words are presented in the following section. Furthermore, the years 2005 – 2007 produce more dominant clustering of immigrant cue words and 2009/2010 – 2015 use less words although some are still used but in smaller numbers than earlier years.

In all the 2005 cluster events; 7/7, Muhammad Crisis I and Sleepwalking the word 'Muslim' is dominant, see figure 6.7²⁰. The word is used to differentiate between Brits/Danes and Muslims. In some texts British Muslim or Danish Muslim is used, but this is rare. Identifying this word as an 'immigrant cue' is essential and requires reading the wider text and examining the wider syntax, therefore, it is not enough to perform content analysis in isolation.

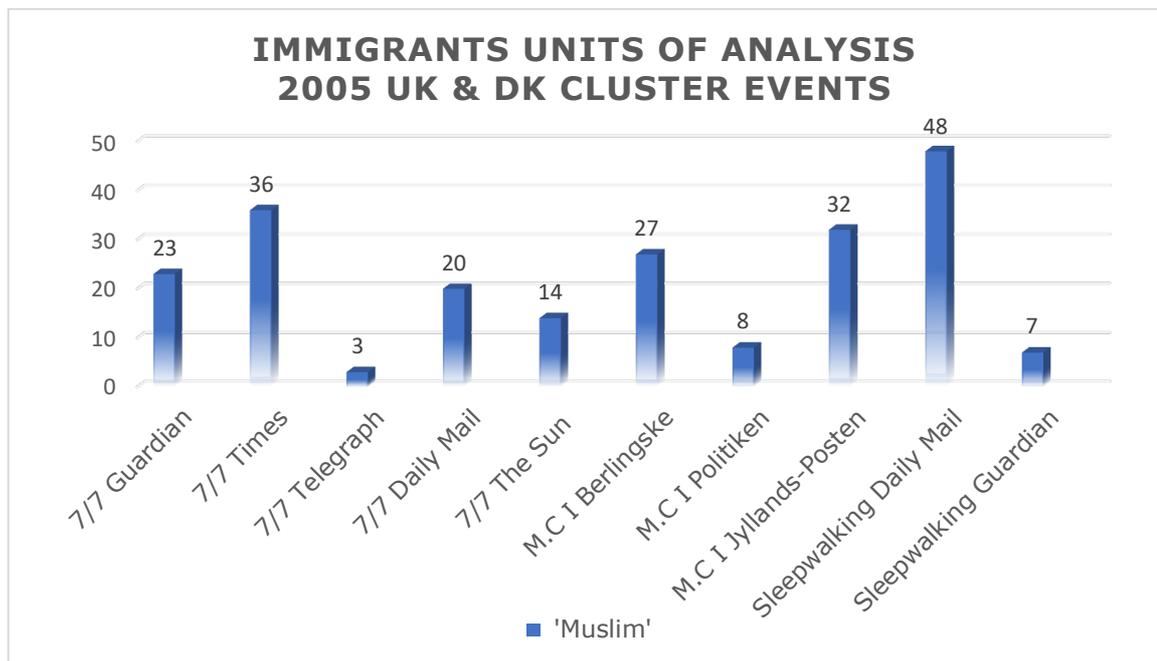


Figure 6.7: 2005 UK & DK Cluster Events 'Muslim' cue word

²⁰ M.C I = Muhammad Crisis I

Figure 6.7 demonstrates that the word 'Muslim' is in the 2005 7/7 cluster event used by *The Times* most (36 times) followed by *The Guardian* (23 times). In the Muhammad Crisis I *Jyllands-Posten* uses the word 32 times followed by *Berlingske* (27 times). However, in the Sleepwalking cluster event the word is used most overall by *The Daily Mail* (48 times) followed by *The Guardian* (7 times). The word is again used in the 2006 Jack Straw cluster event, but not as dominantly as in the 2006 Muhammad Crisis II. Figure 6.8²¹ shows that *The Times* uses the word most in the 2006 Straw event (28 times) followed by *The Guardian* (17 times) and in the Muhammad Crisis II event *Politiken* uses the word most (51 times) followed by the newspaper's sister tabloid *Ekstra Bladet* (19 times).

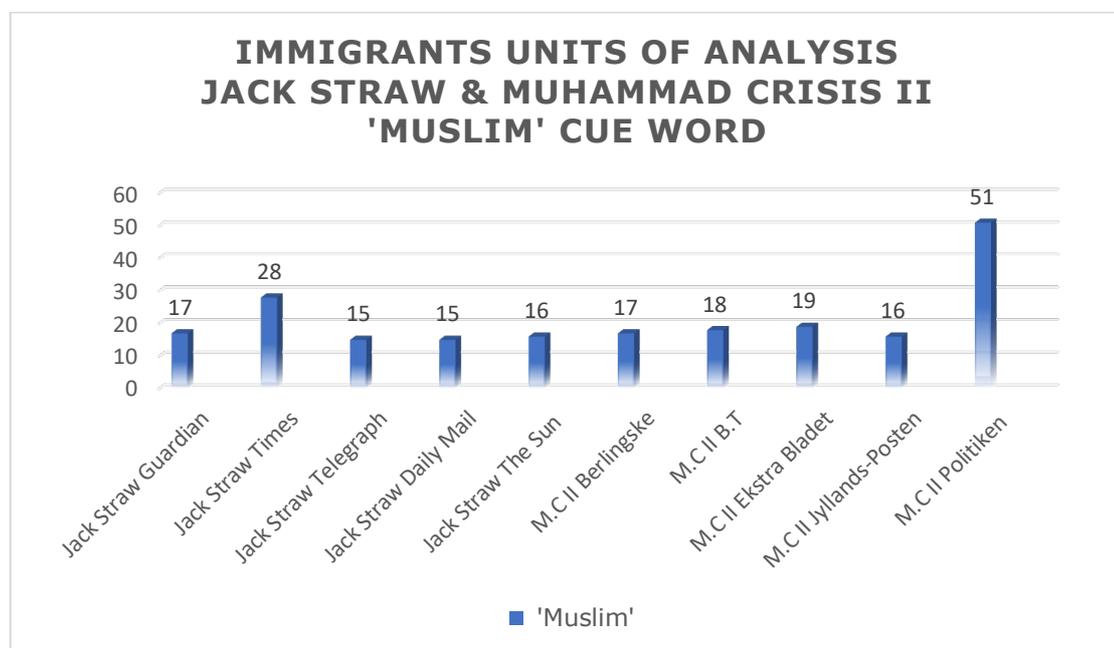


Figure 6.8: 2006 Jack Straw & Muhammad Crisis II 'Muslim' Cue Word

The word continues to be dominant in the 2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid with *Jyllands-Posten* using the word most (22 times) followed by *Politiken* (13 times).

The 2013 Lee Rigby cluster event also has 'Muslim' as a dominant immigrant cue word with *The Sun* using the word most (16 times) followed by *The Guardian* (13 times).

²¹ M.C II = Muhammad Crisis II

6.3.2 Islamist

During the Lee Rigby cluster event, the word 'Islamist' is used more repeatedly in some texts, with *the Telegraph* using the word four times, followed by *The Guardian* (twice). The word 'Islamist' is used in previous cluster events but sporadically. However, diachronically, as years have progressed, it has become increasingly used in texts as figure 6.9 shows. It has not been a dominant word, therefore inclusion of the word in the timeline is for illustration. The Danish texts use the word more overall in cluster events with *Jyllands-Posten* using the word seven times in the 2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid and 2015 Copenhagen Attack. This demonstrates the increasingly inaccurate use of words such as 'Islamism' to generally refer to Muslims (Karim, 2014).

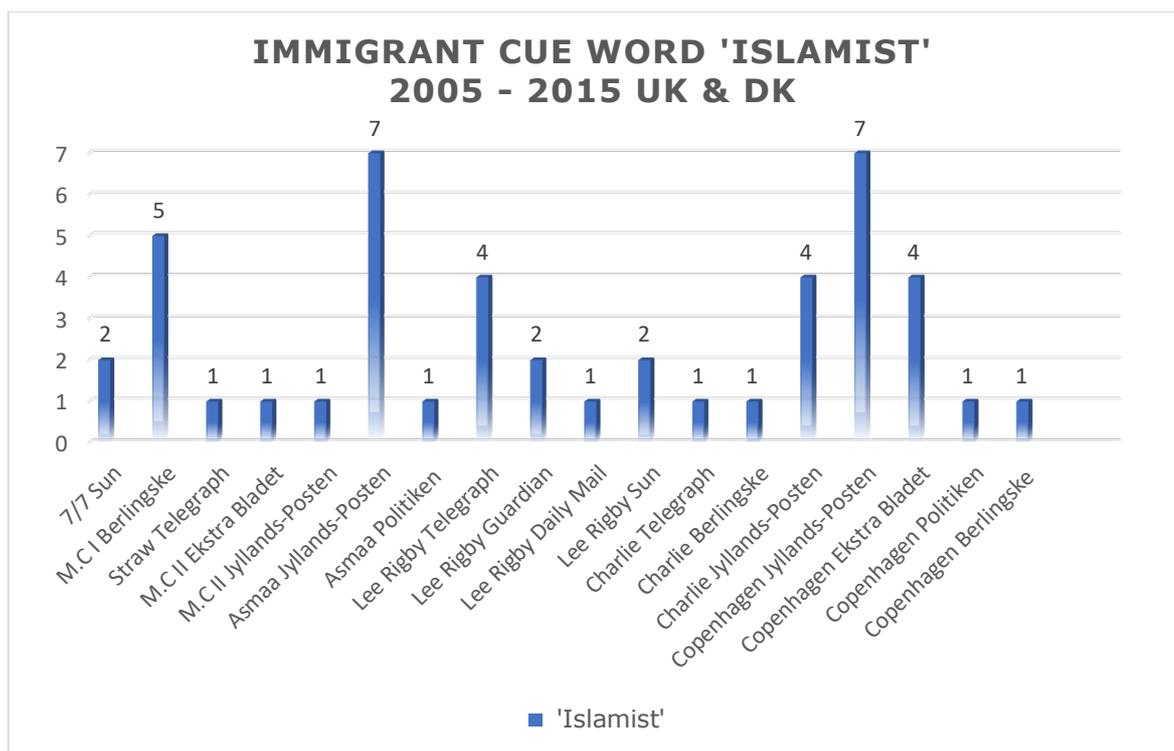


Figure 6.9: Immigrant Cue Word 'Islamist' 2005 – 2015 UK & DK

6.3.3 Immigrant

The word 'immigrant' is not used in many cluster events, rather, texts use words associated or to 'cue' or frame Muslims as immigrants. When the word is used it is predominantly in the Danish texts. The word is evident in the Muhammad Crisis I & II, 2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid, Charlie Hebdo attack and Copenhagen Attack.

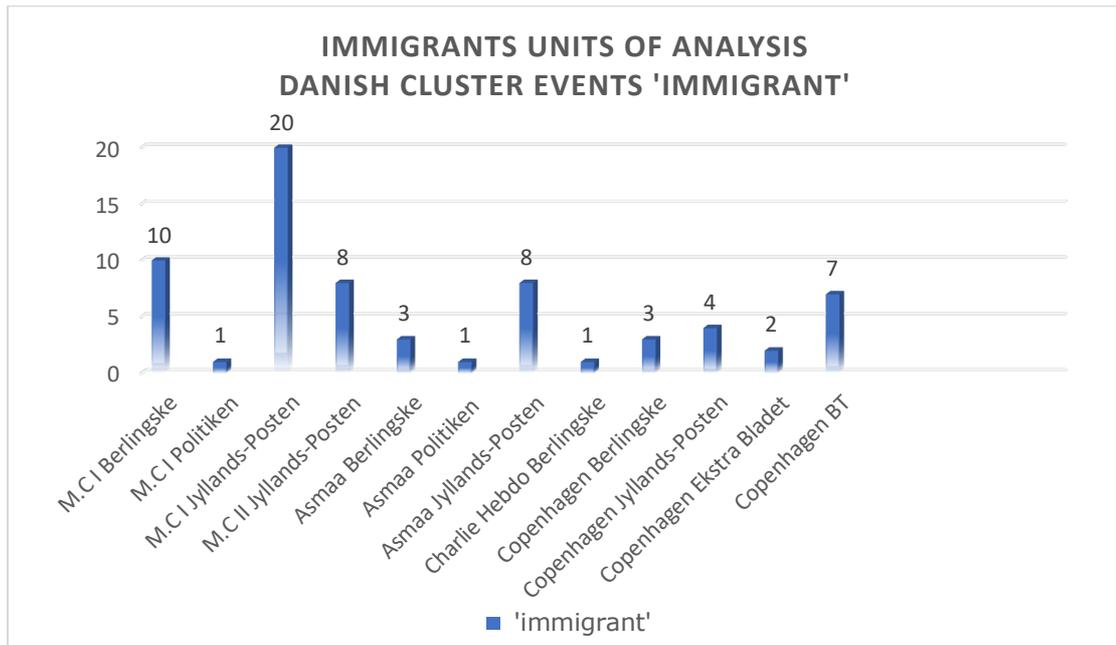


Figure 6.10: Immigrants Units of Analysis Danish Cluster Events 'Immigrant'

The UK do not use the word 'immigrant' as much as the Danish texts. In the 7/7 cluster event the word is used most by *The Telegraph* (7 times) and once by *The Daily Mail*, *The Sun* and *The Times*, it is not used in the Sleepwalking and Straw cluster events. Although, the word 'immigrant' is not used as much as the Danish texts, additional words used to cue or frame Muslims as immigrants have been found, see table 6.4.

Immigrant Cue Words		
Word Grouping	UK	Denmark
Reference to race:	'Asian', 'Ethnic minority',	'minority', 'dark'
Reference to countries:	'Pakistan', 'Bangladeshi', 'Somalia', 'Iran', 'host country', 'adopted country'	'Palestinian', 'non-Western', 'old home country', 'Syria', 'Pakistan', 'Third World country'
Reference to immigrant background:	'imported', 'exotic', 'foreign', 'tribal', 'tribe', 'descent', 'new generations', 'foreign birth', 'British residents', 'rural', 'not speak language', 'globalisation'	'foreign', 'descendant', 'new Dane', 'new citizen', 'living here', 'Muslim waves', 'don't speak good Danish', 'refugee', 'asylum seeker'
Reference to immigrant culture:	'barbaric', 'primitive', 'medieval', 'hostile to our values', 'alien culture'	'patriarchy culture', 'inequality', 'oppression of women', 'not understand democracy', 'not understand Danish society', 'medieval', 'different view of life', 'think differently', 'Anti-West'
Reference to security	'border control', 'illegal'	'border control', 'illegal', 'fifth column'

Table 6.4: Frequently used immigrant cue words UK & DK 2005 - 2015

The table demonstrates that closer examination of texts and categorisation of words associated with and framing Muslims is essential in conducting qualitative content analysis. These words have been found to relate in some cases to the national identity words such as hot flagging 'Danish' and therefore it highlights the necessity to examine single words and relational/oppositional words.

6.3.4 Deictic 'They', 'Their' and 'Them'

Although the UK do not use the word 'immigrant' as much as the Danish texts, UK texts do use deictic words of 'they', 'their' and 'them' more overall than the Danish texts. However, overall, these deictic words are not frequent in the time period. Although, in the 2006 Jack Straw cluster event, the word 'their' is used by the right-wing press most, see figure 6.11, with *The Times* using it 15 times followed by *The Sun* (7 times).

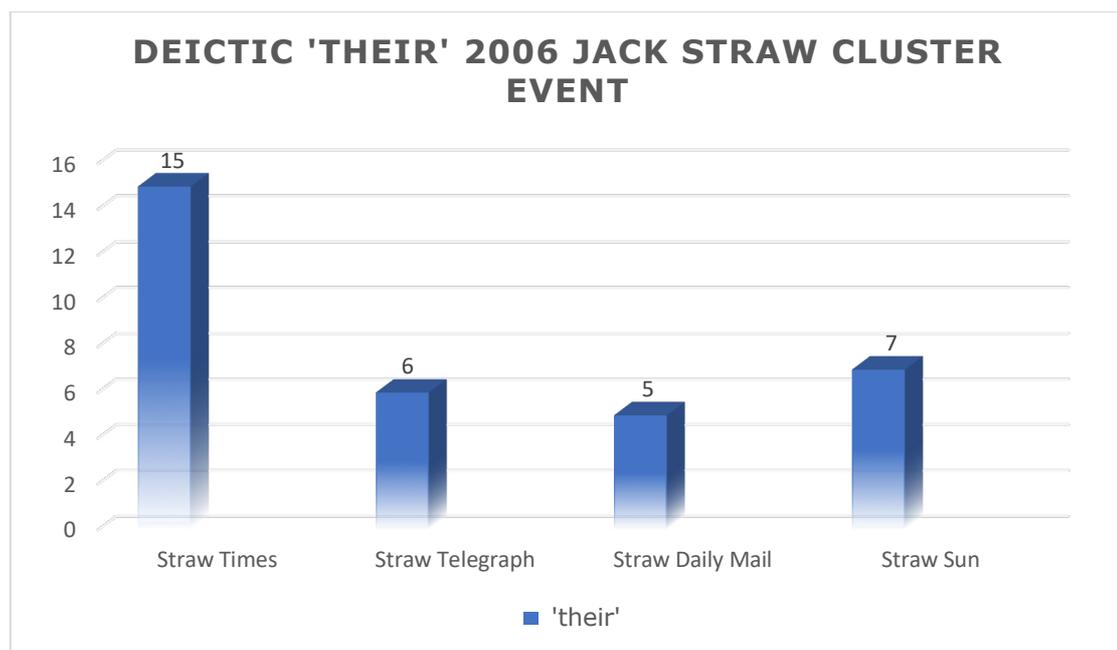


Figure 6.11: Deictic 'Their' 2006 Jack Straw Cluster Event

In the 2009/2010 Burka ban cluster event the word 'they', see figure 6.12, is used by *The Daily Mail* 22 times, followed by *The Sun* 12 times and *Politiken* used the word once.

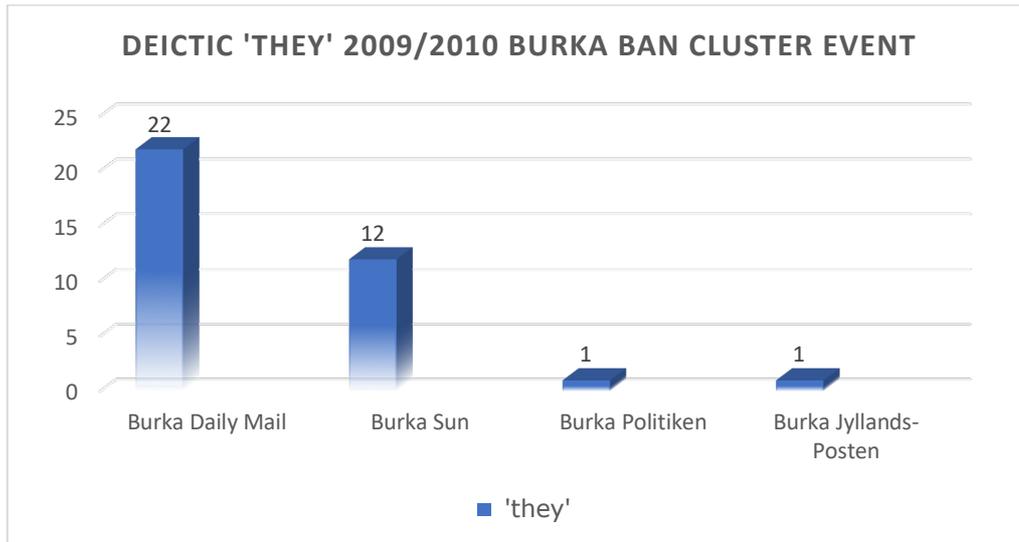


Figure 6.12: Deictic 'They' 2009/2010 Burka Ban Cluster Event

Use of the word 'them' is evident in the 2015 Charlie Hebdo and Copenhagen cluster events, see figure 6.13. For the Charlie Hebdo event, *The Daily Mail* uses the word most (7 times) followed by *Jyllands-Posten* (5 times). In the Copenhagen cluster event, *BT* uses the word 21 times, a larger amount than the second most *Berlingske* (6 times).

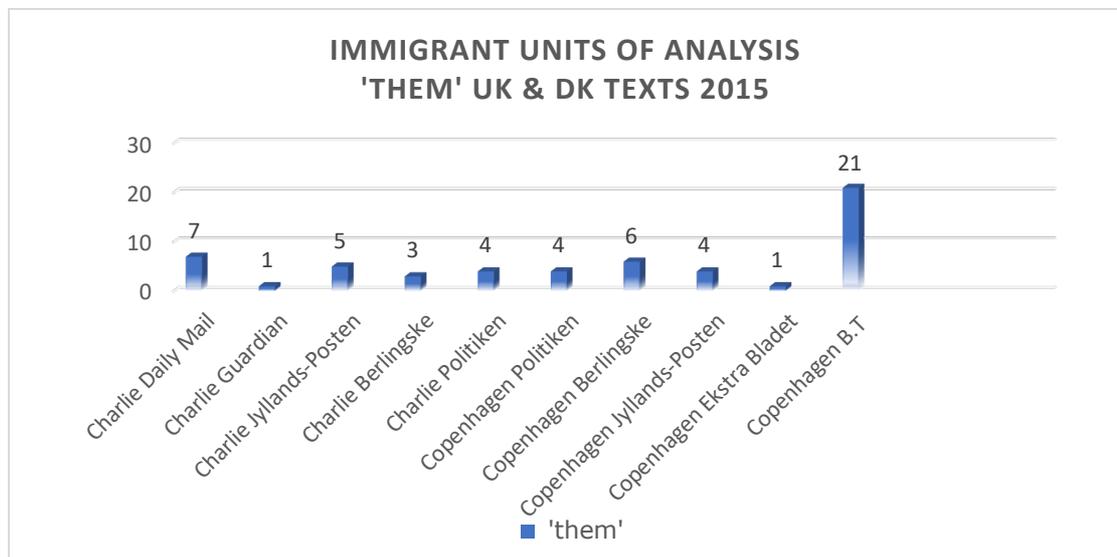


Figure 6.13: Immigrant Units of Analysis 'Them' UK & DK Texts 2015 Cluster event

6.4 Conclusion to Content Analysis

The diachronic, top-level content analysis of all cluster events from 2005 – 2015 shows that Muslims are framed as an Other throughout the time period for both countries. This is achieved by focusing on words that frame Muslims in binary opposition to the national identity of the British and Danish 'people'. The three categories outlined; national identity, political model and 'immigrant' cue words demonstrate that all three categories are utilised to represent Muslims as different and in many examples as immigrants when in most cluster events the wider debate focuses on Muslims in general as opposed to a specific sub-section of the Muslim community. This correlates to Foucault's theory of power whereby framing Muslims as different through specific word selection and repetition functions to 'divide' and control the representation of Muslims as 'different' from Britain and Denmark (Foucault, 1981). Thus, functioning to represent and contain an Othering of Muslims as 'truth' (Mills, 2003)

This finding is further evident and expanded in the following CDA chapter (chapter seven).

Chapter Seven: Critical Discourse Analysis

This section outlines the CDA for each cluster event focusing on the dominant and sub-ordinate discourses and framings with the subsequent chapter eight outlining the wider discussion. CDA findings for cluster events are presented in chronological order with some discussion of literature, however, expansion and discussion on the main findings are presented in chapter eight. The 2009/2010 Burka Ban debate and 2015 Charlie Hebdo cluster events focus on analysis of images used in articles. A summary of each cluster event for all articles analysed is provided in Appendix I.

7.0 London Bombings 2005

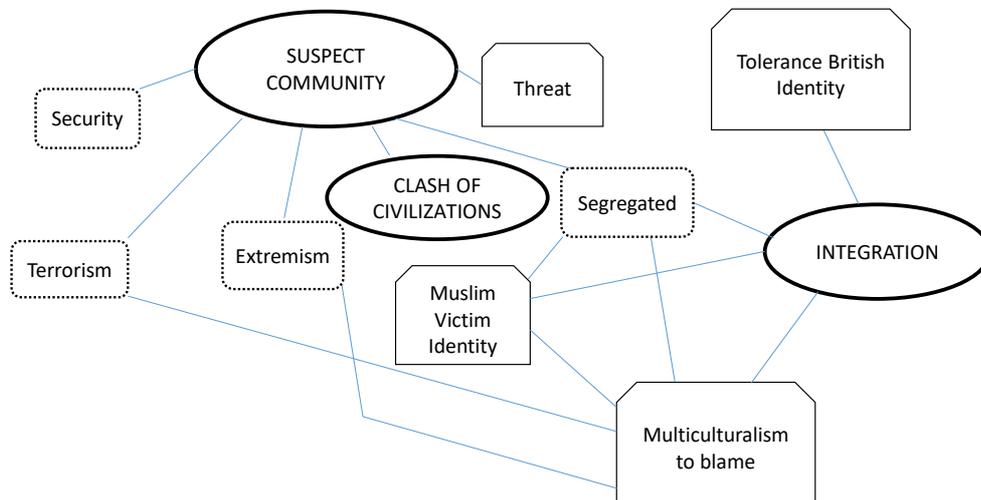
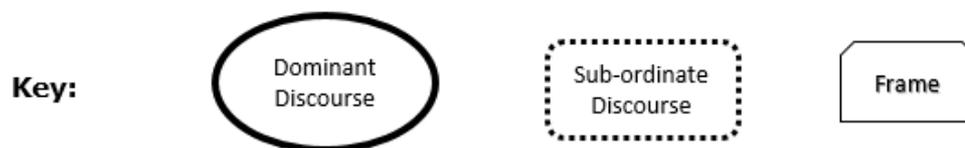


Image 4.0: London Bombings Discourses



22

²² The discourse images show the links between the dominant, subordinate discourses and frames. A dominant discourse is a discourse used three or more times. A subordinate discourse is one in which it was used at least two times. Due to discourse classifications determined by frequency any discourse which is mentioned once is not used within the image, although has been explained within this section.

Articles

Ten articles are analysed for the cluster event. The following key in table 7.0 should be used in conjunction with the analysis;

<i>Number</i>	<i>Article reference</i>
1	Sun1
2	DM2
3	G3
4	Tel4
5	Tim5
6	Tel6
7	G7
8	Tim8
9	DM9
10	Sun10

Table 7.0: 2005 London Bombings Cluster Event Article Reference Key

7.1 Suspect Community

In DM9 Muslims are suspect, yet Muslims also consider the 'white English' community as suspect. After the journalist travels to the hometown of one of the bombers to interview members of the community, the opening paragraph states;

"his friends and neighbours were conspiratorially mired in the latest revelations" (DM9)

"Understandably, several of them regarded a middle-aged, white English journalist with deep suspicion" (DM9)

The metaphor of being stuck ('mired') within a conspiracy connotes that 'friends and neighbours' are suspicious of the 'outside world' or the white English

'community' and because they are stuck, it is difficult for them to change. The solution to dissolving the suspect community is to introduce;

"U.S.- style oaths of patriotic allegiance" (DM9)

"The disaster is that we no longer make any real demands of loyalty upon those who are immigrants or the children of immigrants." (Tel4)

In Tel4 Muslims are framed as required to prove their loyalty to the UK: it is not enough to be a British citizen. Muslims must prove they are not part of a 'suspect community'; allegiance must be pledged and demands of loyalty made. There is further 'proof' required that Muslims should belong to Britain and this functions within power structures, whereby the terrorist attack or discourse of the attack is used to manage and realign discourse on Muslims and frame the event as a need to focus on Muslims within the UK and question their 'loyalty' towards the UK and British nationality. This is what Foucault outlines as an opportunity to manage the discourse (Foucault in Sheridan-Smith, 1971).

The Guardian utilises intertextuality to create a suspect community discourse by referencing the World Wars;

"our enemy is in our midst" (G3)

"Trust of Muslims has been 'corroded' in Britain" (G3)

"People are asking each other: "Someone must have known, why didn't they tell anyone?"" (G3)

The phrase 'enemy in our midst' was often used during the World Wars to discuss Germans living in different countries. It was a term used along with "growing suspicion and animosity" (Francis, 2016, p. 1). The article also references 9/11, the War on Terror and the 2004 Madrid attacks to aid the suspect community discourse which has been prevalent since the 9/11 attacks. The use of the word 'corroded' in correspondence with trust, frames Muslims as suspect as does the rhetorical question, see above G3 quote, positioned as the UK asking it.

A further war reference is used when G3 states Muslims;

"are being offered a deal: the price of being trusted again is to periodically deliver some scalps" (G3)

This metaphor conjures an image of Native Americans removing the scalp of their enemies in battle otherwise known as 'scalping'. It connotes further 'enemies'

within this 'community', and it is Muslims who have to prove they are 'with' the UK and 'scalp' or report the 'enemy'; potential terrorists. Therefore, *The Guardian*, like *The Daily Mail* (DM9) outline a need for Muslims to prove themselves in this example that they are not a threat to security. Whereas, DM9 use national identity or loyalty to national identity as a cue from Muslims that they are 'safe' and not a risk to security.

The Sun uses the metaphor of a mosque as a pressure cooker ready to explode as a suspect community discourse whereby it is not a matter of 'if' there will be more attacks, but 'when'. Mosques, rather than a place of worship, are a place of 'pressure' waiting to explode.

"but they have turned mosques into pressure cookers for protest" (Sun10) The use of the word 'but', as Van Dijk (1992) posits, negates what is previously stated and is therefore ideological, it is used as a form of denial. Sun10 present a case of Muslim leaders who are helping create a hostile environment in mosques. Therefore, a mosque is a metonym for a potential security threat and a marker or 'structural metonym', representing Muslim identity (Simonsen et al, 2015, p.7).

The Telegraph frames multiculturalism as the creation of a suspect community where multiculturalism has created a society which does not have 'anything to believe in' and without this;

"the unthinkable becomes possible" (T8)

Thus, multiculturalism has created the possibility and fruition of terrorism and terrorist attacks.

7.1.1 Segregation and Integration

Linked to the suspect community discourse is the subordinate discourse of segregation and integration. The suspect community is different from the British community. It is segregated from the rest of the UK, encouraged by the political left and linked to the integration discourse. *The Telegraph* (Tel6) frame segregation as something which has been prevalent in the UK for a long time. The article intertextually refers to a head teacher who was fired for expressing concerns of segregated Muslims in schools in the 1980s. Mr Honeyford (head teacher) is framed as a 'hero' who 'challenged multiculturalism' and quoted that he was;

“concerned about the consequences of encouraging children to cling to their own ethnic group rather than integrate” (Tel 6)

The quotes and intertextual reference of the firing of Mr Honeyford in the 1980s are utilised and recontextualised within the cluster event to link segregation of Muslims who are framed as non-white immigrants because they are not ‘integrating’. Like G3, within the suspect community discourse, intertextuality functions as Foucauldian power outlining the ‘truth’ that Muslims are not segregated. This intertextuality recontextualises a perceived ‘issue’ from the 1980s being ignored by the ‘anti-racism lobby’ and frames it an area where terrorism has been allowed to develop.

The ghetto is a further metonym for a place where terrorism can develop. *The Sun* frame segregation by situating Muslims as living in the ghetto where young people are vulnerable;

They “fall prey”

and “The challenge we have to face is how to deal with alienation” (Sun 10)

The metaphor of young people potentially falling ‘prey’ creates an image of the ghetto as a marker of segregation. It reinforces a suspect community discourse, at least partly inhabited by ‘predators’ (imams or influential elders). The framing implies imams easily influence young Muslims who have been alienated to conform to extremism, maybe even terrorism. Sun10 use the segregation discourse as justification to frame Muslims as easily manipulated and in need of ‘saving’. This is suggested by focusing more on the threats within the community.

The Daily Mail frames the discourse of ‘self-segregation’ where the Muslim ‘community’ have created the situation themselves;

“Does it wish to integrate itself into our community, to play a full, unequivocal part in the Britain of today” (DM2)

‘It’ is a reference to the Muslim community, which is indicative of a homogenous Muslim community framed in a fixed identity, devoid, through language, of being viewed as heterogeneous. This rhetorical question functions as the text producer representing the reader and frames Muslims as not integrated, therefore a cue for immigrants. Both *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph* use similar phrases to denote a self-segregating discourse;

“Or does it wish to allow sections of the community to turn in on themselves” (DM2)

“Inward looking communities” (T8)

These are cues of a segregation discourse, where Muslims are ‘allowing’ ‘sections’ or some Muslims to segregate ‘in to themselves’ are ‘inward looking’; cue for not integrating into the UK. T8 use similar discourse as seen in Germany whereby Muslims are viewed as a homogenous group whose identity is out-with Germany (Spielhaus, 2010) and in this context, the Muslim community is not viewed as part of Britain.

The Telegraph uses fear within the segregation discourse whereby the ‘community’ in the text is comprised of several races;

“fearful community divided by ignorance and racial tension”

“the white and Asian populations live together, but for the most part separately”

“Even where there is little outright hostility, the different ethnic communities are often living separate, almost parallel lives” (Tel5)

The words ‘divided’, ‘separately’ and ‘parallel lives’ connote a segregated community discourse. However, the framing is different from the other texts using this discourse as the ‘white’ population is also segregated.

DM9 frame the segregation discourse as having emerged without being challenged or ‘noticed’, a further cue towards the frame of multiculturalism causing segregation (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010);

“Here was a bitterly riven and discontented country that had emerged unnoticed by those who live outside its shabby confines” (DM9)

It is not specified how this ‘country’ emerges unnoticed. The word ‘country’ is a cue to segregation because the people living in this area are framed as in another country, they are different from the rest of the UK. The reader is left wondering how this has happened. However, it alludes to a Clash of Civilizations discourse because they have ‘anti-British establishment’ feelings. No articles except DM9 refer to what an integrated Muslim is but DM9 implies it by utilising a quote from a woman who states she attended;

“Catholic school, where to feel included, she had attended Mass, without compromising her Muslim beliefs.” (DM9)

DM9 state this led to there being;

“no room for resentment and if she feels that way, it surely can happen everywhere” (DM9)

Therefore, because she was involved with the Catholic school, cue of British national identity, she is integrated. This outlines a religious element of the West being Christian and emphasises the difference between Muslims and the West and that Islam is not a marker of British identity, but Christianity is. This is right-wing populist rhetoric, focusing on a European Christian identity via an Orientalist discourse, the author was ‘integrated’ into the UK by attending a Christian school, not an Islamic school.

The Guardian utilises a suspect community and links it with a discourse of segregation through referring to war;

“we have to shrewdly identify our allies. Our best chance lies within the Muslim community itself – in its own capacity for reform and renewal” (G3)

It is explicit that the Muslim community is segregated with the ability to change this to become ‘our ally’. However, the framing outlines that it is for the homogenous Muslim ‘community’ to ‘integrate’ and therefore become allies of Britain.

7.2 Clash of Civilizations

The Clash of Civilizations discourse is used to demonstrate the difference between the West (UK) and Islam (Muslims) creating a binary opposition. This discourse is only explicitly used in *The Daily Mail* however, it overlaps and is present within all discourses used.

The Daily Mail uses the word ‘community’ to differentiate between British and Muslims. Members of Muslim communities are implicitly referred to as immigrant through cue terms like “British-born Pakistanis”. They are described as living (linked to the segregation discourse) in communities;

“that eschew British values” (DM2)

References are made to ‘indigenous Britons’ that should understand that the majority of Muslims are horrified by the bombings and that this is an act to cause

anti-Muslim movements. However, the word 'eschew' creates a 'community' which avoids and does not conform to British 'values'. What British values are is not explicitly stated. But, it is implied that the 'segregated' community is conforming to non-British values i.e. Islamic values.

In DM9, Muslims are referred to as having 'vigorously' anti-British establishment sentiments. The adjective 'vigorously' creates an image of using force, being strongly against British establishments. It is not specified which establishments the writer is referring to but to contrast with anti-British the reader can conclude that it is potentially anything British. By being ambiguous, it leaves opportunity for the reader to interpret this as any and all British establishments and Britain in general. This is utilising a conservative ideology of authority, where British authority should be respected, and any lack of support or respect is suggested as a lack of British identity which should be feared.

7.2.1 Multiculturalism Allowing Segregation, Terrorism and Extremism Frame

DM2 states the "impact of multiculturalism and political correctness" as an 'experiment' which has 'failed' and led to Britain creating segregated communities, where authorities;

"walk on egg shells" (DM2)

"some stones are going unturned" (not to upset the "community") Sun1

"sensitive issues" (Tel6)

"Fear of being labelled racist" (Tel6)

Multiculturalism and political correctness are framed as not speaking 'truth' and restricting freedom of speech. This is a further right-wing populist frame, where the political elite, who introduced multiculturalism, are shown as not presenting the truth. It is resulting in law 'authorities' restricting what they say or do to avoid causing offence/tension/violence as outlined by the metaphors and statement of issues being 'sensitive'.

The Guardian focuses on questioning multiculturalism, where Muslims are represented as 'illustrating' 'Britain's pragmatic multiculturalism'. This is the

opening line in G3 and is used to create an image that the bombers, who are referred to as 'British-born', have created a need to examine if;

"the model had a basic design fault" (G3)

Multiculturalism, like Tel6, is framed as contributing to the terrorist attacks and allowing 'our enemy' to be 'in our midst', which must be examined to see where it is 'faulty'.

7.3 Security

Similarly, the security discourse utilises right-wing populist framing of the Left permitting multiculturalism to create an environment for terrorism. *The Sun* focuses on a security discourse whereby the Left is blamed for 'allowing' Muslims into the UK, cue of 'immigrants', because of political correctness and failing to deal with issues of security. Sun1 use intertextuality to support this discourse referencing 9/11, the War on Terror and fascism during the Nazi era in the Second World War.

Sun1 focuses on Tariq Ramadan who in 2004 was 'banned' from entering America. The text frames the government and police as showing 'appeasement'. This is a reference to the Second World War reaching consensus between Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Appeasement is made towards Ramadan because of multiculturalism. In the article, he is referred to as 'Ramadan-a-ding-dong'. This is 'conversationalization' (Fairclough, 1995) as if having a conversation with the reader, and also uses pop culture referencing the song 'rama lama ding dong'. Ramadan is referred to as a 'fanatic' and an 'extremist who supports terrorism'. The text is linking the discourse of Muslims and terror with multiculturalism and the implicit discourse of political correctness. There is reference to 'illegal immigrants' who are framed as the enemy and 'extremist' Muslims are not demarcated from moderate Muslims.

The text producer, Richard Littlejohn, had a regular column in *The Sun* during 2005 and has written books on political correctness and therefore has presumed authority over the area. The text creates an 'orders of discourse' (Foucault, 1984) by associating multiculturalism with political correctness. This is established throughout the text by discussing the invitations and 'sponsoring' of Ramadan by the Association of Chief Police Officers and Met. There is further intertextual

referencing by focusing on Red' Ken Livingstone whom, in 2004, invited 'Mustapha Jihad' (Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi) to the UK. The Sheikh was deemed 'controversial' in some areas of the media due to his views on stoning homosexuals (BBC, 2004) expressed at a conference about Islamic wear. The Left is described as having an;

"obsession with "diversity"..."encouraged' by the government" (Sun1)

Although Ramadan himself spoke out against the 7/7 London bombings stating that "The authors of such acts are criminals and we cannot accept or listen to their probable justifications in the name of an ideology, a religion or a political cause," (Tariq Ramadan, 2005, p.1) and in *The Guardian* "we must condemn these attacks with the strongest energy" (Ramadan, 2005, p.1). The author, Richard Littlejohn, does not mention this at any point and Ramadan made the last comment on 9th of July 2005, 3 days before the publishing of this text. This is significant because as Fairclough (2001) states, one must analyse what is included, and what or who is 'suppressed'. If suppression is in a piece of text, ideological workings are present.

Sun10 utilises the discourse to denounce perceived lack of effort from authorities to deal with security issues where;

"The community is the area where the threat was most obvious yet there was no contingency plan to deal with it" (Sun10)

There is a link to a suspect community discourse situating the 'threat' within 'the community' (framing of a homogenous Muslim community).

The Daily Mail refers to security by linking it with the suspect community discourse, DM9 states:

"it had spawned at least one Tube bomber"

The word 'spawned' means a mass of eggs; the discourse is connoting that there are more potential terrorists within the suspect community.

The Times uses alliteration to frame multiculturalism as causing terrorism;

"Multiculturalism has fanned the flames of Islamic extremism" (Tim8)

This alliteration personifies multiculturalism; it is a political idea, yet it is portrayed as a person that is ensuring the danger, 'flame' or prevalence of extremism, can

continue. This form of moral panic reiterates Werbner (2004) that linking multiculturalism and terrorism has been dominant since 9/11.

The Telegraph frames multiculturalism as an ideology which has;

“helped create a tribal Britain with no political or moral centre” (T8)

The term ‘tribal Britain’ connotes an Orientalist image of segregated groups of people, living in a tribe, presumed as un-civilized as there is no ‘moral centre’. Although ambiguous, the reader is left to determine who belongs in the different tribes and how many tribes there are – although it can be assumed that Muslims fall within one Orientalist ‘tribe’ this can be linked to the use of the word community/communities, which is used twice.

7.3.1 Muslim Victimhood Identity Frame

The Daily Mail uses the frame;

“these young Yorkshire Muslims certainly didn't seem like victims to be pushed around and exploited, yet that is how they portrayed themselves” (DM9)

“they claimed they were living under virtual siege” (DM9)

The word ‘claimed’ is significant in this sentence as it creates doubt of the validity. It also relates to Orientalist framing of the West portraying Muslims as manipulative.

People who have settled from Pakistan are regarded as having a;

“sense of injustice may then have filtered to their sons and daughters” (DM9)

This is quoted from Professor Ron Greaves, and is expert confirmation or ‘truth’ legitimisation (Foucault, 1977) of the Muslim Victimhood framing, that it is passed down from “immigrant” generations. In this respect, the Victimhood identity is therefore inherent in “immigrant” Muslims, thus creating a homogenous, stagnant construction of Muslims. Muslims are framed as “Muslim immigrants” irrespective

if stated as 'Yorkshire Muslims' because the mentality is derived from having an "immigrant" background.

The Guardian uses the frame to connote that Muslims are 'paranoid' and unintegrated. G7 headline states;

"It's paranoia, not Islamophobia: Britain has done much to help integrate Muslims. Now they must rise above their grievance culture" (G7)

This sets up the stance that the UK has done everything they can to integrate Muslims, regarding the cluster event the headline also frames lack of integration as a cause of terrorist attacks. It is for Muslims to integrate by stopping their grievance 'culture', implying that it is embedded within them. This stance is further reinforced later in the article when the author states the;

"undifferentiated rhetoric of grievance contributes to alienation, lack of integration and even indirectly to extremism" (G7)

The journalist of G7, David Goodhart, has written for *The Independent* and *The Times* and in 1995 founded the magazine *Prospect*. He is known for his views on multiculturalism; in 2004 he wrote an essay - "Too Diverse" - on multiculturalism and immigration as affecting a traditional national identity and in 2013 published a book version of the essay (Malik, 2013).

The Times additionally utilises this frame by stating that there is a;

"lack of a 'common identity'" (Tim5)

This is cue of the establishment of multiculturalism, blamed for Muslims creating a 'victimhood and grievance' identity." Muslims are said to be;

"creating a siege mentality" (Tim5)

This is explained as making them 'more open' to 'extremism', or, the Muslim Victimhood which Muslims have created themselves leaving them vulnerable to extremism. Although, what this means is ambiguous and left for the reader to explore.

The author does state that Muslims have experienced racism and discrimination but that Muslim leaders have 'exaggerated' this. Furthermore, it is by Kenan Malik who has written on topics like multiculturalism, religion, race, and the Salman

Rushdie affair. He has campaigned for a variety of topics including: freedom of speech and equal rights, and in late 2005 wrote an essay on why he was becoming sceptical of the 'left' and multiculturalism, following the fatwa issued against Rushdie in the late 1980s (Malik, 2005). This is important when analysing the text because Malik, who states that he is an ex-Muslim, was already speaking against the political idea of multiculturalism in British society and thus these opinions will contribute to the discourse within the text. Malik is an ex-Muslim therefore legitimising the discourse because he has first-hand 'knowledge' of the Muslim community and confirming truth claims within the discourse about Muslims. This highlights his use of being part of the Star System (Gullestad, 2006). See chapter eight for further discussion on the Star System.

These excerpts exemplify the framing binary oppositions between British and Muslims and implicitly utilises a Clash of Civilizations and Orientalist frame and discourse. The discourses and frames outline that it is inherent in 'their' culture to be like this and that it is a threat because it means 'they' are against us. It authenticates and legitimises the discourse that terrorism and Muslims are connected.

7.3.2 Conclusion: London Bombings 2005

Muslims are represented as 'Muslim immigrants' implicitly, this is constructed through cue terms and phrases used by all newspapers indicating Muslims not being indigenously British. These are reflected in the content analysis section; newspapers do mention immigration generally which is indicator of immigrant representation, but most focus on the descent of the bombers' parents. There are references to 'second generation' implying a "Muslim immigrant" background, not British and Muslims in general, and the utilising of a suspect community and segregation discourse frame Muslims as different from the rest of the UK. Some newspapers, specifically *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph*, focus on race and use the terms 'ethnic minority' as semantical cue of framing Muslims as 'Muslim immigrants' who do not integrate with the rest of society, i.e. white people, who are 'tolerant', 'respectable' and 'civilized'. In this sense the more right-leaning newspapers focus on race and a need to demonstrate allegiance to the UK when discussing Muslims.

In *The Guardian*, the terrorist bombers are described as 'British-born' "from families that were well established in this country" (G3). This is the only reference to the attackers as being from an immigrant background in that text. Of note is the author's choice of words 'British-born' not 'British', this indicates implicitly that the bombers are from a 'Muslim immigrant' background, further reiterated in the rest of the sentence. The centre left-leaning newspaper *The Guardian* and centre-right *The Times* focus on how Britain has helped Muslims integrate and that Britain has done 'enough', the responsibility is placed on Muslims who are in 'crisis' whereby they must do something to integrate all in their community, or there is a risk of further terrorist attacks.

Muslims are represented through dominant right-wing populist rhetoric utilised by all newspapers regardless of political stance. This is out-with KhosraviNik's (2010) finding that conservative newspapers tended to create a homogenous immigrant identity and left-leaning newspapers typically did not. All newspapers analysed use binary opposition of Us (Brits) versus Them (Muslims), using ethno-nationalism right-wing populism, or the focus on 'difference' (Wodak, 2015). Similar findings of Clash of Civilizations, incompatible values and Orientalist discourse is evident in the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2005 I.

7.4 Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2005 I

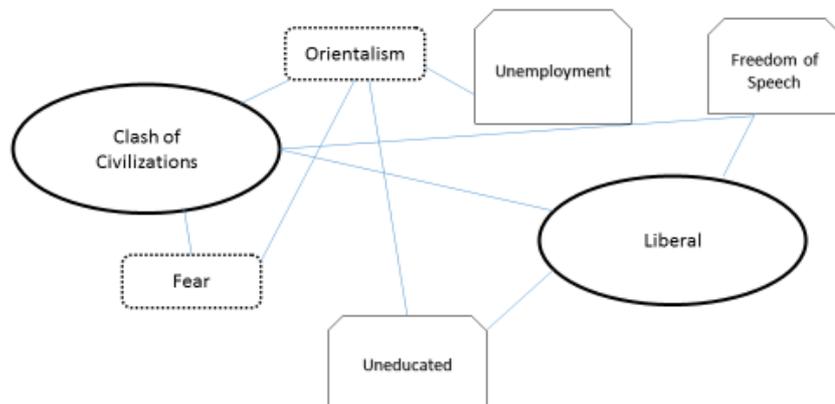


Image 5.0: Muhammad Cartoon Crisis I 2005 Discourses



Articles

Nine articles are analysed for the cluster event. Table 7.1 should be used in conjunction with the analysis.

Article Key

<i>Number</i>	<i>Article reference</i>
1	Ber1
2	Ber2
3	Ber3
4	P4
5	JP5
6	JP6
7	JP7
8	P8
9	JP9

Table 7.1: 2005 Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2005 I Cluster Event Article Key

7.4.1 Clash of Civilizations

The Clash of Civilizations discourse is anticipated as a discourse, as previous research has indicated that in Scandinavia a right-wing populist focus on the incompatibility of Islam and threat of Islam on democracy has been dominant (Nohrstedt, 2013 & Mulinar & Neergaard, 2012). This discourse is used by all *Politiken* articles and two *Jyllands-Posten* articles to differentiate between Danes and Muslims. *Politiken* utilise the national identity cue words 'democracy' and 'values' to present this discourse;

“For example some groups are accustomed to family and life values that does not match with our democracy. They must – with all due respect – have cultural compatibility as a goal.” (P8)

P8 implies that Muslims, homogenised as a ‘group’, are not integrated into Danish society because they adhere to values incompatible with democracy or Denmark. Furthermore, Muslims are represented as requiring to strive towards integration within Denmark. It is the responsibility of Muslims to integrate or assimilate.

P8 use intertextual reference, like G3 in 2005 London Bombings cluster event, to demonstrate the ‘truth’ (Foucault, 1977) and legitimise the implication that Muslims have different values from Danish democracy. A Headteacher of Rådmandsgade school held a memorial following 9/11 and some “immigrant students”, cue for Muslim students, found it “difficult to hide their joy that USA had been attacked” (P8). Intertextuality plays a role in additionally presenting Muslims as joyous of terrorist attacks towards Western countries, irrespective of the event or time in history, creating a suspect representation.

P4 dedicate an article to Samuel Huntington’s theory – Clash of Civilizations – agreeing with the theory and the need for Danes to read it; that it is a ‘disgrace’ the book has not been translated into Danish. The discourse is used as a form of right-wing populist ‘waking up’ to the idea that Samuel Huntington is ‘correct’ while admitting one is wrong about Islam (that it is incompatible with the West). Furthermore, the article is critical of another article in *Politiken* and Danish intellectuals in general that do not examine the ‘culture clash’ element of the issue which is the reaction towards the publishing of the Muhammad cartoons. This is cited as;

“difficult to admit that Samuel Huntington is right in the fact that there are collisions between civilizations.” (P4)

“Huntington can do one thing which Danish intellectuals lack. He can understand the significance of religion on civilization. And he can understand theologically the difference between religions.” (P4)

P4 text producer Katherine Winkel is an author and theologian. In 2004 she founded The Free Press Association, an organisation committed to ensuring freedom of the press and free speech. The second quote implies that the Christian

religion and Islamic religion are incompatible, and many cannot 'see' this or choose not to acknowledge this. Winkel also uses cue words of 'Danes and Muslims' to create a binary opposition reinforcing the Clash of Civilizations discourse. P8 and P4, like the newspapers of 2005 London Bombings cluster event, use right-wing populist rhetoric of blaming the 'elite' in this case Danish intellectuals of not acknowledging the 'danger' and 'threat' of Islam on the Danish people. This coincides with DPP rhetoric of the Danish people's struggle with the elite in the 'fight' against Islam (Hervik, 2012).

Like *Politiken*, *Jyllands-Posten* uses the discourse alongside Conservative ideology and populist discourse to present the idea that negating to challenge the threat of Islam is a threat to Denmark and Danish society (Hervik, 2012). In this respect, Muslims are not Danish, they are framed as an Other. JP7 use the headline;

"The people will die when faith dies" (JP7)

This headline is used in conjunction with the opening paragraph that European civilization is in charge of its own 'destruction', it has;

"rejected values such as national identity and family life" (JP7)

"they must not think they are better than us." (JP7)

The author Michael Phil, who is a lecturer and DPP member, intertextually uses the story of a famous church, Mårup Kirke which is in disrepair and collapsing off an eroding cliff, because action was not taken earlier to save the church. This is used metaphorically to represent the threat Danes and Europe are not addressing – the threat and erosion of identity. This is revealed as the threat of 'aggressive' Islamic "immigration" into Denmark not compatible with Danish values. It is also a reference to Danish identity, as Grundtvig Danish identity utilises Christianity as a marker of Danishness (Veninga, 2014). There is further reference to the Law of Jante in the last example that Muslims should not think they are better than Danes and that this is an important part of the Danish culture. Ber1 also use populist discourse to focus on eroding culture, that stopping the publication of the cartoons is "directly destructive to our culture" (Ber1).

JP5 focus on using quotes from an expert, religious sociologist Peter Fisher-Nielsen, to legitimise this discourse;

“The division between cultures is growing.” (JP5)

“both Danes and immigrants isolate themselves” (JP5)

“It must be made clear to Muslims that they have to open up, they find this difficult” (JP5)

“It is important that one accepts that religion plays a role.” (JP5)

“For many immigrants it is natural to think of politics and religion as the same, but Danes often separate these.” (JP5)

These examples from the ‘expert’ demonstrate that there is a Clash of Civilizations in Denmark between Muslims who cannot separate religion and politics, which Danes can and do. Power is used in the choice of quotes for this text as they legitimise the discourse because they are stated by someone who is knowledgeable in the area and thus a voice of authority to be trusted. JP9 use national identity within the Clash of Civilizations discourse to frame Denmark as a ‘modern society’ with freedom of speech as the foundation in opposition to Muslims who are framed as being against freedom of speech. JP9 also cite division but frame Muslims as being ‘drawn’ towards ‘parallel societies’ supported by the idea of ‘multiculturalism’ or that ‘we’ must be sensitive to Islam regarding the publication of the cartoons.

7.4.2 Orientalism

Within the Orientalist discourse, Muslims are framed as unchanging, not understanding Denmark and ‘angry’ with *Jyllands-Posten*, both *Berlingske* and *Politiken* utilise this. Ber2 use the words ‘angry’ twice and ‘angry Muslim’ once. Muslims are presented as having ‘culminated together’ to demonstrate against the cartoons and that *Jyllands-Posten* headquarters have been ‘bombarded’ by emails and phone calls from angry Muslims. This Orientalist framing (Said, 1997) is combined with fear discourse and fear of Muslim reaction. This is supported by intertextual reference to the Tate Modern removing images of Islam for fear of Muslim ‘anger’. Thus, it recontextualises the situation as part of a European issue rather than Danish issue – Europe is fearful of angry Muslim reaction. This is further reinforced when later in the text it states that depicting Muhammad is;

“a sacrilege” (Ber2)

That affects Muslims “everywhere” (Ber2)

“strong reaction from Muslims” (Ber2)

Modality represents all Muslims as homogenous and having the same reaction towards the cartoons. This reinforces the idea that “all” Muslims, regardless of location or diverse background are angry. As Fowler (1991) outlines, modality or claims of truth are used ideologically to present an illusion of objectivity. The text producer cannot know that the cartoons affect all Muslims or that all Muslims have had a strong reaction to the cartoons, but it is represented as such. Whereas, Ber1 focuses on the need for Islam to reform like Christianity has in the past 100 years, implying Islam has been static and unchanging.

JP5 use Orientalism (Said, 1995) as legitimisation for ‘educating’ Muslims on how to live in Danish society. The text frames Muslims as not understanding the Danish media and expressing their opinions in debates in “a clumsy way” because they do not understand the Danish language or how to “speak in public”. They are therefore in need of ‘enlightening’ and ‘educating’ for the success of a ‘multicultural’ society.

7.4.3 Fear

As mentioned in the Clash of Civilizations and Orientalist discourse, fear discourse is utilised within these discourses, particularly in the Clash of Civilizations discourse with *Berlingske* and *Politiken* using the discourse. Ber2 use fear to present Muslims as a threat, within a moral panic framing, when stating that some Muslim organisations;

“have made bomb and death threats against journalists and prominent people working in the media” (Ber2)

“Shouting rhythmically “Allah ul Akbar” there were approximately 2,000 young and old Muslims protesting” (Ber2)

The examples are used in textually close proximity within two paragraphs in the article and the use of numbers is ideological because the image of 2,000 Muslims who are 'young and old', i.e. all Muslims, protesting and 'shouting' after the reader is made aware that 'some organisations' have made threats of violence, creates a suspect image of fear. The text producer could have stated many Muslims were protesting, but the use of a number, or a numbers game (Van Dijk, 2000), is more effective. The number game implies the text producer's subjectivity because the use of numbers also highlights the threat. However, the source of the number 2,000 is undisclosed. Additionally, although the text producer does not state the protestors have made threats of violence, it is implied by stating that some Muslim organisations have made bomb and death threats. Ber1 use fear and threat discourse more explicitly as preventing freedom of speech, that there is fear of being critical of Islam;

"fear of retaliation" (Ber1)

"fear for life and limb" (Ber1)

Ber1, using modality, state there will 'eventually' be a terrorist attack and that 'we' the Danes must not do what 'terrorists' wish and stop being critical of Islam or lose freedom of speech. There is intertextual reference to America and Britain following terrorist attacks continuing to encourage freedom of speech despite suffering attacks. *Politiken* also use freedom of speech as part of a fear discourse;

"Should we enlightened Danes submit and self-censor because of Muslim dark men?" (P8)

"I must consider that some extremists may try to throw fire bombs into my drive way just like what happened to Rikke Hvilshøjs" (P8)

"If Muslim thugs threaten to ruin our exhibition then people may not come" (P8)

P8 is about the text producer considering whether to use art depicting Muhammad drinking coffee for an exhibition. It focuses on the framing of fear of displaying any images concerning Islam and possible reactions. Using DPP right-wing populist rhetoric (Bachler & Hopmann, 2017) the framing of national identity is Danes being 'enlightened'. The fear discourse is extended into the need to keep freedom of speech from 'dark men' (people who are negative), this is classic DPP

populist rhetoric, that freedom of speech, cue for Danish national identity, must be protected from the threat of Islam. There is a strong binary of light and dark, the Danes are 'enlightened', and Muslims are 'dark'. There is further re-emphasis of fear discourse when intertextual reference is made to Rikke Hvilshøjs – who in June 2005 was subject to her car and house being set on fire, although it is not known who committed this act, it is framed as Muslim 'extremists'. This reference and references to the Theo van Gogh murder and the Rushdie affair are used to legitimise the representation of fear towards Muslim reaction.

7.4.4 Liberal Discourse

Liberal discourse, which references liberal ideals such as freedom of speech, equality and individualism, is used in a number of ways to represent Denmark as 'free' and Islam and multiculturalism as a risk. *Jyllands-Posten* use Liberal discourse to legitimise the decision to publish the Muhammad cartoons and the potential threat to freedom of speech;

"There should be no doubt that such drawings fall into the scope of freedom of speech." (JP9)

"The criticism that JP has undergone because of the drawings demonstrate there is a need for this debate." (JP9)

"one cannot have written and unwritten rules where you must not utter anything that a particular religious or other belief rejects. If this becomes an unavoidable act, you are on a serious path." (JP9)

The author is Ralf Pittelkow who was political commentator for *Jyllands-Posten* 1994 – 2011 and went on to write a book about the 'threat of Islamists' with his politician wife Karen Jespersen. Pittelkow's years as political commentator creates legitimisation in what he states: using modality that there should 'be no doubt' that the drawings are about freedom of speech and not targeting Muslims. The reaction to the drawings is used as legitimisation that freedom of speech is potentially under threat and that 'we' must not self-censor for fear it will lead to a 'serious path' – this 'path' is not made explicit. However, through a Clash of Civilization discourse and stating Muslims come from countries where no freedom of speech is a 'tradition', it implies that Denmark will become like these Muslim

countries with no freedom of speech. The author uses populist discourse to frame 'cultural radicalists' or the elite as placing limitations on freedom of speech in relation to the 'growing Muslim minority' – which the author frames as self-destructive, thus Muslims are a threat. Therefore, the orders of discourse in Denmark where liberal discourse and the promotion of liberal ideals like freedom of speech as a marker of Danish identity is utilised to legitimise a representation of Muslims and elites as a threat to Danish values. This is a strong form of legitimisation because the traditional Danish national identity has a focus on liberal ideals such as freedom of speech and equality (Rytter, 2010).

However, *Berlingske* (Ber3) and *Jyllands-Posten* (JP6) use liberal discourse as part of an inclusive anti-racist discourse and the need for;

“if the future should be a multi-ethnic democracy without conflict we need to treat each other based on personality, opinions and actions.” (Ber3)

“we are all different, although we can have the same collective membership based on age, gender, ethnicity, background, education, social status or other. If you do not see the individual, you do not see the human being, and you do not see man, there is no respect. Lack of respect leads to conflicts.” (Ber3)

The use of 'conflict' is a warning that if Danes do not begin to acknowledge Muslims as people and strive to live in harmony there will be consequences. This is a counter-discourse, where the idea of Danish national identity is still utilised but in an inclusive manner, the banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) of 'we' is inclusive of Muslims. Intertextual referencing to Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream speech' and Aretha Franklin's song 'Respect' act as markers for 'change' and progress. The focus on 'respect' is also evident in JP6;

“We all have a responsibility. There must be mutual respect, and you must not forget that integration is a mutual effort. This also applies to Danes.” (JP6)

This example is a quote from Rabih Azad-Ahmad, a Radical Left politician with a Palestinian background, cue for an immigrant. He shares his story of how he was initially treated by Danes when he first arrived and provides a 'Muslim immigrant' perspective on integration;

“there must be a different tone in the debate. It must be more open and nuanced. Many Danes meet foreigners through media coverage and perceive most as criminals. This is far from the truth.” (JP6)

In this extract, Danes are represented as not interacting with Muslims and immigrants and ‘closed’ regarding their views on how ‘Muslim immigrants’ are debated and perceived. This framing of Danes being closed is reinforced later in the article;

“It is a change of attitude that must happen. More Danes must open up. Generally, the Danes have no prejudices. The vast majority of Danes are really nice people.” (JP6)

This discourse uses positive representation of Danes as ‘really nice people’ with ‘no prejudices’ to focus on the need for Danes to work on integrating with Muslims. The framing of Danish people as ‘closed’ is important because it is often used in reverse to represent Muslims negatively in a segregation discourse as an argument of being culturally incompatible (Hervik, 2011). However, with the additional framing of Danes as ‘nice people’ it does not result in the same discourse, rather a liberal discourse of an ‘open’ dialogue. This is a counter-discourse however, the text reinforces ‘stereotypes’ with quotes from Rabih Azad-Ahmad;

“more foreigners should go to work, then Danes will view foreigners as resourceful.” (JP6)

“there are not enough immigrants that go to work.” (JP6)

“if more refugees and immigrants went to work and became educated the understanding between both would be established.” (JP6)

“Unfortunately, many of them lack the motivation to become educated and work.” (JP6)

The examples of quotes from Azad-Ahmad are used through Orientalist framing to reinforce the stereotypes that most Muslims and “Muslim immigrants” do not work and are uneducated – which is stated as modality; there are no facts or figures presented. It further supports Keskinen’s (2009) theory that in Scandinavian media when young men are referenced, they are typically framed

as unemployed. Azad-Ahmad is an immigrant and his story is framed that he 'never had a problem finding work'. This legitimises his views as 'truth' and also questions why other "immigrants" are not in work if he is employed and what 'lack of motivation' is. Therefore, Azad-Ahmad is utilised as part of a Star System (see chapter eight).

7.4.5 Conclusion: Muhammad Crisis I 2005

Like London Bombings cluster event, in all texts, Muslims are referred and represented as being non-Danish, either by specifically identifying them as 'immigrants' and 'foreigners' or through phrases such as 'living here', 'minority' and 'waves'. Muslims are represented predominantly, in nearly all texts, through a Clash of Civilizations discourse and Orientalist discourse as not understanding Danish 'democracy' - not understanding the national identity and being incompatible with Danish values. This framing was particularly evident in *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten*.

Denmark is represented as 'enlightened' and 'modern' in contrast to the static Islam in need of reform and Muslims who react in an 'angry' manner resulting in a fear discourse towards Muslims in Denmark and wider Europe. However, there is an attempt to use liberal discourse as a counter-discourse from JP6 and Ber3 where striving for 'respect' towards each other is for the benefit of society. Nevertheless, the discourse still presents an 'issue' with integration with JP6 presenting Danes as not prejudiced but requiring to be more open towards "immigrants" who are represented as being out of work and uneducated. The 'issue' of integration is also evident in the Sleepwalking into segregation cluster event.

7.5 Sleepwalking into segregation 2005

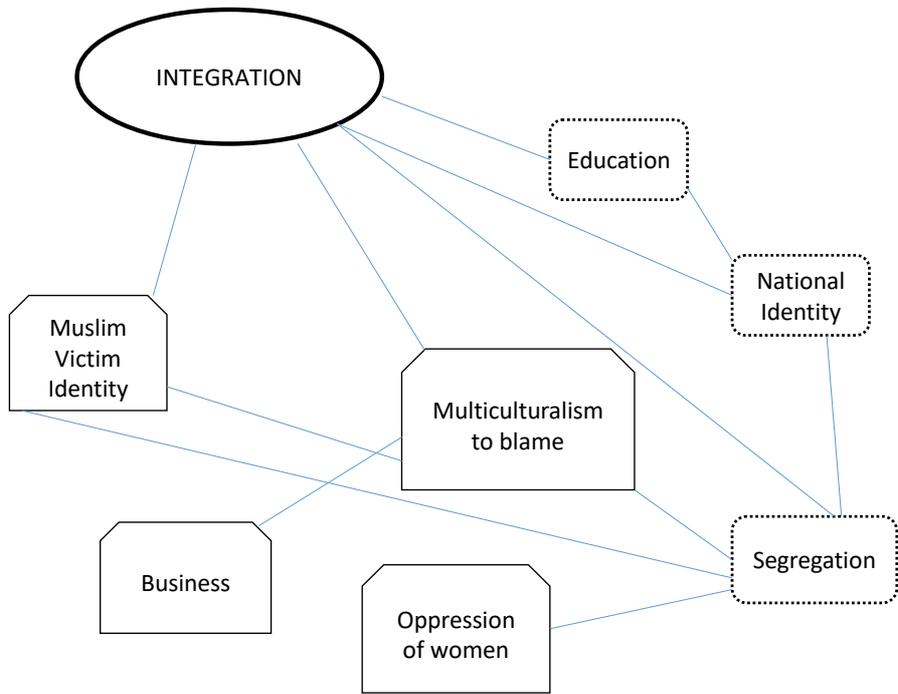


Image 6.0: Sleepwalking into Segregation 2005 Cluster Event Discourses



Articles

Seven articles are analysed for this cluster event. The following key in table 7.2 should be used in conjunction with the analysis;

<i>Number</i>	<i>Article reference</i>
1	G1
2	DM2
3	G3
4	DM4
5	Tel5
6	G6
7	DM7

Table 7.2 Sleepwalking into Segregation 2005 Cluster Event Article Key

7.5.1 Education and Segregation

This discourse focuses on schools and the need to focus on a shared identity of British values. It is framed by focusing on schools with multiple languages, diversity or religious schools (primarily Muslim) and the need to establish and teach British values.

The Telegraph focus' on education as essential for integration as part of the new commission for integration, but only in 'multi-ethnic communities'. Faith is framed as a hurdle that can be prevented through integration or 'how people socialise' and;

“there is a lot it [new commission for integration] can do to affect how they are schooled” (Tel5)

“they [schools] must inculcate the values of our country” (Tel5)

“we lack a shared language” (Tel5)

Education is used in an Orientalist frame where Muslims or 'multi-ethnic communities' must be educated to be integrated.

The Guardian also uses education as a form of integration of Muslims but opening the text with;

“New research suggests residential and school segregation has got worse”
(G6)

This is linking education and segregation, however, ‘new research’ is ambiguous, what research this is taken from, figures and facts are not given, yet are presented as fact via modality (Fowler, 1991). The text continues that there is a need;

“to push education authorities into taking a more proactive approach to integrating schools in multi-ethnic communities” (G6)

The metaphor ‘to push education authorities’ implies that there has to be a shift and metaphorical force must be used to make changes. The idea of pushing education authorities also reinforces the urgency of the need for integration in schools. Again, the need to educate Muslims is presented in Orientalist framing, although how integration must take place is not explained. This shift is emphasised with the comment that Cattle’s views are becoming “common currency” with left and right-wing ‘commentators’. Integration has to be in ‘multi-ethnic communities’, this is an implicit cue that ‘multi-ethnic communities’ are constructed as immigrants, negating to acknowledge the diversity of indigenous British people and framing non-white people as ‘Muslim immigrants’, because they require integration. Some areas have all white schools; however, they have not been cited requiring integration.

G3 focus intertextually on the Cattle report and that;

“Despite warning that no school should have more than 75% of one culture or faith, the government has continued apace with its expansion of faith schools as part of its parental choice agenda.” (G3)

As Fairclough states (1989) a nominalisation is the “process converted into noun. It is reduced in the sense that some meaning is missing” (p.124). In this respect what is meant by ‘warning’? It creates a sense of danger that Cattle ‘knew’ about this, but the government chose to ignore it. This idea of a warning is again reiterated when Cattle is described, by utilizing a lack of government focus on integration, as a cause of extremism, as having;

"warned in the pages of Society Guardian last year [that if government ignore his recommendations] we would "see a growth in Britain of extremism" (G3)

Therefore, the discursive strands and links between integration in schools, or lack of, is linked with extremism or the potential growth of extremism.

7.5.2 Self - Segregation

The self-segregation discourse blames Muslims for segregating and negates to address historical, racist aspects and reasons for why there may be large concentrations of Muslims living in one area. *The Daily Mail* uses a Muslim author and Television presenter, Saira Khan, to legitimise this discourse;

"the guilty secret about my community" (DM4)

"so many of us live in ghettos not because we have to, but because we want to" (DM4)

"I am convinced that such horrific alienation is a product of a 'ghetto mentality' - the ingrown and paranoid mindset which this self imposed segregation can produce." (DM4)

"self imposed isolation" (DM4)

The neoliberal aspect from the author's experience as a Muslim legitimises the discourse of self-segregation that it is a 'secret' but that it is known to all and that Muslims 'want' to live in ghettos. The idea of alienation or segregation creating a 'ghetto mentality' is framed as part of a Muslim Victimhood identity. Despite the author stating she has never lived in a ghetto, she is utilised as a Star System member to legitimise the discourse of self-segregating Muslims. The author is not an immigrant, her parents are, yet she speaks for a 'community' that she constructs as 'ruled' by what she describes as powerful elite "immigrant" leaders within the community. She uses story-telling narrative, building an image of her parents who integrated into Britain by avoiding ghettos and making her attend a mixed school. This functions to also enforce a parental responsibility discourse whereby parents who are immigrants can prevent their British children from integrating by living in ghettos. Khan uses her parents to justify to the reader that she has the necessary background for legitimizing the discourses she uses.

The author's criticisms of people living in ghettos, that she refers to as 'self-segregating' whilst dubbing it a secret in the community, suggest the idea that people know themselves they have self-segregated. Although, the author admits she did not live in a ghetto, she lived in 'mainstream Britain' which she suggests provided her with full integration.

The framing of ghettos, a term used 8 times, is used as an argument that 'segregation' is 'dangerous'. These ghettos are controlled by 'imported' people, mainly imams, who are 'ignorant' of British culture and 'dangerous'. References to import (mentioned 6 times in article) are used instead of the word 'immigrant'. It creates connotations of something foreign and dangerous as opposed to a person. In this vein the 'foreign' ghetto implies that the people living in the ghetto are all 'foreign' and not British even though many will be British. British Muslim men and women (who are referred to as Third-generation", not British Muslims or British) are 'pressured' by their parents into marrying 'imported spouses' (DM7).

7.5.3 Multiculturalism Causing Segregation Frame

This frame is linked with national identity as it uses multiculturalism as a barrier to sustain a national identity and causing segregation.

The Telegraph uses this frame explicitly whilst intertextually referencing the Cattle report to legitimise the frame of segregation;

"a fervent advocate of multiculturalism, the doctrine that Britain's different cultural groups should emphasise their differences, not their Britishness"
(Tel5)

"become so "multicultural" that all sense of common identity breaks down"
(Tel5)

"Perversely, the 'multiculturalism' doctrine actually encouraged division"
(DM7)

In these examples, 'Britishness' is framed as the need for a common identity (and rejection of multiculturalism). This coincides with increasing focus on Britishness from the introduction of 'Britishness' test in 2003 on democracy, English language and individual rights. The examples demonstrate the increasing 'backlash' on multiculturalism permitted by the media and now, in this cluster event, employed

by members of the Left. This backlash against multiculturalism framing emphasises the original backlash as focused on homogeneity and the need for common identity (Goldberg, 1994; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). This argument is further presented in *The Guardian*.

Unlike *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian* is implicit in this frame whereby Trevor Phillips statements are said to have been at times a harsh critic of multiculturalism, however, the article states;

“Nevertheless there is some truth in his view” (G6)

The word ‘nevertheless’ is a cue that *The Guardian* does agree, and this is reaffirmed in the rest of the sentence. This ‘truth’ is that multiculturalism has not been;

“emphasising our commonality” (G6)

Here the idea that there must be something ‘we’ all have in common to fully integrate, is implying a focus on national identity and a lack of integration from Muslims.

G3, another *The Guardian* article, uses alliteration in their headline;

“Ted Cante: Harmony's herald: Multiculturalism is failing to bring Britain's races together, says Ted Cante” (G3)

The alliteration of Harmony’s herald functions to highlight the importance of Ted Cante’s opinion of multiculturalism failing. The article is framed in a narrative story format in the beginning setting the scene of Ted Cante sitting in his office where he is thinking about multiculturalism. This idea is introduced via the headline but also by the first paragraph by the use of the idiom;

“sounds the death knell for multiculturalism” (G3)

This idiom means the ringing of a bell to signify someone’s death, in this instance multiculturalism is represented as a person rather than idea and this is significant in emphasising the failure of multiculturalism in a finite way because death is final. This also frames the changing stance of the Left on multiculturalism as expressed by a Left leaning newspaper.

Intertextuality is used by referencing the report Cante produced in 2001 in which Cante outlined that people were;

“living "parallel lives" (G3)

“made recommendations to government” (G3)

This highlights Cantle had knowledge of segregation before 7/7 bombings and Trevor Phillips statement, which emphasises the legitimation of Cantles’ words.

The Daily Mail also uses this frame explicitly;

“more recent immigrants, or the children of immigrants” (DM2)

[they have] “little or no contact with the indigenous population” (DM2)

“This is what the multi-culturalists have preached.” (DM2)

The last sentence was written following intertextuality of 7/7 bombings to link segregation of ghettos as “illuminated by the events of July 7” – ‘illuminated’ is a cue in shifting political view – people are now ‘seeing’, the light is shining on this ‘issue’. This further frames and links multiculturalism as allowing terrorism.

7.5.4 Orientalism

This discourse is used to represent Muslims through binary opposition as different from the rest of the UK with right leaning newspaper using this discourse more explicitly, focusing on ‘foreignness’.

The Daily Mail headline is;

“Are there parts of Britain that are now a foreign land?” (DM7)

[The paper] “sent its chief foreign correspondent to this country’s largest ethnic enclave” (DM7)

There is the question of why there is a need to send a ‘foreign correspondent’ when the area is in the UK. This frames people living in this area as not of the UK and ‘ethnic enclave’ is a sociological term defined as “A neighbourhood or larger territory whose population is largely ethnically distinguished from the surrounding area and its inhabitants” (Oxford Reference, 2017, p.1) and also “denotes separation” (Waldinger, 1993, p.448). Therefore, ethnic minorities are framed as not British.

The framing is of segregation identified by the use of ‘ethnic enclave’ coupled with full caps of the first three words INSIDE THE GHETTO – used to bring the readers’ attention to this subject – the words must be focused on, so must the issue that

'should concern us all' – here 'us' is used as banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) and is a semantical separation between Brits and Muslims.

The article continues to frame doubts from the journalist who writes that she has worked for decades as a foreign correspondent and 'wondered' if she would encounter an exotic 'foreign territory' – at this point she states she does not believe she will. However, the end of the article 'confirms' the headline that the 'foreign correspondent' did experience;

"Bradford's 'Islamabad' ghetto" (DM7)

Sher Azam (the imam who led the book burning in Bradford during the Rushdie Affair) is quoted as describing women who come to the UK for marriage;

"Often she feels more comfortable staying at home, and she shouldn't be forced to leave it." (DM7)

"men rule the roost" (DM7)

"young women are routinely pressured into marrying" (DM7)

However, the author is clear that they do not believe this because the next line states;

"The men in Bradford's patriarchal Muslim ghetto are in control – this establishes the dominance and inequality 'oppressed' Muslim women experience" (DM7)

7.5.5 Muslim Victimhood Identity Frame

The Telegraph uses a metaphor for the collapse of power from Government;

"Rather than caving in to those Muslim leaders who have been clamouring for an inquiry into the bombings in order to air their grievances over British foreign policy" (Tel5)

'Caving in' is a metaphor implying that the government has previously sided with Muslims rather than challenging any 'grievances' they may have had. It further reiterates the argument that multiculturalism has created a culture of the elite fearful of causing offence and connotes that Muslims have had much power in the UK. This framing of a power play of Muslims manipulating a Victimhood Identity is essential in legitimising the framing. Rather than acknowledging that discrimination and racism towards Muslims has been ongoing in Britain, it shifts the blame onto Muslims.

“But naturally the Muslim community feels, once again, that it is being blamed for everything” (DM7)

The use of the word ‘naturally’ and ‘once again’ connote that Muslims portray themselves as victims. At the end of the paragraph the author writes;

“the answer to this culture clash is not for one community to voluntarily seal itself off from the mainstream - and is used as a reason for ‘segregation’ as opposed to perhaps inequality such as was seen in the 1960s in the UK.” (DM7)

An alarmist rhetoric is introduced in the Muslim Victimhood Identity frame when the author states that ghettos and lack of integration reinforce that;

“We are in danger of creating a self-pitying victim culture” (DM4)

The use of the word ‘culture’ implies that it can potentially spread throughout the Muslim ‘community’ and will prevent integration because they will not be able to land ‘mainstream jobs’ because their;

“ability to function outside the ghetto are inadequate” (DM4)

“It is so much easier for them to blame such disappointments on Islamophobia or racial discrimination than to accept that they are paying the price of their upbringing.” (DM4)

7.5.6 Counter Discourse

A counter discourse is presented by *The Guardian* and used to refute what Trevor Phillips has stated on segregation and the hegemonic discourse of tolerant Britain. This is evident when it is stated;

“the image so eagerly touted after the bombings, of an oasis of tolerant diversity that has been exploited by Islamic fundamentalists who hail from a community determined to voluntarily segregate, simply does not square with the facts.” (G1)

The words “eagerly touted” emphasise the overall counter discourse to refute the positive representation of Britain as tolerant in opposition to the image of a Muslim community who ‘voluntarily segregate’. The use of the metaphor ‘square with the facts’ functions to reinforce that this discourse on Britain as tolerant and Muslims ‘voluntarily’ segregating does not make sense when one analyses the facts and history. Thereafter numbers are used to reinforce this counter discourse citing statistics from the Home Office on racially motivated crimes like serious assault.

7.5.7 Conclusion: Sleepwalking into Segregation 2005

Muslims and Brits are constructed in binary opposition, with Britain referred to as a 'liberal and tolerant nation' in juxtaposition to an Orientalist lens of the Other Asian Muslims who have 'self-segregated' and require education in being British. The Orientalist lens presents an image of inequality amongst sexes and the domination of women, this is also present in the Jack Straw cluster event.

Muslims are represented, through a focus on integration with the UK, which is the dominant focus, as cue of a perceived "Muslim immigrant" background. There is an attempt at a counter discourse by *The Guardian*, however, it is not prominent nor is it legitimised because of the over-riding use of negative Orientalist framing and discourse in the remaining texts analysed.

7.6 Jack Straw 2006

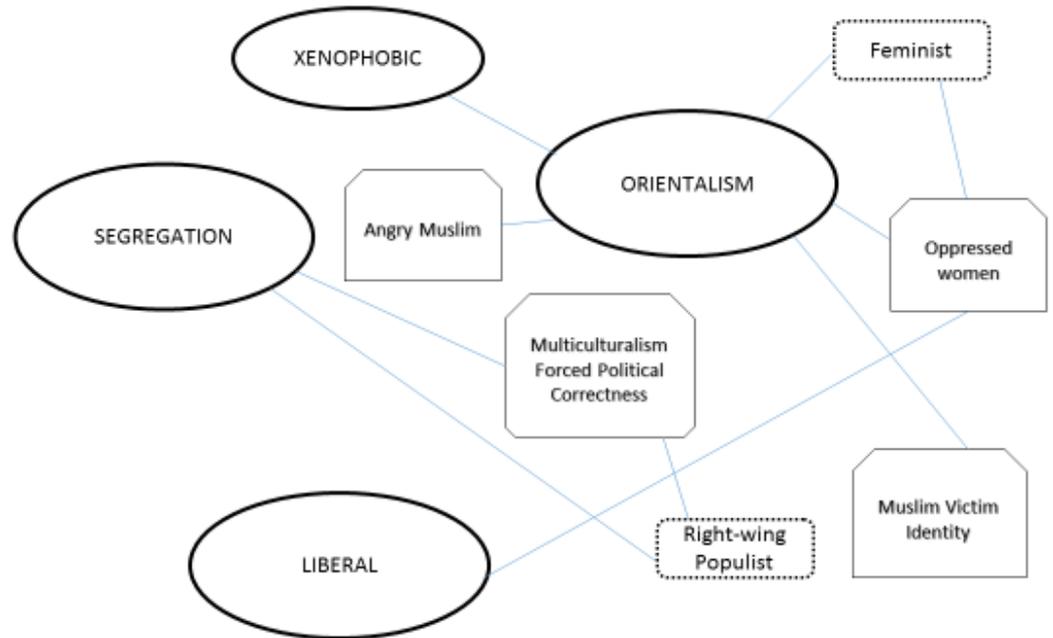


Image 7.0: Jack Straw 2006 Discourses



Articles

Thirteen articles are analysed for this cluster event. Reference to table 7.3 should be made in conjunction with the analysis.

Article Key

<i>Number</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
1	DM1
2	G2
3	Tel3
4	G4
5	Tim5
6	DM6
7	Sun7
8	Sun8
9	Tim9
10	Sun10
11	Tel11
12	Tel12
13	DM13

Table 7.3: 2006 Jack Straw Veil Cluster Event Article Key

7.6.1 Forced Multiculturalism and Political Correctness Preventing Free Speech Frame

Within this frame, multiculturalism is viewed as 'forced' onto Britain and causing political correctness which in turn inhibits free speech. This is a frame often utilised as the backlash against multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wesserdorf, 2010).

This is part of the 'multiculturalism stifles debate' frame where it links to a 'single doctrine' or ideology used by elites that prevent freedom of speech.

The Sun uses banal nationalism to connote that multiculturalism has been 'forced' onto the British people;

"FOR years we have been force-fed the notion that we must be multicultural and multi-faithed." (Sun7)

This metaphor of 'force-fed' conjures an aggressive, domineering idea whereby the general public has no choice but to conform to this idea. This is in contrast to 'British values' which are not framed as multicultural as the text continues;

"But what about British values?" (Sun7)

"it is time to put our own first" (Sun7)

This frames multiculturalism as downplaying values within Britain and that 'multicultural' does not equate to being British. The linking of national identity discourse and multicultural discourse is effective in normalising the right-wing populist discourse that multiculturalism and the elite who 'brought' multiculturalism to Britain is not good for Britain.

7.6.1.2 Political Correctness

In *The Daily Mail* multiculturalism is linked to political correctness and the framed limitation of free speech. This framing is dominant in DM1 with the headline;

"Whatever happened to free speech Britain?" (DM1)

This is repeated further in the article after the lines;

"After nine years of relentless political correctness it will take more than speeches and statements to undo the damage." (DM1)

Similar to the forced multiculturalism framing of Sun7 resulting in a lack of national identity, DM1 use the limits of free speech caused by multiculturalism as a national identity marker. The framing indicates that limits on free speech equate to limits on national identity. Furthermore, DM1 use common-sense framing similar to right-wing populist discourse when it states;

“Communities Secretary Ruth Kelly admits to the blindingly obvious” (DM1)

The ‘blindingly obvious’ is a need to examine whether multiculturalism brings communities together. The metaphor indicates that DM1 already knew the answer, that it does not. This is indicative of populist discourse of having prior knowledge of an issue or predicting the outcome of an issue.

7.6.1.3 Causing Segregation

The Telegraph and *The Guardian* frame the veil as creating ‘separatism’;

“which the philosophy of multi-culturalism promoted” (Tel11)

“conclusion was inescapable: integration, rather than multi-cultural separatism.” (Tel 11)

The Telegraph additionally frames multiculturalism as promoting separatism.

This is further reinforced by quoting David Davis (shadow home secretary) that ‘minority groups’ have been allowed to;

“withdraw into cultural isolation” (Tel11)

A quote from Tony Blair, (previous prime minister of Labour who introduced multicultural policies) that there was a need for a ‘balance between integration and multiculturalism’, is used in the article. *The Telegraph* criticise this statement that multiculturalism is ‘antithetical to integration’ therefore a ‘logical impossibility’. This is further legitimisation that multiculturalism has caused segregation, through a logical discourse whereby the overall veil debate is situated in the story of a shifting opinion on multiculturalism by the Left.

The Guardian focuses on the veil and ‘rejection’ of British culture and integration;

“It is at some level a rejection...And since that statement of rejection comes from within Islamic cultures, some of whose willingness to integrate is explicitly at issue in more serious ways.” (G2)

“seems to say, I do not wish to engage with you.” (G2)

“In a society like ours...there is no recent equivalent of an explicit self-separation of this kind” (G2)

G4 uses several quotes from Jack Straw; however, the text producer utilises additional words not quoted by Straw such as;

“more profound was his fear that the increasing use of the full veil was “a visible statement of separation and difference”” (G4)

The original quotes and statements by Straw do not state ‘fear’ indicating this as an ideological input from the text producer, i.e. it is their ‘fear’, or interpretation that the veil is to be feared because it is a statement of separation. The veil is thus a metonym for segregation and unwillingness to be British. This focus on visible Islamic wear is linked to right-wing populism where an increasing focus on body politics (Wodak, 2015) is evident.

G4 additionally comment that there are;

“tensions surrounding multiculturalism” (G4)

These tensions are not specified but intertextual reference to the Iraq War is made where it is stated they ‘do not all stem from that war’.

The Sun use Conservative ideology as a solution for segregation where a focus on authority is evident;

“It is the acceptance of “the rules” that makes any society function. It holds people together and provides the glue for social cohesion.” (Sun8)

The metaphor of ‘rules or authority being the ‘glue’, or the foundation of social cohesion frames the Conservative ideology as essential in preventing segregation. The conclusion is acceptance of ‘rules’, i.e. of being ‘British’ means not wearing a veil and diminishing physical difference.

The Telegraph utilises phrases such as “gulf between us”, that Muslims “can never conform to our ways” (Tel 12) and use race to differentiate Muslims from British;

“if Britain is to succeed in absorbing diverse peoples, ethnic minorities must accept the mores of their adopted country.” (Tel 11)

In this example, Muslims are referred to as 'ethnic minorities' and "immigrants" because they must integrate into their 'adopted country'. Difference is also explicit in *The Sun* with the national identity of Britain potentially at risk from not voicing opinion on the veil and its effect on segregation;

"And what will go is our sense of belonging, our identity and our willingness to whole-heartedly welcome difference and diversity." (Sun8)

National identity of Britain is at risk because there is no attempt to discuss topics because it may;

"lead to real upset" (Sun8)

Regarding the restriction of speech because of fear of upsetting or offending Muslims, frames it as a threat to national identity and reference to Muslims being over-sensitive.

7.6.2 Orientalism

Muslims are represented through an Orientalism discourse where DM1 uses the Angry Muslim frame;

"Many of his constituents in Blackburn are vociferous in their dismay" (DM1)

"The Muslim Public Affairs Committee attacks his 'headline-grabbing'" (DM1)

"this particular minefield" (Tel3)

The words 'vociferous' and 'attacks' are metaphors of force framing Muslims as angry and potentially aggressive. The text producer could have used different words such as 'adamant' and 'criticises', which would result in a different representation. Furthermore, Tel3 metaphor of the topic being a minefield or a topic likely to cause extreme reaction is further reference to the Angry Muslim frame.

The Guardian, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* also use anger/feelings within an Orientalism discourse;

“the veil could become a lightning rod for angrier and more aggressive feelings.” (G2)

“has touched a raw nerve” (Tel3) (Straw’s comments)

“RUSHDIE provoked new anger from Britain's Muslim community yesterday” (Tim9)

The focus on feelings which are ‘aggressive’ and ‘raw’ from the papers is similar to DM1 choice of words such as ‘attack’ to describe how Muslims are reacting which in turn creates an Orientalist image of an angry Muslim. *The Times* homogenise Muslims as one ‘community’, essentializing the issue as affecting all Muslims, representing all Muslims feelings, when some may be neutral or in agreement.

The Telegraph uses Orientalist discourse to refer to the veil as ‘an exotic import’ and;

“this country has happily assimilated the exotic for centuries”
(Tel 3)

The Telegraph uses the veil as a metonym for ‘the exotic’ different from ‘this country’ referring implicitly to colonialism.

7.6.3 Xenophobic

The Telegraph and *The Sun* both use explicit xenophobic discourse to legitimise and create a representation of the veil being non-British;

“It's whether people feel they are experiencing an alien culture in their community.” (Sun8)

“Many non-Muslims find these veils a little unsettling.” (Sun8)

“It is time to put our own first and expect newcomers to respect us before being granted the same privilege.” (Sun 7)

“Non-Muslims have to deal with women wearing a veil, so why shouldn't their feelings be taken into consideration?” (Tim5)

This discourse is explicit xenophobia and is part of the wider Orientalist discourse of fear and essentialising of the Other. It is explicit in the tabloid *The Sun* and centre-right *The Times*, with *The Times* focusing on a more right-wing populist stance of non-Muslims (i.e. British 'feelings' not being considered).

7.6.4 Feminist

This discourse is linked to the Orientalist discourse and used by newspapers to legitimise and justify the Orientalist discourse. *The Times* focuses on the veil which;

“is a symbol of the subjugation by men of their wives and daughters” (Tim5)

“restricts women” (Tim5)

“that is not a freely made choice” (Tim5)

“The battle against the veil had been "a long and continuing battle against the limitation of women" (Tim9)

The focus on oppression and restriction of the veil is extended into violence towards women and children;

“they are kept down by the threat of violence.” (Tim5)

“domestic violence, forced marriages, sexual abuse and child abuse that are rife in the Muslim community” (Tim5)

Within this article, a Star System member who is also used in the 2005 Sleepwalking into Segregation cluster event, is used in this cluster event and her background is stated to legitimise the discourse. See chapter eight for expansion and discussion on the Star System. Using neoliberal narrative Saira Khan cites her background growing up with immigrant parents, who believed it important that Khan would 'fit in' (be integrated), as a way to 'speak' to Muslims that 'they' have issues which must be tackled, and these issues are preventing their integration into British society. Khan further outlines in the headline for Tim5 that;

“Muslim women should thank Straw” (Tim5)

These examples reiterate with Christiansen (2009) that female Muslims are represented as repressed. Again, Khan is used as a Star System member to legitimise an Orientalist frame of Muslim women as living under oppressive men who are abusive and violent; this conforms to Razack’s (2008) finding that Muslim men are represented as dangerous.

This is also what *The Guardian* (G4) outlines when it uses feminist discourse to defend Jack Straw, whereas G2 uses the discourse to highlight that some women who wear the veil do it as part of a feminist ‘statement’;

“Mr Straw is no less on such a woman's side than those who defend her choice” (G4)

“Don't assume, for instance, that the veiling of Muslim women is merely a sign of repressive oriental patriarchy until you have talked to women who wear the veil as something close to a feminist statement.” (G2)

The niqab is additionally reference as a barrier to integration for women;

“The niqab may bring benefits but for a wearer there may be costs too in terms of contributing to and advancing in society.” (G4)

The niqab is framed as not being part of a society that can ‘advance’, implicitly referencing the veil as something from another time that is not of the 21st Century.

7.6.5 Liberal

The use of liberal discourse by *The Guardian* (G2) functions as a counter-discourse to the feminist discourse frame of the veil oppressing women, although G2 does state that it is a marker of separation. Liberalism and the freedoms within this discourse are used as national cue;

“country of freedoms and that there is no law against wearing a veil, which is correct” (G2)

G2 uses freedom to frame the need for ‘both’ sides, Muslims and non-Muslims to ‘listen’;

“Muslims should listen to the reasoned objections to the veil from people such as Straw, in the interests of community” (G2)

“non-Muslims should also listen much more self-critically to the deep moral concerns among Muslims about western hedonism, immodesty and licentiousness.” (G2)

This discourse, although used to demonstrate that freedom in the UK should be used to allow people to wear what they like and discuss and debate issues, it nevertheless creates a binary opposition of Muslims and non-Muslims. Non-Muslims are framed as part of Western society, whereas Muslims are not and are homogenized as one community or ‘the community’. It fails to include Muslim ‘voices’ and establishes an idea that pluralism of opinion does not exist for Muslims. Thus, it contains Muslim representation as homogenous.

G4 use liberal discourse to frame the ‘issue’ of veil wearing as a wider issue of extremism;

“If a fear of extremism, from all sides, is allowed to suppress open thought then liberalism and tolerance will be the ultimate victims.” (G4)

This is not a counter-discourse like G2, but a further cue of the ideological input from the text producer positioning Jack Straw as ‘fearful’ of the implications behind the veil, despite Straw never stating this. In this framing, the veil is a metonym for extremism and a potential gateway to limiting liberal values or British values.

7.6.6 Muslim Victimhood Identity Frame

The Muslim Victimhood Identity frame is used explicitly by *The Sun* framing Muslims as ‘celebrating’ their ‘victimhood’ which they must ‘cease’ ‘for all of us’ (Sun10). The banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) use of the word ‘us’ is populist reference to the British people, confirmed with the conversationalised language used such as ‘mate’ and ‘put a sock in it’. The use of conversationalized discourse has populist connotations and as Fowler (1991) outlines, functions to ‘naturalize’ and normalise the debate within the discourse in this instance that Muslims project a Victimhood Identity.

The Telegraph, however, focus' on offence and the 'serious offence' of "offensive words about the Prophet or the Koran" in Islam and the idea that 'they' (Muslims) will not integrate into British society;

"It is vain to say: "Well, if they come here, they must conform with British society and its easy ways." Muslims will not do that." (Tel12)

Essentialism is used, implicitly, to frame all Muslims as not integrating because of lack of 'conformity' with British society. However, is implicit cue of lack of integration. The lack of integration frames Muslims as non-British living in the UK, when many Muslims in the UK in 2006 were British.

7.6.7 Conclusion: Jack Straw

Muslims are in all newspapers homogenized as part of one Muslim community and different from the British community. *The Guardian* frames this binary opposition whilst utilising liberal discourse to outline Britain as tolerant and free to debate issues which are required to be 'listened' to by the Muslim community. The remaining newspapers: *The Times*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph* all frame Muslims through an Orientalist discourse whereby the veil has become a metonym for multiculturalism, extremism, non-integration and which in turn has become a further metonym for oppression of women.

The veil and multiculturalism are framed in combination as creating segregation and in some texts such as *The Guardian* wider issues are linked to the veil such as extremism, similar to the linking of non-integration and extremism evident in the previous cluster events. In several newspapers such as *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Times* and *The Telegraph* Muslims are framed as requiring to prove they are integrated or working towards integration, with a focus on British values.

The focus on the nation's values was also evident in the Muhammad Crisis II 2006 to create an image of threat to Danish identity and a division between Muslims and Danes through a binary opposition of values.

7.7 Muhammad Crisis II 2006

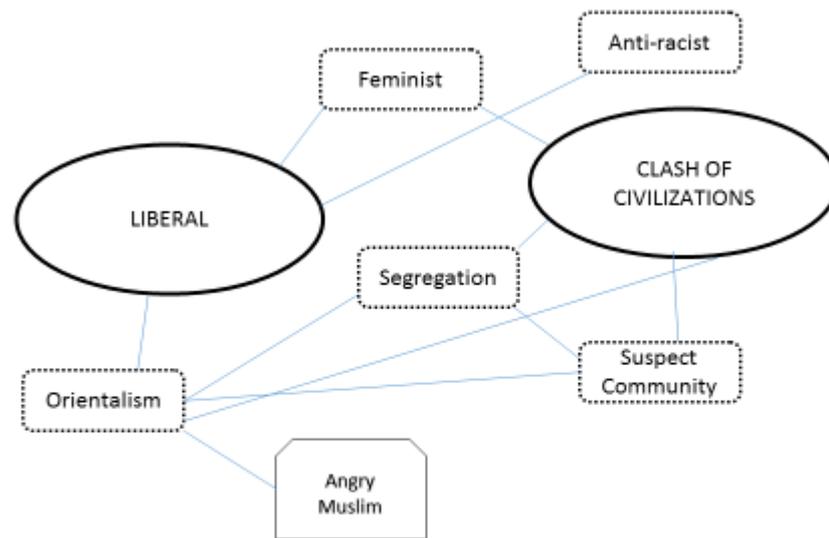


Image 8.0: Muhammad Crisis II 2006 Discourses



Articles Summary

Fifteen articles are analysed. Reference to texts discussed should be referred to in the key in table 7.4.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
1	P1
2	EB2
3	JP3
4	EB4
5	Ber5
6	P6
7	JP7
8	Ber8
9	P9
10	P10
11	Ber11
12	BT12
13	JP13
14	JP14
15	BT15

Table 7.4: 2006 Muhammad Cartoon Crisis Cluster Event Article Key

7.7.1 Liberal

Liberal discourse is used to focus on a variety of topics such as freedom of speech represented as a key part of Danish society potentially under threat from “immigrants” cue for Muslims. Equality and tolerance are used to frame Denmark positively and Muslims negatively. Within this discourse, freedom of speech is

banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) a cue for national identity with the Grundtvig nationalism argument of a nation under threat from an Other. *Berlingske* focus on 'Danish' freedom of speech;

"is under threat" (Ber5)

"Our free word is our inalienable right" (Ber5)

"It is our existence as a free nation that is at stake" (Ber5)

Ber5 use the right of the 'nation' or Denmark and Danes as being under threat. The phrases 'inalienable right' and 'at stake' are used in opposition to;

"some Muslims, also in this country, that fundamentally think differently than us" (Ber5)

This different 'thinking' is what is putting threat onto 'freedom of speech' and by extension it is a threat to Denmark as a nation. The presentation of Danish freedom of speech under threat, frames the debate within a cultural incompatibility argument which functions within a Clash of Civilizations discourse.

Jyllands-Posten also focus on the threat to freedom of speech, but are more explicit that it is under threat by Islam in Europe;

"It is a 'fight' to keep freedom of speech to prevent Islaminisation of Europe" (JP7)

In this headline, the solution to prevent Islaminisation of Europe is the fight to 'keep' freedom of speech. Two discourses are present; the dominant populist discourse that Europe is being taken over or 'Islaminised' (Betz, 2013) and utilising of liberal discourse of freedom of speech as justification of the anti-Muslim stance in the headline. This headline is supported by intertextual reference to Charles Martel who fought against Arabs who were trying to conquer France. The text states the only reason it was not conquered was because he defeated them in battle. This reference recontextualises the event as a continuous battle between Europe and Muslims. This is in contrast to *Politiken* who state;

"It is important that we protect our institutions and rights." (P1)

The framing of 'protecting' 'our' rights is similar to the image created by JP7. However, unlike JP7, P1 are not explicit and additionally, the words 'fight' and

'protect' are both reactionary but of different contexts such as the paternal/masculine 'fight' and maternal/feminine 'protect'. This does not negate that there is a need to take action for 'our...rights', but it is more subtle. Additionally, there is no clear point made who 'we' must protect our rights from, but it could be argued that because of the context of the story the reader will conclude it is Muslims.

The article continues to frame the need for Denmark to be 'proud and not apologise' and that if an apology is made it will 'begin' the;

"Islamisation of Europe." (JP7)

"The West is the source for liberating ideas such as personal freedom, political democracy, safety, human rights and cultural freedom." (JP7)

The last sentence is used after stating that an apology for the cartoons will result in the beginning of European Islamification. By listing the 'liberating ideas' in the West the author foregrounds what is at risk by apologising and focuses on the 'fight'. This is implied as a fight between Muslims and the West, therefore additionally utilising a Clash of Civilizations discourse.

The highlighting of difference between Denmark and Muslims is also evident in *Berlingske*;

"the immigrant environments where the vision of women is light years from ideals in a modern, enlightened society." (Ber11)

Ber11 discusses Naser Khader, a former radio host, turned MP who, at the time of the cluster event, was a member of the Danish Social Liberal Party. He is framed as someone who should be listened to, he is portrayed as a 'threat' to imams and has taken a stance against 'halal hippies'. In this way he is framed within a populist discourse, 'halal hippies' is a term used in a populist sense - they are the elite, who limit freedom of speech, who have turned Denmark multicultural (Boe & Hervik in Eide, Kunelius & Philips, 2008). He is framed as a politician of immigrant Muslim background who is speaking out and expressing 'critique' towards the immigrant 'environment'. Khader is utilised as part of the Star System, his background is foregrounded in the text to legitimise the discourse of taking a stance against elites and Muslims who do not hold a Danish 'enlightened'

view. He is hailed as someone who could potentially shift the 'centre of gravity' or could change how integration and foreigners are debated in Denmark.

Ekstra Bladet also focuses on freedom of speech and frame Muslims as not capable of understanding it;

"Muslim Freedom of Speech" (EB2)

"It is first and foremost a guarantee that every single citizen can say what he or she thinks." (EB2)

The headline 'Muslim freedom of speech' is used as contradiction/irony and part of the overall idea of the text that the Muslim world and Muslims in general do not understand the concept of freedom of speech. This is used to represent the cluster event as a misunderstanding from Muslims, who months after the cartoons were published, 'still' do not understand that the issue is about freedom of speech and not offence. This represents Danes as part of a liberal ideal of embracing freedom of speech and Muslims as a whole as not being part of this. The second extract is important because it outlines what freedom of speech is or the ideal of freedom of speech – if it is a Danish right why is it necessary to state its meaning? This is to reinforce that some people in Denmark – Muslims – do not understand freedom of speech. *Politiken* also highlight that because Muslims are requesting an apology they do not understand "the constitution" (P10), which means they do not understand what it means to be Danish.

BT focus on the negative international press on Denmark and present arguments to frame Denmark as tolerant;

"Danes belong to Europe's most tolerant people in regards to immigrants from foreign cultures" (BT12)

"Denmark is markedly more positive than other Europeans in thoughts on giving immigrants religious and political rights" (BT12)

"accepting of relatives marrying immigrants." (BT12)

Within this liberal discourse Denmark is viewed as welcoming towards "immigrants" and 'most tolerant', 'more positive' and 'accepting' in comparison to the rest of Europe 'judging' Denmark's reaction and lack of apology to Muslims over the cartoons. The text does not state that not all Muslims in Denmark are

immigrants but frames the issue as Danes being portrayed as offending and intolerant, as incorrect.

7.7.2 Anti-Racist Discourse

As explained the liberal discourse is often used as a means to emphasise differences between Muslims and Danes. The anti-racist discourse is a counter discourse discursively linked to emphasise liberalism as a form of embracing and accepting Muslims in Denmark. Within the anti-racist discourse, used by two *Politiken* articles, both articles are written by people of an ethnic minority, who use neoliberal narrative framing the story from personal experience and focusing on the hypocrisy of the arguments presented to justify not apologising over to Middle Eastern diplomats for the cartoons.

P6 focus on *Jyllands-Posten's* claim of targeting "some Muslims" who are against freedom of speech, but the cartoons affected all Muslims "on purpose". Freedom of speech is framed as a claim used to highlight that it is;

"the white man's freedom of speech" (P6)

The text frames the event as justification to commit discriminatory acts against Muslims. This is utilised by presenting events happening to Muslims in Denmark because of the publication of the cartoons;

"Muslims are followed in the streets with words and force. Muslim shops and clubs are subject to vandalism. Muslims are represented in the press as uncivilised and unhappy if they are not terrorists." (P6)

"Islamophobia is increasing." (P6)

"Islamophobic atmosphere in Denmark" (P10)

"link these cartoons with integration of minorities" (P10)

"problems of racism are blamed as ethnic minorities own problem" (P6)

The use of anaphora through the repetition of the word 'Muslim' at the beginning of the three sentences functions to persuade the reader that Muslims are targeted in Denmark and that Islamophobia is evident in Denmark. This frames the cartoon publication as targeting Muslims and part of the wider issue of Islamophobia in

Denmark, which Danes are not realising because they must “swallow the camels” (P6) - a Danish idiom to compromise and think about what is really happening. Both texts frame Muslims as an ‘ethnic minority’ who are not given the same freedom of speech as white Danes. Thus, framing Muslims as non-white and potentially non-Danish. The utilising of authors who are from a Muslim and/or Muslim immigrant background does not mean they are members of the Star System. A presentation of the problem with racism in Denmark negates these authors as being Star System members as they are not presenting a dominant discourse negatively representing Muslims. Nevertheless, although a counter-discourse is presented, racial elements are invoked in that Muslims are framed as non-white and potentially non-Danish.

7.7.3 Feminist Discourse

Focus on the treatment of women is used to represent Muslims as different from Danes. *Berlingske* and *Jyllands-Posten* use this discourse in similar ways. *Berlingske* highlight the “immigrant environment” as;

“having ideas of women that lies far from the ideals of a modern, enlightened society” (Ber11)

“They are obsessed with belief and middle-aged tradition which one should distance from” (Ber8)

“it is the West that has lifted women’s status” (JP7)

“those societies (Arab) force their women into underclasses.” (JP7)

The example from Ber8 is a quote by Sherin Khankan female chair for Forum of Critical Muslims about the imams who travelled to the Middle East with the cartoons, in this respect the focus is not on all Muslims but the imams. The use of the phrase “middle-aged tradition” functions within an Orientalist discourse of a static Muslim stuck in the Middle Ages and reinforces a representation of ‘backwards’ Muslims even if it is just imams that are referred to, because it highlights the influence imams have over all Muslims in Denmark.

7.7.4 Clash of Civilizations Discourse

Within the Clash of Civilizations discourse several discursive strands are used by at least one text in all newspapers. The focus is on imams and Muslims living in Denmark, although there are attempts to differentiate between some Muslims, the framing is that they have 'chosen' to live in a Western culture, not that they were born in a Western culture. Therefore, all Muslims are framed as immigrants.

Berlingske focus on 'values' and the difference between Danes and Muslims;

"there are people who have a fundamentally different worldview than us."
(Ber5)

"Our values are different. Our people's strength, our world view has roots in Christianity, regardless of whether one is a believer or not." (Ber5)

"We must have a dialogue with them – without the imams, who want the opposite, who want to fight democracy...who want to create a parallel society." (Ber5)

These examples outline that imams are framed as having a hold over Muslims in Denmark and they are preventing a 'dialogue', are against Denmark (framed as 'democracy') and want a parallel society, part of a segregation discourse, which in Denmark is viewed as the source of non-integration. Therefore, the imams who are 'fundamentally different' are an obstacle to integration because they have power over Muslims in Denmark. This framing of imams controlling Muslims is also used in *Ekstra Bladet*;

"Many were willing to talk but were stopped by representatives of the religious powers" (EB2)

"Their religious leaders do what they can to stop them from speaking" (EB2)

Even though there is an attempt to portray Muslims in Denmark as 'Danish Muslims' in EB2, they are under control of religious heads even in Denmark. This focus of Muslims under control is similar to the 2005 London bombings cluster event and strives to contain representation within Orientalist framing that Muslims need help from their oppressors (imams/elders).

When reporters try to approach Muslims at Friday prayer they seem willing but are 'stopped' by religious leaders (presumed imams). They are prevented from

speaking. This links to the Western liberal discourse of freedom of speech and the text is headlined 'Muslim Freedom of Speech'. It implies that there is only one Muslim freedom of speech which is the speech of the leaders not 'everyday' Muslims.

Jyllands-Posten focus on the effect of the 'culture clash' between Danes and Muslims in Denmark;

"Us Danes, because of this action, have become a people in chains in our own country" (JP14)

"We are in a religious war or a culture clash" (JP14)

The 'action' is the imams travelling to the Middle East to distribute the *Jyllands-Posten* cartoons and calling for Denmark to apologise to Muslims. The metaphor of 'people in chains' and the headline 'Culture Clash' (JP14) is explicit populist rhetoric that Islam is taking over Denmark and has left the Danish people in 'chains', it is affecting all Danes and Islam is restricting, by force, Danish people. *Politiken* also outline the cluster event as a 'culture clash' by using comments from Hirsi Ali who;

"is in no doubt of the perspective on the culture clash" (P1)

This is the first sentence in P1 and outlines the overall ideology of the text that there is a culture clash between Denmark, Europe and the Arab world which has been caused by;

"some Danish Muslims who are closely related to the Arabic world" (P1)

The clash is also an;

"expression of the crisis between Islam and the West" (P1)

It is explained the context to the 'clash' has developed because of the political and economic background of the Middle East although further explanation is not offered but creates an image of a hostile Arab world and that this hostility is being brought to Denmark. However, it is also implied the hostility has been brought to Europe overall and this is framed by intertextual reference to the Rushdie fatwa, murder of Theo van Gogh and media coverage in several European countries. The reader is left to establish how this hostility has arrived in Denmark and it is implied that it is by "Muslim immigration". This relates to Dagistanli & Grewal (2012)

theory that a moral panic on Muslims and Muslim immigration is evident in Europe and this has contributed to and is influenced by the rise of right-wing populism (Wodak, 2015).

BT also use the Star System to focus on Naser Khader who is portrayed as someone 'fighting' for Danish values of democracy (and receiving death threats), it is his 'life project' his 'story' is outlined through neoliberal discourse and it is framed that his mother is not happy about the situation and that she wants to support her son;

"But she is also Muslim" (BT15)

This quote from Khader's brother implies that because the mother is also Muslim she does not fully support Naser's stance on democracy. This is a quote, however, the nature of quotes within news stories means text producers often focus on smaller aspects of excerpts from interviews and *BT* made an editorial decision to include this quote, thus ideology is present. This positions in power relations (Fairclough, 1989) Muslims or the Muslim quoted as demonstrating that Muslims do not support democracy, although it is a quote and therefore presented as giving a 'voice' to Muslims, it is small and may have been taken out of context. This frames Muslims as not agreeing with *Jyllands-Posten* cartoons and the focus on protecting democracy.

7.7.4.1 Segregation Discourse

A discursive strand and additional discourse linking to the Clash of Civilizations discourse is a segregation discourse. As highlighted in the previous section Ber5 use the discourse as do *Jyllands-Posten* which focuses on ghettos;

"Muslims behave in the same way some people in ghettos in other places do with macho-attitudes and missing solidarity towards the surrounding society." (JP13)

This outlines the ghetto as both physical and mental, cut off from surrounding society. The ghetto is the location of segregation and identifier of non-integration and there is a similar finding in 2005 London Bombings and 2005 Sleepwalking into Segregation cluster event. The description of 'macho' emphasises the

difference between Muslims and Danes because 'macho' is represented as negative and implies lack of gender equality, which, because of the social context of Denmark valuing gender equality is thus non-Danish (Rytter, 2010).

The segregation discourse also uses silence or lack of speaking up about issues of integration as contributing to segregation. *Berlingske* focus on quotes from Naser Khader, used as a Star System member, who set up a network called Moderate Muslims to counter-act the imams' actions. He is quoted as stating imams do not;

"talk about integration and loyalty for Denmark and democracy." (Ber8)

"Them we see on TV now talk more about guarding against Danish influence." (Ber8)

"Problem is many of them often remain silent." (Ber8)

Several quotes from Khader are used to justify framing Muslims as part of a segregation discourse. Khader is framed as working towards preventing imams from influencing Muslims further from not integrating with Denmark. The last extract focuses on the 100 imams in Denmark. Not all imams are like this but that they remain 'silent'.

JP13 use a discursive strand of education as the solution to segregation portrayed as non-integration;

"immigrants themselves must do more to integrate." (JP13)

"ethnic Danes and immigrants must both realise integration is a social problem" (JP13)

"education is the solution." (JP13)

"immigrants...must lead their children into an education." (JP13)

The extracts above are direct and indirect quotes from an anthropologist from Aarhus University. His expert knowledge is used to legitimise the discourse that Muslims have a responsibility to integrate and by extension the reaction to the cartoons is a demonstration of non-integration. The solution of education is provided with an example that 'many Muslim immigrants' have given their children an education, they 'understand' the need to socialise rather than 'distance from

society' (JP13). However, there is only one instance where the word 'some' is used before Muslim, the other quotes group all Muslims as one.

7.7.5 Orientalism Discourse

The Orientalism discourse is used by *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*, with both newspapers focusing on 'angry' Muslims. *Politiken* frame angry reaction about the cartoons from Muslims as being too 'delicate';

"all in the world are against Muslims" (P10)

"they are angry" (P10)

The framing is that Muslims believe everyone is against them therefore a Muslim Victimhood Identity frame is used. The text uses the word 'because' four times, the rhetorical device of anaphora, to demonstrate many reasons Muslims believe the world is against them. However, it is used to show that Muslims will always find some reasons the world is against them. This is highlighted with the rhetorical questions;

"Are they not a little sensitive? Do they not come from countries where things are happening that are more important than a few cartoons?" (P10)

P1 also cite that a "big and growing minority of Muslims" are "sensitive" over the cartoons of Muhammad. Anger is also used as part of Orientalist discourse in *Jyllands-Posten*;

"The Danish prime minister has no need to atone the angry Muslims because their anger links with the fact that we are not and will not be Muslims." (JP14)

The repetition of the word 'angry' emphasises the main framing in JP14 which is the right-wing populist framing of fear of Islamification of Europe by 'Oriental' Muslims. *Jyllands-Posten* frame Islam as from the 'Middle Ages' (JP7) as does *Berlingske* "Middle Ages tradition" (Ber8).

7.7.6 Suspect Discourse

Within this discourse the imams are framed as untrustworthy. *Berlingske, Ekstra Bladet* and *Jyllands-posten* use this discourse with *Berlingske* using indirect quotes from Naser Khader and Fatih Alev (a Danish imam who has written for *Politiken*) that many imams try to speak to the media;

“not for the sake of integration but for money and influence.” (Ber8)

This money comes from organisations in Arabic countries. It is implied that many imams, especially imams in the media are not to be trusted and that they are not focusing on the well-being of Danish society and therefore suspect. *Ekstra Bladet* also use this theme of trust during an interview with an imam that talking to him is;

“like sitting in a carousel with closed eyes.” (EB4)

“The truth plus VAT” (EB4)

The first example is a metaphor for the imam not telling the truth, he is ‘spinning’ the story with eyes closed another metaphor for not telling or refusing to tell the truth. The second example is the heading for a paragraph in the text which implies that you cannot trust the imam. JP3 also use the idiom of “talking with two tongues” to connote that imams ‘living here’ are not telling the truth, they are not to be trusted. This idiom is supported with an example of an imam stating in Denmark that he will ‘work’ towards better integration, however, examples of people within the Confederation of Danish Industry being ‘duped’ by Laban’s charms frames him as a liar. This suspect community discourse is different from how the discourse has been used in the UK cluster events; 2005 London Bombings, 2005 Sleepwalking into Segregation and 2006 Jack Straw comments in that it is imams who are suspect and not all Muslims. However, this can be explained because the focus of the 2006 Muhammad Crisis were imams who had travelled to the Middle East with the published cartoons and some that were fake.

7.7.7 Conclusion: Muhammad Crisis II

In the majority of the texts Muslims are framed as ‘Muslim immigrants’ and/or non-integrated. By utilising a Clash of Civilizations and Orientalist discourse most

of the texts use the discourse for positive self-presentation of 'enlightened' and 'modern' Denmark and West which strives for gender equality and freedom of speech. Danish values are framed, through populist discourse and framing arguments as within a liberal discourse, as under threat by Muslims who do not understand or are 'angry' that Danes are not Muslims. In texts where Muslims are not represented as the same as imams who do not support integration, they are presented as under control by imams and not free to speak their opinions. Quotes by Naser Khader are used by several texts to legitimise the negative discourses on Muslims because Khader himself is represented as an immigrant with Muslim background. Thus, he functions as part of the Star System (Gullestad, 2006). Although, there are attempts of a counter-discourse it nevertheless racialises Muslims conforming to right-wing populist framings and discourse of Muslims as the racial and cultural Other (Silverstein, 2005).

The focus on Islamic control is also utilised in the Asmaa 2007 cluster event, where the hijab and gender specific hand-shaking are highlighted as non-Danish.

7.8 Asmaa 2007

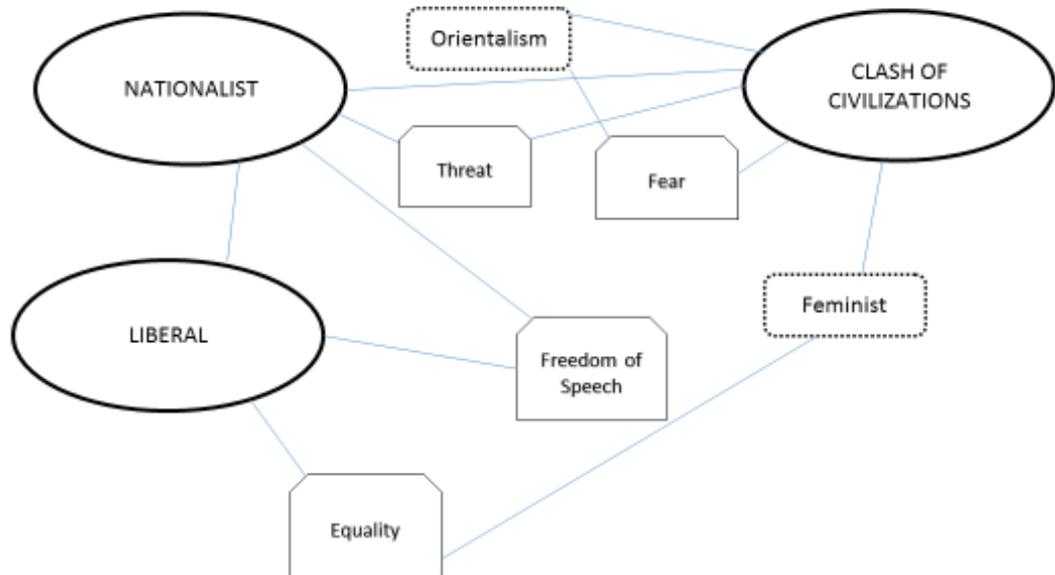


Image 9.0: Asmaa 2007 Discourses



Articles

Eight articles are analysed and the following key, table 7.5, should be used in conjunction with presented findings:

<i>Number</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
1	BT1
2	Ber2
3	JP3
4	P4
5	P5
6	JP6
7	Ber7
8	Ber8

Table 7.5: Asmaa 2007 Cluster Event Article Key

7.8.1 Nationalist Discourse

This discourse focuses on the nation and Danish values and is predominantly used in a fear frame – fear of Islamification of Denmark and links to a Clash of Civilizations discourse. It is used by *Berlingske*, *BT* and *Jyllands-Posten* to exemplify negatively how Asmaa is different from Denmark. *Berlingske* outline that Asmaa is not part of traditional Denmark;

“In Denmark we shake hands – but not Asmaa Abdol-Hamid.” (Ber7)

“Asmaa does not want to be part of the tradition” (Ber7)

“Asmaa is now in Denmark and she should naturally shake hands. Observe customs or leave the country.” (Ber8)

These two examples are provided after intertextual reference to how different countries greet people and abiding by customs when visiting a country. This

frames Asmaa as non-integrated, because she does not shake hands and non-Danish because she “does not want” to abide by Danish traditions where shaking hands is ‘natural’. The notion of ‘tradition’ is used to de-mark Asmaa as non-Danish, this is in line with Grundtvig ‘Danishness’ whereby tradition is emphasised along with a common history uniting Danes under ‘folkelighed’ (Veninga, 2014). The last example contains a Danish idiom similar to the idiom; ‘when in Rome, do as the Romans do’. This implies that Asmaa is a ‘visitor’ and not fully part of Danish society, or rather does not want to be part of the society whilst focusing on ‘assimilation’.

BT1 use national identity and utilise the past efforts of ‘generations’ who have ‘worked’ for ‘equality and freedom’. This is part of ‘flagging’ national identity to create a nostalgic construction of Denmark and recontextualising the ‘fight’ for freedom which originally evolved from the fall of the United Monarchy rather than a fight from an enemy force (Billig, 1995). This is used to set the tone to the reader and is followed by;

“Asmaa also refuses to shake hands with male politicians.” (BT1)

“Why does Asmaa Abdol-Hamid not acknowledge that she has chosen to live in a democratic and enlightened society.” (BT1)

“Should we also accept the burka in Parliament?” (BT1)

The focus on national identity and value placed on equality and freedom is used in binary opposition to Asmaa who will not shake hands, she ‘refuses’ to, by extension refusing to conform to Danish societal values; Asmaa is the new ‘force’ which must be fought. The last example is the article headline and further focuses on difference, despite the fact that Asmaa wears a hijab - not a burqa. However, it implies that if Asmaa is voted into parliament this is what will happen, alluding to the Islamification of Denmark and politics. This link to the potential Islamification of Denmark is made explicit in *Jyllands-Posten*;

“If for the sake of neutrality we bend for the totalitarian will to gain power then we sacrifice freedom and justice in Denmark.” (JP6)

“If Islam influences legislation our freedom will be at stake.” (JP6)

“protect Denmark as the Danes home” (JP6)

The ‘totalitarian’ will is in reference to Asmaa electing to wear the hijab and the desire to enter politics. It is additionally part of a moral panic (Cohen, 2002) or

fear frame similar to *BT* that if Asmaa enters parliament Denmark is closer to 'sacrificing' freedom and the need to protect the 'Danes'/ Denmark from Asmaa, a Muslim immigrant. This is right-wing populist framing of not conforming to what alleged 'totalitarian' Muslims want.

Further support for this framing is used to represent Left leaning politicians like "Birthe Rønn Hornbech & Co.," (JP6) as 'ignorant' and an additional threat to Danes because they do not see how dangerous Islam is. Presenting Birthe Rønn Hornbech as part of a company is a populist framing of an 'industry' of elites and 'Muslim immigrant' activists who want to promote multiculturalism at the expense of the 'indigenous' (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010).

JP3 also frame politicians who 'in the name of fighting against discrimination and racism' are allowing 'cultural relativists' to 'promote' 'totalitarian' religious forces, supporting 'Islamists' 'like Asmaa Abdol-Hamid'.

Ber2 also use this framing that in this election the voters must "show their strength" against 'totalitarian Islamism' and 'fight with sources we have available' from the 'rapidly growing' Islam and this is linked to Asmaa standing for election.

7.8.2 Clash of Civilizations

This discourse was used to focus on the difference and dangers between Islam and Denmark and was utilised by *Berlingske*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*. This discourse uses right-wing populist framing of the danger Islam poses to society. *Berlingske* use quotes from Hidir Atay from the organisation Moderate Muslims to outline this frame;

"it is completely ironic that people who fled from totalitarian regimes must meet fundamentalists among Denmark's politicians." (Ber7)

"Many naïve 'old Danes' think "For goodness sake, what can a hijab do?" But the more fundamentalists we see in the public eye the more threat there is to those who believe in freedom and democracy." (Ber7)

The focus is on Muslims in Denmark and the 'example' that having hijab wearing Asmaa who does not shake hands with men would set to them. The focus on Asmaa's physical expression of her belief is highlighted within this text and the texts in the nationalism discourse. However, it is not framing all Muslims as part

of the 'clash' but rather Muslims who do not conform to Danish society, which in this cluster event is shaking hands and showing hair or non-Western conforming Muslims (Karim, 2014). Furthermore, Ber2 frames the hijab as indicator of;

"a religious and cultural symbol that does not signal integration" (Ber2)

In this framing it is the hijab and anyone wearing it that is not integrated, this could be an indicator of DPP's influence on the media as in 2004 the party proposed work restrictions on the hijab and deemed it incompatible with Danish values of gender equality (Simm & Skejeie, 2008).

Jyllands-Posten focus on Islam as a whole and the naivety of believing that Muslims can 'become Danish democrats' (JP6). Islam is framed as 'totalitarian' with the consequence being a 'jihad' or Holy War. There is a need for Denmark to;

"defend freedom and rights in Denmark in a situation where a totalitarian system such as Islam threatens not just Denmark but all of the West." (JP6)

"Islamists have also learnt to talk with two tongues in the West and calm those who are in doubt of how dangerous sharia supporters will be." (JP3)

This defence, it is implied, can be demonstrated by not voting for Asmaa. Asmaa is framed as part of a 'regime' that is not Danish, is a 'threat' and her hijab is a 'totalitarian symbol' (JP6). JP3 focus on trust using the idiom talking with two tongues (saying one thing to one person and something else to another). This implies that 'Islamists', who in the text frame Asmaa as an example of an Islamist, cannot be trusted. This is similar to the framing of untrustworthy imams in the Muhammad Crisis II 2006 cluster event. Ber8 also use trust to delegitimise Asmaa's standing for election with the headline;

"Can one trust Asmaa?" (Ber8)

This lack of trust is framed because Asmaa does not want to shake hands and links back to the dominant nationalist discourse in Ber8. Within this headline it is implied 'Danes' cannot trust Asmaa.

Politiken use the Clash of Civilization discourse differently from the other newspapers. In P5 intertextual reference of Polish migrant women wearing headscarves in the early 1900's in Denmark causing debate is used to highlight

that arguments against different clothing has been around for a long time. However, when discussing Muslims, it is framed as a 'culture war' whereby;

"The hijab wearing Muslim women are in a special class able to wind Danes up. Not just amongst those who insist Islam is a threat and are fighting for harder immigration politics." (P5)

The above example is a quote used in P5 from a sociologist Lene Kofoed Rasmussen, who is an expert in ethnic minorities and integration. The outline of Rasmussen as an expert in this area legitimises that there is a 'culture war' between Danes and Islam, whereby Muslims are not Danish.

P5 frame Asmaa as a woman who wants to 'move forward in the world' who, because she wears a hijab and wants to enter politics, is disturbing the 'white, Danish culture'. In this framing the Clash of Civilizations discourse is utilised differently from other texts. P5 use the discourse to positively represent Asmaa and highlight the issues of how Denmark views Muslims and the fear of difference. This is an example which negates Andreassen's (2014) research that all newspapers including traditionally Left leaning, were in opposition to Asmaa during this cluster event. However, it is only one example and P5 still racialize the debate by focusing on a 'white, Danish culture' against hijab wearing in parliament.

P4 use a similar framing to P5 of accepting Muslims but highlight that Muslims may not be fully integrated in Denmark because;

"Foreigners who get Danish citizenship must accept the free tone in our debate." (P4)

Therefore, although *Politiken* frame Muslims predominantly differently from the other texts, there is still reference of issues with integration.

7.8.3 Orientalist

The Clash of Civilizations discourse links to an Orientalist sub-ordinate discourse used by *BT*, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Berlingske*. This discourse frames Muslims as 'backwards' and links back to Asmaa and the hijab. It is used as further legitimisation of the dominant right-wing populist framing that Asmaa is a representation of the potential Islamification of Denmark that must be fought.

BT focus on the influence of “dark men” (idiom of negative thinking/acting people) with “Middle Ages customs” (BT1) and that they should not have a big influence or power in Danish society. Asmaa is framed as part of a Middle Age custom presented as backwards in opposition to ‘enlightened’ Denmark where equality and freedom exists. *Jyllands-Posten* focus on intertextual framing of Muslims in Europe as ‘furious’ who protest against freedom of speech. This further links to the Clash of Civilizations discourse instead of saying ‘some Muslims’ the text states ‘Muslims’, homogenising Muslims through Orientalist and Clash of Civilizations discourse as opposite from Denmark and a threat to Denmark.

Berlingske state Asmaa as ‘misusing’ (Ber7) her religion to move forward into politics, framing her as being ‘manipulative’ and further cue of an Orientalist discourse.

7.8.4 Feminist

BT, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* use feminist discourse, but in different ways. *BT* and *Jyllands-Posten* utilise the discourse to create a binary opposition between Denmark and Muslims (represented through Asmaa). *BT* frame the hijab as a ‘suppressive garment’, which women should not ‘hide behind’ and should not be used in parliament (BT1). *Jyllands-Posten* emphasise the meaning behind the hijab as a symbol of how ‘clean’ a woman is and how ‘unclean’ everyone else is. It is implied that Muslims view non-hijab wearing women or Danish women as ‘unclean’ (JP6) and differences are highlighted further in the text when the author states Asmaa would not shake his hand. This description of ‘first hand’ experience of Asmaa is used to legitimise further nationalist and right-wing populist discourses and focuses on the perceived gender inequality for Muslims (Andreassen, 2005).

JP3, like Ber7 in the Clash of Civilizations discourse, refer to Asmaa as a ‘fascist’ who is supported by the Left but is a bad example to Muslims, specifically women Muslims;

“Asmaa Abdol-Hamid represents women immigrants and helps to emphasize the forces which only harm immigrant women and their cause.”
(JP3)

“they will achieve their dream of having a monopoly over immigrant environments and everything that touches immigrants and Muslims in Europe.” (JP3)

Within this framing Muslim women are under control by ‘forces’ and this is exemplified in hijab-wearing Asmaa. These forces are intertextually referred to as being protested against in Turkey, with activists in Afghanistan and Iran working to ‘fight’ Islamists, but Denmark celebrates them by supporting Asmaa, framed as an Islamist, running for parliament. In the second example ‘they’ are the Islamists who, like previous right leaning texts, focus on ‘totalitarian’ Islam, has power and control over all Muslims. Examples of what Asmaa has said is given to demonstrate she does not believe in equality, a cue word for Denmark. The text is written by Nahid Riazi who came to Denmark as an Iranian refugee in 1989 and is a women’s rights activist. The discourse is therefore legitimised as she has fled the so called ‘totalitarian regime’ that is discussed and has first-hand knowledge and therefore able to recognise it in others, thus she is a Star System Member. The focus on Nahid Riazi as a women’s right activist highlights how the radical right parties and right-wing populist discourse has become mainstream because their rhetoric has joined ‘forces with feminists’ (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007, p.199).

Unlike *BT* and *Jyllands-Posten*, *Politiken* use feminist discourse to highlight that women can wear what they like. P5 focuses on the ‘irony’ of right leaning debates linking women’s equality with Danishness. Asmaa is represented as;

“a woman who wants to move forward in the world.” (P5)

The text continues that because she is not representing herself as oppressed but wears a headscarf it is causing ‘trouble’ in the public debate. It is indicated that ‘some women’ wear the hijab because they are pressured ‘but’ many more wear it to ‘show they are Muslim’ (P5).

7.8.5 Conclusion: Asmaa 2007

Asmaa is represented as a symbol of totalitarian Islam controlling all Muslims. This was a dominant framing within a Clash of Civilization and Nationalist discourse within all right leaning newspapers. Right-wing populist discourse is

utilised to outline the threat of Islamification of Denmark if Asmaa entered parliament. There is focus on the physical aspects of Asmaa such as her 'visible' Islamic dress and lack of shaking hands as has also been evident in Germany (Schiffaur, 2006). Feminist discourse is used by all newspapers with the right leaning texts focusing on the hijab as a barrier to gender equality and a symbol of female oppression. Whereas, *Politiken* use the discourse to represent Asmaa as a woman who is causing issues in Danish public debate because she does not conform to the stereotype of an 'oppressed' hijab wearing woman.

National identity is utilised in binary opposition to Asmaa and in some texts such as *Jyllands-Posten* and *BT* all Muslims are framed as part of the 'totalitarian' Islam which threatens 'enlightened' Danish society. The nation – Denmark and the 'Danes' are framed as non-Muslim which by default means that Muslims are all framed as 'Muslim immigrants' – is under 'threat' from Islam and it is implied that freedom and democracy must be 'fought' for by not voting for Asmaa. The linking of the hijab and totalitarian Islam is further utilised for both UK and Denmark in the Burka Ban Debate 2009/2010.

7.9 Burka Ban 2009 & 2010

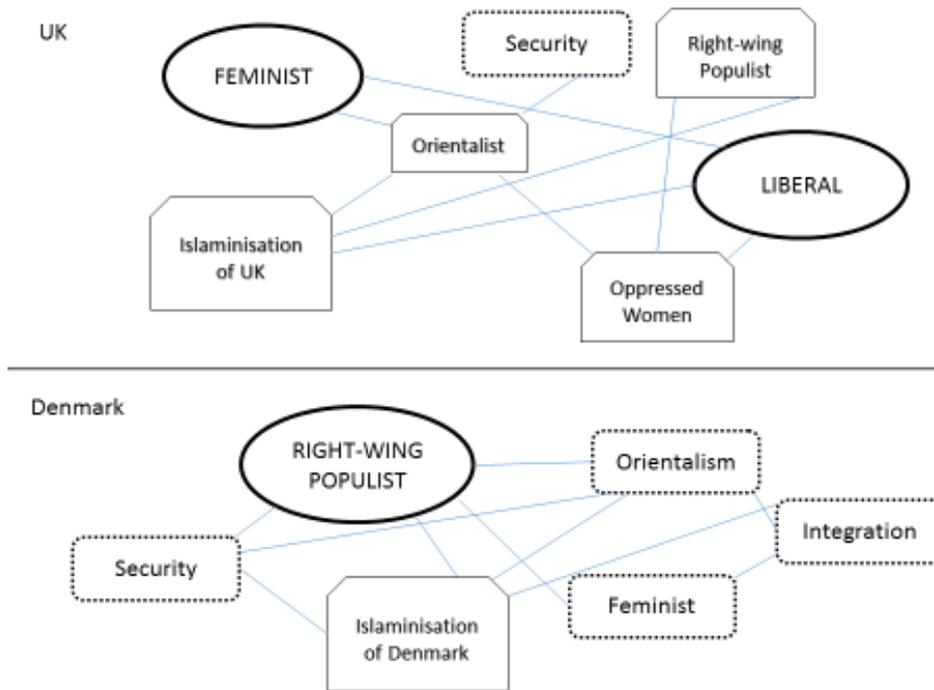


Image 10.0: Burka Ban 2009/2010 Discourses

Articles

Eight articles are analysed, including selected images from *The Daily Mail* and *Politiken*.

The following key in table 7.6 should be used in conjunction with the analysis.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Article reference</i>
1	S1
2	Tel2
3	Tim3
4	DM4
5	Ber5
6	EB6
7	P7
8	JP8

Table 7.6: 2009/2010 Burka Ban Debate Cluster Event Article Key

This cluster event presents a multi-modal critical discourse analysis. Two of the selected newspapers use images in their articles: *The Daily Mail* and *Politiken*. Each image is analysed and wider discourses used in the remaining newspapers is also incorporated; however, focus is on the images.

7.9.1 Daily Mail – Burka Ban Image 1

The Daily Mail uses two images in their article on the burka ban, one of a niqab-wearing woman and the other of Caroline Spelman.



Image 11.0: *Daily Mail* Image Layout in *Daily Mail* Article (Alibhai-Brown, 2010)

The Daily Mail uses a stock image from Alamy.com of a model wearing a niqab, see image 11.0. The image is of a light-skinned woman (possibly white) with brown eyes and brown eyebrows, in a niqab. The right side of the face is in partial shadow and thus darker; the background is blue.

The size of the image is large in comparison to the article and spans the column width (see image 11.1), with text written above and below the image.



Image 11.1: *Daily Mail* Image Layout

The model is staring straight at the reader with the focus of the image on the eyes which are the only visible aspect of the model's face. The image works with the text, which is centred in feminist liberal discourse. Framing the burka as not empowering women and inhibiting freedom.

This discourse also utilises an Orientalist framing of the oppressed woman and the image supports this. *The Daily Mail* states:

"Of course many veiled Muslim women argue that...they do so out of choice. But it is also very apparent that many women are forced behind the veil."
(DM4)

"these women do wear burkas against their will." (DM4)

“Mind control is a subtle form of compulsion.” (DM4)

In these examples, particularly the first example, the text producer attempts to frame her argument more neutrally by stating that some Muslim women are not forced to wear the veil; however, the author structures the sentence so that it is clear this argument comes from Muslim women rather than herself. Furthermore, the word ‘but’ negates what was previously stated (Van Dijk, 1992) and the words ‘very apparent’ demonstrate the author’s ideology that Muslim women are forced to wear the burka.

This ideology is further expanded with the words ‘mind control’ suggesting that Muslim women are potentially unaware they are under control; this negates the ‘argument’ some Muslim women present that they wear the burka out of choice. This is legitimised through neoliberal ‘personal experience’ framing by the author: she states she is a Muslim, so her background is used as part of the Star System to legitimise her view that the burka is oppressive.

There is duality in the image regarding the shadow on the left side of the model’s face, potentially signifying something ‘darker’ about the niqab or the wearer. This would relate to a discourse of Muslims as part of a ‘suspect community’ potentially hiding something or untrustworthy. Additionally, the duality could indicate that burka-wearing women (even though the image is a niqab-wearing woman) are kept in the dark, prevented from living within the ‘enlightened’ West.

Of importance is the gaze of the model: the model is looking directly at the reader, creating a communicative link; the reader is forced to connect with the subject. Both the gaze and use of a white woman in a niqab are important, as gaze functions in establishing “an imaginary relation with” the reader (Kress, 2006, p.89), because it functions as mirror effect, inviting the reader to position themselves as the woman in the niqab. This is reinforced with the fear discourse of Islam taking over Europe and the UK present in the DM4 article and *The Sun*.

The Sun also utilises an Orientalist discourse, describing the burka as follows:

“ugliest public symbol of oppression after settling here” (S1)

“to do with a tribal pecking order where women are second class citizens”
(S1)

“visible symbol of the male ownership” (S1)

“passive aggressive slit” (S1)

“forced to accept domestic abuse” (S1)

These examples demonstrate that the burka is framed through an Orientalist lens as part of a ‘tribe’ and a symbol of gender inequality. *The Sun* cues that the burka is not British dress by stating that people who wear it come to the UK and:

“live as if they had never left their tribal villages at all.” (S1)

“those who wear the burka are already defying that tolerance and respect.”
(S1)

“MOST non-Muslims – and many who actively follow Islam – find the burka offensive if not downright insulting, in 21st Century Britain.” (S1)

These examples frame all burka-wearing Muslim women as non-British. However, there is no data to support this. The word ‘tolerance’ is used to cue national identity of British being tolerant. Therefore, the wearing of the burka means not being British. There is further cue of national identity in the last example, which is the first line of the article, stating that the burka is ‘offensive’ to 21st Century Britain, thus supporting the position that wearing one is non-British.

There is further Orientalist discourse with framing ‘veiled women’ as being ‘provoked’ with ‘fury’ (DM4). However, this example represents Muslim women as angry and non-submissive in their reactions, although they are still under control by men and non-integrated, as the burka is a means to ‘disengage from society’ (DM4).

The Telegraph argues that ‘cultural conventions’, ‘force’ women to wear the burka (Tel2), implying that burka-wearing women are immigrants because it is ‘cultural’ to do so.

The Times, however, does not frame Muslims as immigrants but instead as British, stating that discussing the burka would be ‘un-British’ of ‘moderate’ Muslims, although the term ‘moderate’ Muslim is not defined here. However, the implication

that a 'moderate' Muslim aligns with Western ideals and dress is supported by Karim (2014) who describes a moderate Muslim as one who 'sides' with the West (ibid; p. 162). However, the Orientalist discourse of oppressed women is still used but women are 'encouraged' by 'pushy parents' to wear a hijab and:

"in extreme cases, the burka" (Tim3)

These examples are framed in a similar way to the image used by *The Daily Mail*.

Use of Orientalist discourse also employs the Muslim Victimhood Identity frame in *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*. *The Sun* frames the banning of the burka or the 'ugly mask' as potentially adding to:

"the pile of grievances lovingly nursed by troublemakers against their host country." (S1)

"It would act as a further recruiting sergeant to impressionable young Muslim zealots." (S1)

In these examples, Muslims who use the Victimhood Identity frame are not British because they want to cause trouble against their 'host country', not their country. Furthermore, they are framed as having many grievances which they metaphorically 'nurse', presenting an image of Muslims causing trouble with illegitimate grievances. This discourse further links to security in that young Muslims can be easily recruited. Thus, they can be easily manipulated as exemplified in the 2005 London bombings and 2006 Muhammad Crisis.

The Daily Mail focuses on Muslims who do not fight for equal rights as 'only' wanting 'special treatment' and that:

"veil-wearers refuse to compromise" (DM4)

Similar to *The Sun*, DM4 presents burka-wearing Muslims as not British because they do not 'fight' for equal rights and want to be treated specially.

7.9.2 Caroline Spelman



Image 11.2: Caroline Spelman *Daily Mail* Image (Adams, 2010)

The second image in *The Daily Mail* article is of environment secretary Caroline Spelman. The image is of a white woman in a blue/grey suit with short brown hair, wearing a necklace and long earrings. Her gaze is not direct, like the niqab image, but looks into the distance, past the reader. The image is well lit, revealing the woman's face fully, again in contrast with the niqab image.

The size and position of the image is of note: it is aligned to the right of the article and not enlarged, in contrast to the first image. As such, the reader's focus is drawn to the niqab image rather than of the politician.

Immigrant Muslims who came to Britain to get away from Stalinist ayatollahs, mullahs and women-hating fanatic regimes in their home countries must be spitting their teeth out after hearing Spelman's astounding endorsement of this dreadful garment.

We Muslims who came here wanted the freedom that Britain's proud history of democracy was renowned for. We wanted better education for our children and to live and pray in peace in a country which, for all its faults, gives us civil rights and equality between the sexes.

Yet Spelman's support for the burka suddenly puts all of our expectations under threat; for the most obvious manifestation of the oppressive Islam we left behind is welcomed here with the blessing of the ruling elite.

I'd like to invite Mrs Spelman to prove she believes what she says by wearing the black sheet and mask - surely she should do that as an act of solidarity with the 'empowered' Muslim sisters she admires so much.

And if she chooses not to, if she feels she would find wearing a burka limiting and suffocating, why on earth is she breezily recommending it as a garment for other women?

Would she honestly be so upbeat about the burka if a daughter of hers hid herself away inside its veil, or if her son brought home a totally veiled bride-to-be? I don't think so. She and the rest of the 'liberal-minded' burka brigade can only afford to be generous because the burka does not - and never will - affect their own lives, nor test their powers of endurance.

To check out the shrouded sisters who tell me they feel 'beautifully' liberated under a veil, I tried wearing a burka for a day - and threw it off in a couple of hours, wheezing asthmatically.

I felt wiped out, a nobody - lifeless and voiceless. A Pakistani shopkeeper said I made him nervous because he couldn't see my face. I saw others shrinking away from me - and I could understand their reactions. So, will the defenders of the burka brand me and the shopkeeper racist? I wouldn't put it past them.



© Bruce Adams
Environment Secretary Caroline Spelman said women were 'empowered' by the freedom to wear niqabs, like the one above, and burkas

Image 11.2.1: Caroline Spelman *Daily Mail* Image Layout.

The image of Caroline Spelman works in relation to the text. The article is written from the perspective of a Muslim woman who is arguing against Spelman's position that the burka can be 'empowering' for women. Spelman is presented in contrast to, or dual opposition with, the first image, with particular focus on lighting of the images. The niqab image is partially shaded while the Spelman image is fully lit, therefore connoting and further reinforcing the idea that Western or British women are 'enlightened' and 'free' and Muslim women are not.

Although the Spelman image is smaller than the niqab image (which encourages the reader to focus on the latter), the Spelman image is still important; otherwise it would not be included in the article.

7.9.3 Daily Mail Burka Ban Framing

The use of a white woman in image 11.0 could emphasise the ideology that freedom for the (white) British is inhibited by the idea that the burka can enlighten

women. Furthermore, the partial shading of her face might indicate that she partially represents the West but also restriction of freedom as she is part of the discourse supporting the burka.

Spelman represents, in right-wing populist discourse, the Left who are 'defenders of the burka' and a 'threat' to the UK (DM4). Spelman is framed as 'ignorant' and part of the 'ruling elite', alluding to a right-wing populist discourse where *The Daily Mail* has more knowledge than the liberal left or the 'ruling elite' who have welcomed 'oppressive Islam' into the UK (DM4). This is reinforced with her indirect gaze, thus represented ideologically as not connected to the reader. In a populist discourse, this is the disconnected politician, ignorant of what is happening in society because she is part of the bourgeois.

The focus on the Left is also evident in *Politiken*, which references the 'politically correct' as ignorant and not understanding that the burka is 'repressive of women'. There is reference to then-editor of *Politiken* Tøger Seidenfaden who cannot see that 'we' are against something bigger than our 'little duck pond', which describes the burka as a Europe-wide issue. The 'politically correct' are framed as believing all values are 'equal' and thus supporting 'oppression of women' but that:

"democratic values are better than others" (P7).

In *The Daily Mail*, the niqab has become a metonym for the burka because it is essential for the framing of the article that the reader can connect to the model through her eyes. Furthermore, the use of a niqab, where the model's gaze is visible, may be more powerful in that it signifies a reflection and reinforcement of the anti-multiculturalism discourse or a mirror of what is happening to free speech in the United Kingdom.

The white woman in the niqab reflects the Islamification of Europe and the UK, and 'we' the people can still see this is happening. The niqab or burka reflects Britain's colonial history which in this article is not apparent but the freedom or restriction of freedom in the UK is; thereby the UK will be under control or threat of Islam.

It must be acknowledged, however, that there are white Muslims within the wider framing and discourses in the article; the image was chosen because the intended

reader, assumed as predominantly white, can then relate to the fear discourses – fear that Islam will take over Britain.

While use of the niqab image rather than a burka may have been because of time constraints and cost, it was not of ignorance, because it states the image is of a niqab. It is essential to note that image choices are made by the editor, not by chance; the choice of this image is ideological, as there are hundreds of images of women in burkas available on the image source's website. This reveals the ideological process of constructing news and constructing representations of Muslims.

Although the article does state (under the Spelman image who stated the burka may empower women) that the image is a niqab and not burka, it fails to clarify differences between the two. The headline of the article refers to the burka and the content analysis shows the word 'burka' was used 21 times and 'veil' 13 times, suggesting links between these words, as if the burka and niqab are the same when, in fact, they are not. This supports and extends Karim's (2014) view that Western media 'misuse...terms related to Muslims' (ibid; p.154), as in this example female Islamic dress is misrepresented via an image.

It is important to acknowledge that the article was written by Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, a Star System member who is British and Muslim. Therefore, the discourses and ideological framing of the burka and niqab as not empowering women and restricting British freedom is legitimised further.

7.9.4 Politiken Burka Ban Image

Unlike *The Daily Mail*, *Politiken* uses one image, see image 12.0, for the burka ban debate. The image used is of politician Naser Khader who also wrote the article.



Jeg er politiker forklædt som politiker, og jeg vil til enhver tid kæmpe for, med politiske midler, at individets rettigheder går forud for religiøse rettigheder, skriver Naser Khader.

Image 12.0: *Politiken* Naser Khader (Khader, 2009). Photo by editor in chief Thomas Borberg

The image is of a non-white man with dark hair wearing a button-down white shirt. Naser Khader's body is side-on to the camera but his head is turned towards it, with the right side of his face in shadow. The background is a light orange/brown colour, with a small portion of light showing in the right-hand corner of the image.

Although Khader's body is not shown, there is an implied strong stance in the way his eyes stare intently, with a furrowed brow, and he smiles slightly with the right-hand corner of his mouth somewhat raised.

The image itself stretches across the page and is large in proportion to the article itself (see image 12.1). This is similar to *The Daily Mail* in its use of the niqab image – both images are large and demand the reader's focus.

Jeg er politiker forklædt som politiker, og jeg vil til enhver tid kæmpe for, med politiske midler, at individets rettigheder går forud for religiøse rettigheder, skriver Naser Khader.

DEBAT 25. AUG. 2009 KL. 10.07

NULL NASER KHADER



FÅ DEBATTEN I DIN INDBAKKE

En gang om ugen får du de skarpeste og mest tankevækkende indlæg fra Danmarks bedste debatunivere

Indtast din email

Tryk meld

Khader: Tøger er korrekthedens over-Ayatollah

»Tøger Seidenfaden gør sig altid til over-Ayatollah over politisk korrekthed«, skriver Naser Khader i sit svar på kritik.

Hvis alle, der ikke lignede mig, var mine fjender, så ville Tøger Seidenfaden og jeg formentlig være dødsfjender.

Så galt står det nu ikke til mellem hjørnekontoret på Politiken og mig, men det ville være den logiske konsekvens af Seidenfadens udsagn i lørdagens signatur, at vi i Det Konservative Folkeparti med vores integrationsudspil, hvorunder der som et blandt mange punkter er et ønske om at få burka og niqab forbudt, gør alle, der ikke ligner os til vores

Announce

**ARKITEKTSKOLEN AARHUS
SØGER
UNDERVISERE OG FORSKERE**

Image 12.1: *Politiken* Naser Khader Image Layout.

Like *The Daily Mail*, duality is represented by the shadowing of part of Khader's face. This signifies and relates to Khader being part of the Star System: he is not quite Danish but more Danish than a non-moderate Muslim. The gaze works in relation to the duality present in the shading of the image, signifying to the reader that he is a man who is serious and knowledgeable because, as a Star System member (i.e. an ex-Muslim, therefore represented as a speaker for all things 'Muslim', who is critical of Muslims). He is a 'cue' to the reader that the discourses and framing within the article are more 'true' because the author used to be a Muslim.

As Khader is a very popular politician in Denmark, some relationship between him and the reader should be assumed. This relationship is re-established via his gaze directed at the reader. This functions with the text underneath the image: "I am a politician disguised as a politician and I will always fight with political sources for an individuals' right ahead of religious rights." As an ex-Muslim Khader values individual right (cue to the reader as the 'Danish' right because Denmark is a secular country valuing rights and freedoms) over religious rights.

7.9.4.1 Politiken Burka Ban Image Framing

The man in this image commands authority and looks ready to 'fight' for 'our' (the Danes') rights, part of the dominant liberal discourse. The focus is more on Naser Khader because he is part of the Star System and a popular and trusted politician in Denmark; as such, the use of a large image of him sends an ideological signal to the reader that what they will read is 'true'.

By the year of publication in 2009, Khader had shifted political orientation from the Danish Social Liberal Party (2001 – 2007), to founding right-libertarian party New Alliance (2007 – 2009), to joining the centre-right Conservative People's Party (2009 – present).

The image represents someone who will 'fight' for the rights of Danes; this is linked to the use of the word 'enemy' in the article, thus constructing a binary opposition. The image reinforces the over-riding populist discourse in the article that the burka and niqab ban is a 'fight' against Islamic terrorist ideology and protection of Danish values, like the rights of individuals and women's rights. Additionally, the discourse of integration is used, as Khader represents the ideal integrated Muslim (even if he is an ex-Muslim). This functions with the statement in the article "I am fighting for all the moderate Muslims" and that the burka and niqab ban would "support Muslims" to "integrate". Thus, the burka, like in *The Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun*, is a 'cue' for an unintegrated Muslim who does not conform to Danish values. Furthermore, Khader has become an example of a 'moderate' (cue word for integrated) Muslim through his shifting political views, from Muslim to Danish. Like *The Daily Mail*, *Politiken* frame the burka as:

"an Islamist ideology" (P7)

This Islamist ideology is expressed physically by wearing a burka and allows 'Islamism' to 'cross borders' which terrorism has not done 'in years' (P7). *Politiken* use Danish democracy as a necessity to 'fight' against 'Islamist ideology' of wearing the burka which prevents 'moderate Muslims' from:

"integrat[ing] into Danish society" (P7)

It is not stated what a moderate Muslim is, but Khader represents one, as discussed above. The author implies that not wearing a burka signifies acceptance and willingness to integrate and embracing democracy.

Jyllands-Posten also frame the wearing of the burka as a 'signal' from women that:

"can only be interpreted as a desire for distance and strong rejections of the outside world." (JP8)

In this framing, wearing the burka is not an expression of religion but a rejection of Danish society. This is similar to *The Daily Mail* in that Muslim women who wear the burka are framed as not wanting to integrate into society. As the idea of kinship is essential to Danish identity (Rytter, 2010), this presents a problem in Denmark.

This is framing the issue as potential Islamification of Denmark, similar to the right-wing populist discourse of potential Islamification of Europe utilised in *The Daily Mail*, although it is neither as explicit nor expressed through the image used.

The image was taken by *Politiken* photo editor in chief Thomas Borberg; therefore, there are further ideological implications in that the photo was directed and constructed by *Politiken* staff. This direction will have included lighting, position, facial expression and gaze. Although, it should be noted that the article is also a political response to the *Politiken* then-editor in chief Tøger Seidenfaden, who criticised the burka ban.

7.9.4.2 Burka Ban Image Comparison

Both *The Daily Mail* and *Politiken* utilise Star System members as authors to legitimise discourses and represent a truth from 'expert' sources. However, only *Politiken* feature an image of the Star System member, and this is because Khader has become an increasingly popular politician in Denmark as his political views and alliances have become progressively right-wing. Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, although a famous writer and commentator, is not as popular in the UK as Khader is in Denmark; therefore, she is not utilised in the same manner. Rather, *The Daily Mail* uses an image of a woman wearing a niqab (metonym for burka) as the main focus of the newspaper article to represent the threat of Islam to the British identity, whereby the 'coloniser' Self fears the colonised Other (Muslims).

Politiken use Khader as 'protector' of the Danish identity, 'fighting' for Danes' rights. In both articles this populist discourse is evident, with *The Daily Mail* focusing on Caroline Spelman not relating to the ordinary man (i.e. *The Daily Mail* reader) and a potential threat to British identity from Muslims and Islamic wear. However, *Politiken* is more explicit in that Khader presents himself as 'fighting' for the Danish people, and he frames Muslims as 'Muslim immigrants', saying they (moderate Muslims) want to 'integrate'.

Research indicates that there were an estimated 150 veil-wearing women (or 0.1% of Muslim women) in Denmark (Warburg et al, 2013). In the UK, there are no figures available on how many wear the burka or niqab, but figures are "likely to correspond to the low" (Ahmed, 2017, p.1) found across Europe. These figures would in rational discourse relay that there is not a 'threat' of Islamification of Europe from the burka; however, because of power within the Star System and the legitimised discourses linking the burka with non-integration and the end of the British and Danish identities, this rational discourse would be rejected.

It is also important to note that, unlike *The Daily Mail*, *Politiken* do not use any images of the burka or Islamic wear. This may be due to caution in the aftermath of the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2005-2006, where *Jyllands-Posten* published cartoons of Muhammad and subsequently had several death threats. It may be more likely, however, that due to Khader's status his image was used in order to legitimise the discourses present. Additionally, *The Daily Mail* and *Politiken* are both different in terms of traditional political stance – *The Daily Mail* is right and *Politiken* is centre-left – but both utilise a right-wing populist discourse.

7.9.5 Orientalism

Further examples of Orientalist discourse are evident in *Berlingske* where there is focus on the oppressive nature of the burka, as in *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*:

"Naser Khader is correct that the burka is a mobile prison" (Ber 5)

"disgusting female repressive garment." (Ber 5)

"never have a chance for a modern female life" (Ber 5)

The use of the emotive adjective 'disgusting' makes explicit the feminist ideology, and the mobile prison metaphor creates an image of a woman who is never free. Citing Naser Khader, who began the debate and is a Star System member, reinforces his legitimation and trustworthiness because he is supported by another newspaper. The last example frames burka-wearing women as not modern; it refocuses the discourse on body politics and the attempt to contain Muslim representation. This idea of burkas not being Danish is reinforced when later in the text it states that 'some groups of immigrants' do not 'accept':

"the values Danish society is built on" (Ber 5)

Jyllands-Posten also focuses on the burka being female oppressive:

"Is the burka oppressive of women? Yes, I would say so without hesitation."
(JP8)

"it is our culture for equality between genders and foundational human rights in society" (JP8)

"We look each other in the eyes" (JP8)

The reader is invited to think and question the burka – is it oppressive? National identity cues of gender equality and making eye contact are used to justify that the burka is not Danish. The text is written by a Muslim woman, Fatma Øktem, who became a member of parliament for the Liberal party (2011 – 2015); therefore, the text is further legitimised – if a Muslim woman believes the burka is oppressive, then it must be. The text continues that the burka 'signals' that:

"She must be invisible, non-existent and is not equal to a man" (JP8)

Øktem represents Gullestad's (2006) original theory of the Star System: she emphasises Western (Danish) values of gender equality and rejects the burka which is used as a representation of Muslims and Islam. This functions to demonstrate *Jyllands-Posten*, a historically anti-Muslim newspaper, as promoting diversity but still containing the discourse by using an author who does not accept the burka. There is no attempt to include a counter argument from another Muslim 'voice', which can be concluded as an ideological choice.

7.9.6 Integration

The discourse of integration is used by all the Danish newspapers and *The Daily Mail*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* to frame the burka as a barrier to integration and expression of segregation in both. *Berlingske* framed the burka debate as part of an 'integration problem' (Ber5) and that some Muslims find it:

"difficult to adapt to Danish ways" (Ber5)

Wearing the burka is framed as non-Danish and a symbol of difficulty integrating into Denmark. This is confirmed when later in the text it is stated that 'New Danes' (a cue for immigrants) have the right to express their beliefs and their 'homeland's culture' but it:

"causes problems for integration" (Ber5)

These problems are because 'large groups insist' on living by values that 'belong to another time', and that working and learning the Danish language is 'not enough'. The word 'insist' frames Muslims as unwilling to integrate into Danish society. The author suggests they should assimilate to Danish values as part of 'value integration' discourse.

Ekstra Bladet uses the discourse differently from the other newspapers. The potential burka ban is framed as 'damaging for integration and immigration politics' whereby Naser Khader is a 'bomb' for integration (EB6). In this example there is a counter-discourse on Khader and his proposed burka ban; this is different from all other Danish texts who side with Khader's discourse.

In the British newspapers, *The Telegraph* frames the burka as:

"enhanc[ing] separateness and mak[ing] it more difficult for Muslim women to assimilate" (Tel2)

While women are not framed as intentionally segregating from society, it is stated that wearing the veil will prevent them from integrating. The use of the word 'assimilate' is contextually significant as, by early 2011, less than a year after the burka ban debate, David Cameron and Angela Merkel declared that multiculturalism had 'failed'. Furthermore, within Europe 2010 – 2011 was the peak of the 'death of multiculturalism', where rising populist Geert Wilders was provided a platform to denounce European leaders for allowing terrorism

(Ossenwaarde, 2014). In this text, integration is framed as discarding previous cultural identity and becoming assimilated to the 'host' country. It also implies that burka-wearing women are immigrants. This discourse of integration is different from *The Daily Mail* discourse which frames Muslim women as not wanting to integrate.

The Times frames burka-wearing as the only symbol of 'status' available within Muslim communities. Modality is used to highlight this; for people of:

"Bangladeshi and Pakistani descent – who make up the vast majority of Muslims in the UK – [their] family's status is crucial to [their] standing within the community." (Tim3)

According to the article, 'government reports' show the following about 'Pakistanis and Bangladeshis':

"among the poorest in the country" (Tim3)

"very few' leave urban ghettos" (Tim3)

This builds a picture that Muslims in Britain who are of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent (a cue for immigrant) as segregated, live in ghettos and are poor; therefore, the only way to get status is to be 'super religious' by wearing the burka. This framing is legitimised by the author, Ahmed Murad, who uses a neo-liberal personal experience narrative of having been:

"brought up in a devoutly Muslim household" (Tim3)

This narrative functions to legitimise the modality described above: Murad has knowledge of the 'community' because he came from a 'devoutly Muslim' home. Additionally, in 2010 he was a technology reporter for *The Times*, not an expert nor journalist in social affairs; therefore, his authorship on this piece is due to his background legitimising the discourse (i.e. Star System membership).

7.9.7 Security

A sub-ordinate discourse of security is used in *The Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail* and *Ekstra Bladet* to justify the burka ban. *The Telegraph* focuses on criminals using the burka to:

“do us harm...using the cover as a disguise” (Tel2)

The burka ban is framed as logical because it is a ‘practical’ consideration and because of security it is ‘necessary’ to have the face uncovered. This common-sense framing outlines the ideology and justification for banning the burka (Allen, 2015). The *Daily Mail* also posit:

“burka-clad woman [cannot] be detected if they choose to commit crimes or acts of terror.” (DM4)

Although *Ekstra Bladet* utilise a security discourse, it is not used the same way as *The Telegraph* and *The Daily Mail*. Instead, the burka debate is framed with wider ‘immigrant’ issues of security and intertextual reference to:

“police officers shot, cars being set on fire and the many young immigrants become religious fanatics who want to blow up all of Denmark.” (EB6)

7.9.8 Conclusion: Burka Ban 2009/2010

Burka-wearing women are represented as immigrants in all newspapers for both countries, with a focus on the burka undermining equality and democracy. Newspapers in both countries use Star System members to legitimise discourses as building a ‘regime of truth’ (Foucault in Gordon, 1980) because a Muslim or ex-Muslim has used them.

Star System members have ‘knowledge’ of the Muslim community, which is framed as segregated; this contributes further to the ‘regime of truth’ that Muslims are segregated, and burka wearers oppose democracy.

However, Danish newspapers differ slightly from British ones as there is more discussion of ‘moderate Muslims’ who struggle to integrate when ‘Islamists’ infiltrate Denmark with their ideology of burka wearing.

In the image analysis, *The Daily Mail* and *Politiken* both use right-wing populist discourse of blaming the ‘elite’ Left and political correctness for allowing the burka into the UK and Denmark. Muller (2016) and Wodak (2015) outline the media’s use of anti-elitist and anti-pluralist ideas rhetoric; this is exemplified by both newspapers’ framing of the Islamisation of the UK and Denmark aided by the left. Burkas are ‘visible identifiers’ of Muslim women: for example, following 9/11,

hate crimes increased particularly against Muslim women with visible identifiers such as a headscarf (Allen & Nielsen, 2002).

7.10 Murder Drummer Lee Rigby 2013

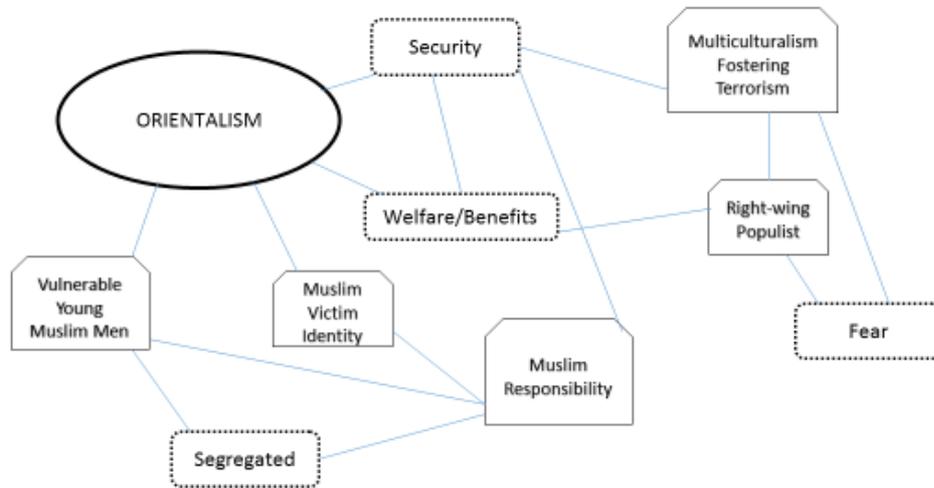
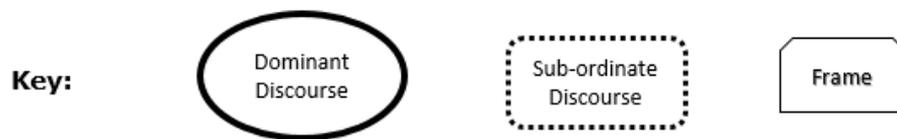


Image 13.0: Lee Rigby 2013 Discourses



Articles

Twelve articles are analysed for the cluster event. Article key in table 7.7 should be used in conjunction with the analysis.

Discourses

<i>Number</i>	<i>Article Reference</i>
1	Tel1
2	Tim2
3	DM3
4	G4
5	Tel5
6	Tim6
7	DM7
8	Sun8
9	Tel9
10	Sun10
11	G11
12	Sun12

Table 7.7: 2013 Murder Drummer Lee Rigby Cluster Event Article Key

7.10.1 Orientalism

The Orientalist discourse is used by eight of the texts and at least once by each group of newspapers, by framing young Muslim men as 'vulnerable'; susceptible to manipulation. This is similar to the 2005 London Bombings, 2006 Muhammad Crisis, 2007 Asmaa and 2009/2010 Burka Ban debate cluster events which utilise an Orientalist discourse whilst framing Muslims as 'vulnerable' and easily manipulated. This neo-Orientalism further outlines that Muslims need educating to be civilized in liberal culture. It adds legitimation, building on the regime of truth for the justification of TERFOR, a monitoring task force and Prevent which functions to monitor Muslims in order to 'prevent' radicalisation (Qurashi, 2018).

The Daily Mail uses Orientalism explicitly to create difference when describing the friend (who is British) of one of Lee Rigby's killers as an 'exotic figure' (DM7), an often-used word in Orientalism (Said, 1995). This frames Abu Nasaybah as non-British. Further Orientalism is used within a national identity frame;

"Some will argue that we must preserve the precious freedoms which make us civilised, and never resort to the barbarism which exists in some Muslim nations." (DM7)

Although, DM7 uses cue words like 'freedoms' and 'civilised' to describe Britain and 'barbarism' to describe 'some' Muslim countries, the framing of Nasaybah as 'exotic' builds an image of Muslims not being British and potentially coming from 'barbaric' countries with assumed 'barbaric' behaviours. Thus, a further threat and moral panic frame is introduced whereby the threat of barbaric Muslims like Nasaybah to the civilised UK is real.

The Sun additionally use national identity cue word of 'tolerance' to create a binary opposition between Muslims and non-Muslims through the use of 'medieval' to describe the Koran;

"Astonishingly, it is the politicians who shout loudest for tolerance who turn a blind eye to medieval intolerance." (Sun8)

Liberal politicians and fear of being accused of racism/fear of speaking out are used as part of the problem;

“It explains why forced marriage, female genital mutilation, honour killings and the systematic rape of white girls go uninvestigated while any hint of racism is denounced and prosecuted.” (Sun8)

This may be intertextual reference to the Rotherham ‘scandal’ in 2012 which was the revelation that young girls had been sexually abused for years and the framing that authorities knew but did not do anything for ‘fear’ of being called racist. This links the killing of Lee Rigby with other non-terrorist crime and reference to the Koran as ‘medieval’ frames all Muslims as potentially criminal and ‘intolerant’.

Sun12 suggest deporting Lee Rigby’s killers but state this is not possible because they don’t come;

“from a third world Islamic hellhole like Pakistan or Somalia.” (Sun12)

The use of the metaphor ‘hellhole’ and modality frame Pakistan and Somalia, both Muslim countries, as unpleasant countries which have historically arrived in the UK as part of the immigration phases (Home Office, 2003). This is direct reference to part of the Muslim population or Muslims with immigrant heritage, who come from ‘hellhole’s’ and therefore framed via Orientalist as unpleasant. The discourse positions Muslims as ‘Muslim immigrants’, despite in one example stating the killers are not from another country. It is achieved via using national identity framing Brits as ‘civilized’ and Muslims as ‘barbaric’.

7.10.1.1 Young Men Susceptible to Extremism

Within the Orientalist discourse there is a further framing around young men, who are impressionable and unsatisfied with their lives and framed as susceptible to extremism. *The Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *The Times* use this framing as part of a ‘warning’ and moral panic framing;

“Choudary's comments were a warning that a disaffected, radicalised group of young men was growing up in Britain listening to rabble-rousers preaching holy war.” (Tel9)

“Yet we have allowed radical imams to pour anti-Western poison into the ears of impressionable young men with impunity.” (Tel9)

“start by silencing Anjem Choudary and others who poison the minds of young British men” (Sun10)

“young people who are most at risk of heeding vile messages and material” (Tim2)

“Ex MI5 chief Jonathan Evans long ago warned that THOUSANDS of impressionable young Muslims - some barely children - are being radicalised.” (Sun8)

The first quote, Tel9, references Anjem Choudary who was quoted as stating to the BBC that Muslims should support jihad. He is used as an example of an outspoken, radical imam who is often used in the media and known for controversial views on Islam in Britain. Although it is not stated how many follow Choudary, his views are used, through modality, to support the framing that young men are ‘listening’ to people like him. Young men are framed as being around radical imams creating an image of all imams being radical, therefore, all young Muslim men are susceptible to radicalism. The second quote, Tel9, confirms this framing, although the word ‘radical’ is used to create a separation from moderate imams, the previous quote has framed potentially all young men as being influenced, implying that potentially all imams are ‘pouring’ and ‘poisoning’ the men with anti-Western sentiments. This is utilising a suspect community discourse of imams and young Muslim men.

The Sun (Sun10), like Tel9, also use the word ‘poison’ in a hyperbolic manner to frame the issue as serious with a need to prevent radical imams targetting young men. Sun8 uses intertextual reference of ex-MI5 Jonathan Evans who, in 2007, ‘warned’ that young Muslims were being radicalised. This reinforces the overall framing of the Sun8 article that liberal politicians have caused terrorism and allowed it to happen, because they have ignored ‘issues’ for fear of being called racist (Vertovec & Wessendurf, 2010).

7.10.2 Discourse of Welfare/Benefits

For the first time in the diachronic analysis a discourse of Muslims on benefits is used (although 2006 Muhammad Crisis II does reference benefits). Although this is contrary to previous research, where Muslims are a threat culturally rather than economically (Schneider, 2008), referencing Choudary on benefits is used to demonstrate he is not a part of Britain. He is against Britain and therefore should not be on benefits. Both *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun* use a right-wing populist discourse of focusing on Muslims living on welfare and benefits;

“But is it civilised to tolerate people in our midst who preach hatred of our culture and institutions while living on benefits? (Father-of-four Choudary lives on state benefits, contemptuously calling them the jihad seeker's allowance'.)” (DM7)

“But is it really civilised to allow avowed enemies of our State to live off its loyal citizens?” (Sun8)

“Why do we pay rabble-rousing Anjem Choudary £25,000 in benefits to corrupt them?” (Sun8)

In these two examples both *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun* state questions on the ‘people’s’ behalf, typical of right-wing populist politicians. It is a ‘chauvinistic’ nativist right-wing populist argument about who is deserving of receiving benefits (Mau & Mewes, 2012). Both texts focus on Choudary who had been outspoken of the Lee Rigby attack. There are national identity cues of ‘civilised’, ‘tolerate’, ‘our culture’ and the deixis ‘we’, who are being taken advantage of by Choudary. Choudary is framed as an immigrant who is preaching hatred of ‘our country’ whilst claiming benefits and ‘corrupting’ young Muslim men. Although, the focus is on Choudary the wider Orientalist discourse of young Muslim men vulnerable to hate preachers presents a warning frame that this is what may happen – young radicalised Muslim men hating Britain and claiming benefits.

7.10.3 Muslim Responsibility

A framing that Muslims must take responsibility for tackling terrorism and extremism is evident in *The Sun*, *The Times*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph*.

Muslims are framed as not doing enough to ensure that people do not turn to extremism, and as responsible for how they are viewed. This is evident in *The Times*;

“But Muslims in this country, Lady O'Neill suggests, should be encouraged to do more to prevent a backlash.” (Tim6)

“I'm sure [Islamophobia] is a problem but I'm equally sure that you can't get rid of it while atrocities go on.” (Tim6)

In this text, Tim6, quotes from Lady O'Neill frame the issue of Islamophobia, discussed in the text as a 'backlash' to the murder of Lee Rigby as an issue Muslims must tackle. There is further framing that if attacks did not happen then Islamophobia would not happen either, thus Muslims must stop other Muslims from committing terrorist attacks.

Integration and segregation are used in *The Daily Mail* (DM 3) and race is a marker of national identity;

“in the interests of community relations, that ethnic minorities are encouraged to integrate as completely as possible into the culture and institutions of our country.” (DM3)

The text uses populist rhetoric of focusing on race that non-white or ethnic minorities must integrate, i.e. they are 'Muslim immigrants' and not British and have to integrate into 'our country'. Within this strand extremism and integration are linked, further reinforcing the Muslim Responsibility frame that is utilised by all newspapers except *The Guardian*.

Muslims are framed as different from Britain and there is reference to Muslim Victimhood Identity when Tim6 state;

“They can speak out against Islamophobia but they find it difficult to discuss the problems in their own community.” (Tim6)

The deixic words 'they' and 'own' are used to frame Muslims as separate from Britain and it is implied Muslims are willing to voice incidents of Islamophobia, cue for Victimhood Identity, because they additionally do not discuss their 'own community'.

Other *The Times* and *The Sun* text's use the frame of Muslims requiring to tackle extremism;

"It is the Muslims who have to fight extremists" (Tim2 headline)

"Condemnation is not enough. Mosques and local leaders must stamp out the language of hate." (Tim2)

The sort of violence we have just witnessed damages the reputation of all Muslims in Britain - they should not wait for another government initiative before taking action themselves." (Tim2)

"is through their mums. And dads. And brothers and uncles." (Sun8)

"It is communities that defeat terrorism" (Tel1)

The metaphors of Muslims having to 'fight' and 'stamp out' hate, framed as one cause of terrorism and extremism, creates an image of a struggle within 'the' Muslim community, because they have to 'fight' and use force by 'stamping out' extremists further framing 'all' Muslims for being responsible for the actions of extremists. *The Sun* uses family roles such as 'mums' and 'dads' to personalise the issue and reinforce that Muslims must speak out and challenge extremism, including family members of suspected extremists. Whereas *The Telegraph* use the word 'communities', cue word for Muslims, because there has been a 'failure' of community values and integration and this is legitimised by the text producer John Yates who it is stated at the end of the text "led the UK Counter Terrorism response 2009-2011". This one-line biography is included to legitimise the discourse of British security having achieved much in tackling terrorism and Muslims being responsible for challenging terrorism, it further extends the regime of truth that monitoring of Muslims is necessary. *The Times* text reinforces the framing of Muslim responsibility by stating;

"What is more to the point, people within the Muslim community itself will have had prior knowledge of their extremist views and activities." (Tim2)

This is high modality, framing an image of a segregated community whereby they knew about the activities, but 'we' did not. This additionally enforces a suspect community discourse whereby Muslims were, via modality, aware of extremist 'activities' but did not do anything about it. The reader is left questioning what

else does the 'Muslim community' know? Thereby, reinforcing a suspect community to be monitored.

The Sun use British national identity as key to tackling extremism;

"unless Muslims stand up in numbers and say they are proud to be British, we will see more." (Sun8)

"If Muslims believe their faith is being hijacked they should stand up and say so." (Sun8)

The Telegraph do however, state that Muslims have 'spoken out' against the terrorist attack;

"The killers are denounced by most mainstream Muslims, who say they were not acting on their behalf." (Tel9)

"Imams insist that nothing in the teachings of Islam would ever condone such barbarism, though some more radical Islamists are less condemnatory than they should be." (Tel9)

Although these two quotes attempt to demonstrate that there has been denunciation of the attack, the first quote's use of the word 'most' implies that some 'mainstream Muslims' have not, this creates a question of why not all. The second quote used further in the text employs the word 'Islamists' who are 'less condemnatory', implying that some mainstream Muslims may also be 'Islamists' and this causes confusion as no definition of an 'Islamist' is provided. This further demonstrates Karim (2014) theory that the media use words like Islamist to denote authority without using it correctly.

7.10.4 Security

A discourse of security is used within Conservative ideology of respecting authority and what the authorities have done to protect Britain. *The Telegraph* and *The Times* use this discourse whilst linking the discourse to the Muslim responsibility framing and is used as justification of this frame. *The Telegraph* and *The Times* use this discourse similarly;

“The British security services and the police that work alongside them have done and do a magnificent job in identifying and preventing such attacks.” (Tel1)

“In the UK the intelligence agencies and police have done much to increase their capability to protect us against organised terrorism and have nipped several conspiracies in the bud with successful prosecutions.” (Tim2)

In both quotes security services are praised as having ‘done much...to protect us’ and a ‘magnificent job’. This discourse and Conservative ideology present British security as having done enough but linked to the Muslim responsibility framing it is now Muslims who must change, there is no more the security services can do, but support for TERFOR is then more possible as security services must be respected.

7.10.5 Fear

The discourse of fear is used by four texts including *The Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Times* and *The Guardian*. However, they are used differently by *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun* who utilise it as fear of causing offence and *The Times* and *The Guardian* use the discourse to frame the need to observe how Muslims are being treated within an anti-hate frame.

The Daily Mail and *The Sun* use the word ‘offending’ and ‘offence’ within a fear discourse and *The Telegraph* use fear as framing the issue of ‘Muslim immigration’ overall;

“Politicians are “but anxious to avoid giving offence to militant Muslim groups and individuals.” (DM7)

“But if Islam is such a peaceful religion, why are we all so damned nervous about it? Why do we walk on egg shells to avoid offending "the community" - and what do we get in return?” (Sun8)

“the nation's nerves should be frayed” (Tel5)

“Take immigration. This remains a major concern, and understandably so, even though the numbers arriving are falling as a result of the Coalition's efforts.” (Tel5)

This discourse expands the murder of Lee Rigby to an issue of avoiding causing potential 'offense' to Muslims and implies and reinforces a suspect community discourse of people (Muslims) to be feared, who can potentially react violently if offended. *The Telegraph* use of national identity marker, the 'nation', who should be anxious and fearful later links the fear to 'Muslim immigration' overall. It is a 'major concern', discursively linking 'Muslim immigration' with terrorism and extremism.

Whereas, *The Times* and *The Guardian* use fear regarding hate towards Muslims;

"The poll will fuel concern of an explosion of race hate, with one interfaith charity reporting a huge increase in anti-Muslim incidents since the murder of soldier Lee Rigby in south-east London on Wednesday." (G4)

"will need to ensure that Muslims are not turned into scapegoats" (Tim6)

G4 and Tim6 use metaphors to frame Muslims, within a fear discourse, as vulnerable to hate. G4 uses statistics from a poll on how the rest of Britain view Muslims, metaphor of 'explosion of race hate' creates a fearful image of violent reaction towards Muslims because of the Lee Rigby murder. The word 'concern' connotes that *The Guardian* is also concerned about this, it is ideological. Tim6 uses the metaphor 'scapegoats' or the relaying of blame onto all Muslims as an issue which must be tackled. How this can be 'tackled' is not explained in either texts and therefore, although attempt to a counter-discourse is made, there is no information or background to the ways Muslims may be targeted. Nor is there challenge of the growing right-wing populism and renationalization or focus of who is or is not part of the nation in Europe which at the time, as demonstrated in the findings, has influenced the discourses and representations of Muslims (Wodak, 2015).

7.10.6 Multiculturalism Fostering Terrorism Frame

Multiculturalism is used as part of the cause of terrorism and of the 'providing terrorist sanctuary' frame outlined by Vertovec & Wessendorf (2010). This frame highlights that multiculturalism has caused segregation leading to terrorism and extremism and this has been allowed because multiculturalism 'protects' terrorists. *The Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* all use this frame;

“Three decades of misplaced multiculturalism allowed fundamentalists to insert themselves into Muslim communities with the tacit encouragement of the British establishment.” (Tel 9)

“reckless, failed multiculturalism experiment which has let extremism surge in some insular immigrant communities that live here without being British.” (Sun10)

“many on the Left came to accept that their multi-culturalist orthodoxy was actually setting community against community” (Tel5)

Both Tel9 and Sun10 use the frame to highlight that multiculturalism ‘allowed’ and ‘has let extremism surge’ with support from the previous Labour government who were ‘tacitly’ encouraging this. *The Sun* focus on framing Muslims as ‘immigrant communities’ where ‘extremism’ has been allowed to grow and additionally frame multiculturalism as preventing Muslims from conforming to a British national identity. The use of the word ‘failed’ is testament to two years before when Cameron, Merkel and Sarkozy stated that multiculturalism had failed.

7.10.7 Conclusion: Murder Drummer Lee Rigby

The right leaning newspapers frame Muslims as separate from the UK through binary oppositions and references to ‘the’ Muslim community, with *The Telegraph* and *The Sun* using the words ‘closed’, ‘loyal to their homeland’ and ‘insular’ to describe Muslim communities and *The Telegraph* implying a closed Muslim community who had prior knowledge of the attackers. In the right leaning newspapers, the need for Muslims to prove they are British is used as a requirement in tackling extremism, this frames national identity as the solution and prevention of further terrorist attacks. British national identity is frequently cited as ‘free’, ‘open’ and ‘tolerant’ by all the texts, with right leaning newspapers focusing on ‘civilised’ Britain.

Race is used in *The Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*, where *The Daily Mail* focus on the need for ‘ethnic minorities’ to integrate, implying all Muslims are from an ethnic minority. However, *The Guardian* refers to Muslims as British where a fear discourse of racial division in the UK is utilised framing Muslims as non-white. Additionally, *The Guardian* attempts a counter-discourse of framing British culture

as being 'anti-Muslim' and the need to 'stand up' and be 'stronger together' via a liberal ideology, however, there is no strong argument as to how this can happen nor how Islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiments has risen in the UK and Europe. Thus, focus on evocative discourses in all newspapers is dominant (Shaw, 2016).

7.11 Charlie Hebdo 2015

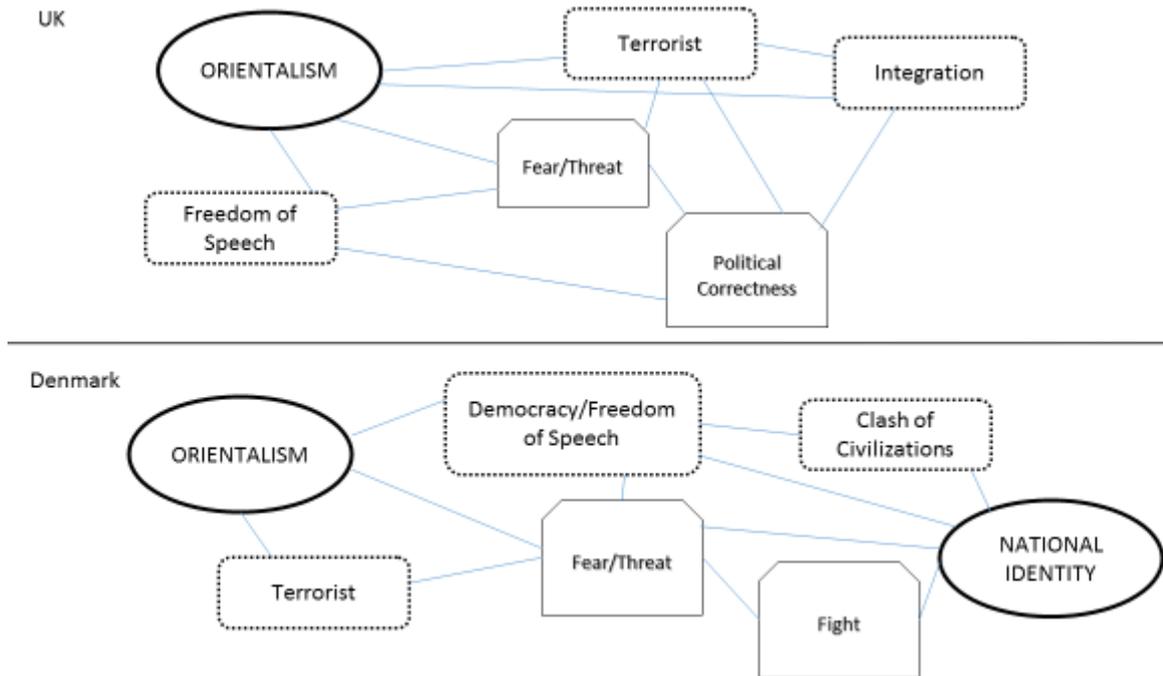


Image 14.0: Charlie Hebdo 2015 Discourses



Articles

Six articles from both UK and Denmark are analysed, including CDA of images used in the texts.

The following key in table 7.8 should be used in conjunction with the analysis.

Number	Newspaper
1	DM1
2	Ber2
3	JP3
4	Tel4
5	P5
6	G6

Table 7.8: 2015 Charlie Hebdo Cluster Event Article Key

In the 2015 Charlie Hebdo cluster event, every British and Danish newspaper includes at least one image; therefore, focus is on CDA of the images. In the Danish newspapers none of the images include scenes of the attack, unlike *The Daily Mail*.

7.11.1 Charlie Hebdo Guardian Image

The text from *The Guardian* includes an illustration by freelance illustrator Ellie Foreman-Peck and the article is written by Natalie Nougayrede (2015), a French columnist and foreign affairs journalist for the newspaper.

The illustration (image 15.0) shows two hands holding a magazine, with the magazine cover in the right hand and titled 'Charlie Hebdo' in white capital letters on a green background.

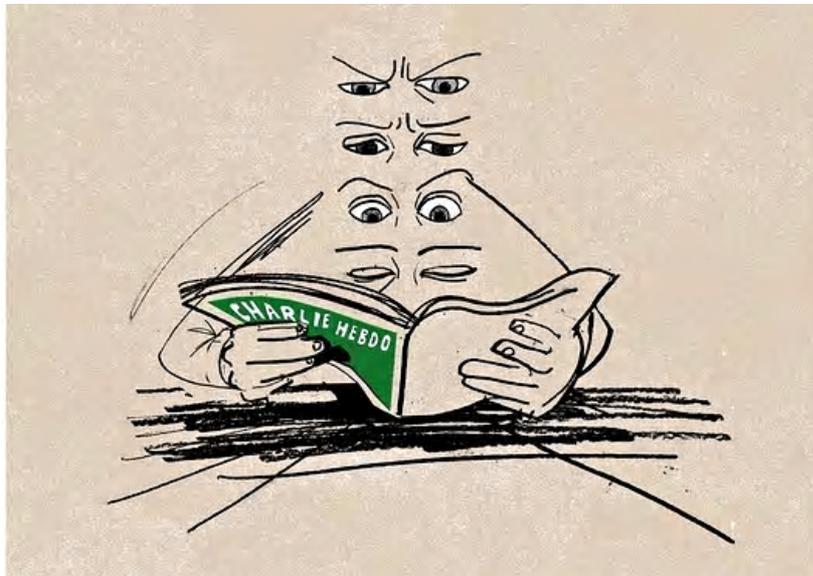


Image 15.0: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Guardian* Image. Source: Foreman-Peck, 2015

The individual holding the magazine has four sets of eyes on top of each other. It is not clear what the gender of the individual is although the size of the hands could indicate male. Each set of eyes looks different. The eyes at the top of the drawing have a furrowed brow and appear angry; they are light coloured, narrowed eyes looking at the magazine, with the right eye slightly larger than the left. The second eyes are darker in colour with a furrowed brow subtly indicating concern/worry. The third eyes are lighter and wide open with raised eyebrows indicating shock. The last eyes are closed with relaxed eyebrows.

The illustration background is beige with dark lines underneath the hands holding the magazine.

Freedom of speech
Opinion

After the Paris attacks we're in danger of abandoning the right to offend
Natalie Nougayrède

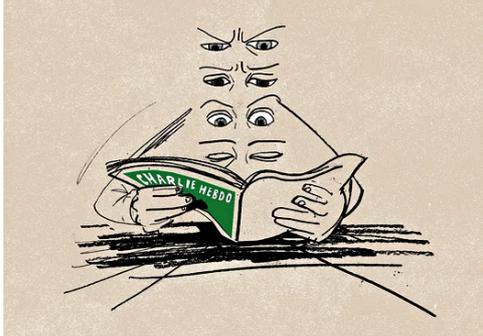


Thu 22 Jan 2015 06:59 GMT

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The very people who should be standing up for free speech are bowing to fear and self-censorship



▲ Illustration by Ellie Foreman-Peck

In the two weeks since the Paris attacks I have arrived at a few conclusions. Some are partly linked to the fact that I am French, European, a journalist, and that I write for a UK-based global media organisation. I want to dwell here on misunderstandings, on fear, on politics, and on what principles can and should be upheld in liberal democracies in the aftermath of those events.

First, the misunderstandings. Sensitivities vary but mine is that **Charlie Hebdo** has never been racist or anti-Muslim; anticlerical, certainly. But there has been a great deal of incomprehension about it based simply on ignorance. One example: the cartoon representing the prophet Muhammad living naked on his stomach.

Image 15.1: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Guardian* Image Layout

The use of four different sets of eyes with different emotional expressions could represent the different reactions to the Charlie Hebdo attack. These reactions may represent *The Guardian* readers as being angry, concerned, shocked or in denial by not 'looking' at the magazine or the situation. The last set of eyes function with the overall discourse and framing of the article that it is 'denial' or the ignoring of issues in society related to 'minorities' that is preventing 'us' (Europeans) from speaking 'freely' for fear of offending 'minorities'. Thus, the fear of causing offence is preventing freedom of speech, equated as being European. The absence of mouths could also indicate a lack of voice/speech.

The colour green on the front cover of the magazine represents the colour used in the original Charlie Hebdo cartoon cover; however, the illustration of Muhammad is not included. The front cover being on the right-hand side is relevant because, in the West, magazine covers are typically on the left-hand side – it is possible this may relate to how the Quran is read.

7.11.1.2 Charlie Hebdo Guardian Image Framing

The overall framing is that 'minorities' are preventing freedom of speech, indicated by the exclusion of any full face in the illustration; thus, the voice of the British and European is not there.

Because the magazine cover in the image is on the right, as the Quran is read, this could link to the framing that 'minorities', which in this article is a metonym for Muslims, are changing the idea of being British and European. Thus, on a subtle level, this image relates to the discourse in the article which utilises populist framing of the left and fear of offending Muslims as preventing freedom of speech. Further examples in *The Guardian* are the left framed as:

"guided by either colonial guilt" (G6)

[and that]:

"freedom of speech must somehow be curtailed because it might otherwise smack of neo-imperial arrogance" (G6)

The reference to colonial guilt alludes to an anti-colonial discourse as 'guiding' the Left, preventing freedom of speech and allowing Muslims to be 'sensitive' towards any criticism against Islam. This is additionally 'cue' that the text producer is framing Muslims as 'Muslim immigrants' in general because of colonial descent. The prevention of freedom of speech expressed as 'the right to offend' is 'in danger' and the danger is from the liberal left and Muslims. Further reference to Muslims and 'minorities' preventing free speech is utilised when the article states the text producer is 'struck by the argument':

"that we should be especially sensitive to the views of minorities, or any group perceived as weak...should they infringe our free choices in a democracy?" (G6)

The Guardian uses 'minorities' as cue for 'Muslim immigrants' in contrast to 'us' Brits. Focus on 'sensitivities' frames Muslims and minorities as manipulating the Victimhood Identity by using false information "intended to arouse hatred and anger" (G6) as intertextually referred to from a reference to *Jyllands-Posten* 2005 Muhammad cartoons and imams travelling to the Middle East with some fake cartoons or not being challenged because of the liberal left's fear of causing offense.

It could also represent a discourse of not looking at the 'issue' head on, examining the 'issue', not speaking the 'truth' about minorities, from 'back to front' like the eyes in the illustration are possibly reading the magazine the wrong way round. The image is polysemic and several readings could be made of this illustration. However, this has been mitigated by relating the image to the discourses within the article and framing of 'minorities'.

7.11.2 Charlie Hebdo Telegraph Image

The Telegraph article by Alison Pearson utilises an image and stills from two videos. The image and stills have been analysed separately but are combining in the framing analysis findings.

The image (see image 16.0) used at the top of the article is of a woman in a red beret and coat with short brown hair holding, outstretched, the French flag towards a crowd of people in Trafalgar Square, as indicated by the caption underneath the image. The photograph is taken such that the reader is looking slightly down on the scene. The sun is visible in the far-right and light is shining over the crowd.



A woman holds the national flag of France as people gather in Trafalgar Square to show their respect to victims of the terrorist attacks in Paris Photo: Getty Images

Image 16.0: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* Image 1. Source: Pearson, 2015

The image is used at the top of the article and spans the column size; therefore, it is large in relation to the overall space dedicated to the article.

HOME » NEWS » WORLD NEWS » EUROPE » FRANCE

When will the safety of innocent civilians - of all faiths and none - be put before the human rights of maniacs?

The British people have exercised patience and tolerance - but we will resist those who take liberties with our liberty. Understand that and tout est pardonné



A woman holds the national flag of France as people gather in Trafalgar Square to show their respect to victims of the terrorist attacks in Paris. Photo: Getty Images



By Allison Pearson
7:30PM GMT 14 Jan 2015

They could have lashed out in rage. Heaven knows, the provocation was great enough. Yet, the remaining staff of **Charlie Hebdo**, who saw eight of their colleagues gunned down just a week ago, chose yesterday to bring out a magazine with a poignant and thoughtful cover.

The illustration shows the Prophet Mohammed shedding a tear and holding a "Je Suis Charlie" sign. The headline reads: **All Is Forgiven**. The stunned survivors – never has the phrase skeleton staff been more apposite – chose to react more in sorrow than in anger. Still absorbing the cold-blooded murder of their friends, a bunch of satirical atheists decided to do the truly radical thing, and turn the other cheek.

Who or what is being forgiven by the cartoon? Is it the Kouachi brothers, the Islamist fanatics who went about their work, slaughtering wry, bespectacled funnymen in a business-like fashion and shouted "We have avenged the Prophet Muhammad" when they were done? Is it Allah himself, lamenting those poor, deluded souls who do evil in his name? Either way, if men and women who have witnessed such carnage and suffering in their own office can write "All is Forgiven", then there is still hope that human beings can live together in harmony.

Well, some human beings anyway. Rational and modern human beings who don't persist in taking offence when none is intended. Take the man in Slough, one of many similar Muslims over the past week, who told the **BBC Radio 4's Today programme** that the publication of the commemorative Charlie Hebdo edition would cause pain and retaliation. The cartoonists basically had it coming, he implied, because of what they did to Mohammed. They mourn their deaths. It turned out that this

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The Lemon Festival of Menton

Image 16.1: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* Image 2. Source: Pearson, 2015

The size of the image invites the reader's focus, signifying its importance, and works with the headline and sub-headline that "we will resist those who take liberties with our liberty". It is the support for 'innocent civilians' in Europe and for liberty. The elevated vantage point behind the woman positions the reader as observing from the woman's point of view.

The sun shining across the people in Trafalgar Square signifies hope and enlightenment of Europeans. The colour red, the beret, the French flag and the wider framing within the article of freedom of speech all signify France and the boldness of standing in support of Charlie Hebdo.

7.11.2.1 Charlie Hebdo Telegraph Video – ‘The road to Abu Hamza’s sentencing in 60 seconds’

The first video is of Abu Hamza being jailed in America and his criminal past in the UK. While eleven images are used in the video, five have been analysed.

7.11.2.1.1 Charlie Hebdo Telegraph Video Still 1

In this video, eleven images with text are used, including images of terrorist groups in Yemen; however, there is no voiceover. The first image (see image 17.0) has Abu Hamza standing facing the camera: he is wearing a black head piece, black sunglasses, and a light blue shirt; his hook is visible. The men standing with him appear to be of an ethnic minority; some look young and some wear scarves covering their head or face. In the bottom right corner, pieces of paper taped to metal say ‘Al-Quran The Final Message’, ‘Islam’, and ‘Islam’. In the left-hand side background is a (presumed) white woman with sunglasses on her head.



Image 17.0: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* Video Still 1.

The image starting the video signifies that this man has influence over other Muslims, especially young male Muslims, confirmed later in the video. There is framing that Hamza is a leader and he has many followers. The inclusion of the man with his scarf covering his face signifies that these men potentially have 'something to hide', alluding to the suspect discourse used in the article.

7.11.2.1.2 Charlie Hebdo Telegraph Video Still 2

The second image selected from the video (see image 17.1) shows Hamza wearing a beige kaftan and black headpiece, standing in the middle of a street, with cars parked on both sides. Men sit on the street facing Hamza; their ethnicity cannot be fully determined, although some are non-white.



Image 17.1. 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* Video Still 2.

To the right-hand side is a policeman wearing a hi-vis jacket and police hat, his arms at the front of his body. In front of the policeman is a man standing facing the men; his hands appear to be in his pockets. The two standing men in the background are of black ethnicity.

In video still 2 the reader is positioned behind the men sitting down in the street, signifying that they are in the 'follower' position. This also signifies that Hamza has influence over Muslim men and potentially some readers as the street and British policeman connote this is a British street where Hamza is "preaching anti-Western sermons".

7.11.2.1.3 Charlie Hebdo Telegraph Video Still 3

Image 17.1.1 has three men holding onto a beige car. The men are wearing headpieces, and all appear to be laughing, smiling and shouting. The man to the left is holding a semi-automatic rifle, the man next to him wearing a bandolier and the man to the forefront wearing a semi-automatic rifle on his back. The image is well lit and clear.



Image 17.1.1.1. 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* Video Still 3.

The reader is to assume that the men in the image are part of a terrorist group in Yemen. The fact the men are smiling signifies 'joy' in committing terrorist acts and violence, and the image works in relation to the text stating that Hamza 'supported and financed' terrorist groups in Yemen. The reader is invited to interpret Hamza as a dangerous man who has brought to Britain 'hate' and the joy of committing terrorism against the West, utilising a fear discourse.

7.11.2.1.4 Charlie Hebdo Telegraph 'All is forgiven' Video Still 1

The last video used at the end of the article is a press conference of Charlie Hebdo cartoonist Renald Luzier, who drew and wrote "I am Charlie" for the subsequent front cover of Charlie Hebdo after the attack, speaking about why he created "I am Charlie".

Image 17.1.2 is what readers see before playing the video. The image shows three white men sitting at a table. The man to the left-hand side is facing the

man in the middle; he is holding a microphone and wearing glasses and a brown suit. The man in the middle is wearing a black jacket; he has his head down and his face is not visible; his left hand holds his head and his right hand touches a microphone lying on a table on-top of what appears to be a newspaper with a green front cover and white font. The third man to the right-hand side is wearing a black suit with a white shirt; he is facing and leaning towards the man in the middle with; his right arm on the man's shoulder.



Image 17.1.2: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* 'All is Forgiven' Video Still 1.

The image signifies a man who is deeply distraught being comforted by two men on either side of him. The reader can infer from the microphones that this is a press conference. The newspaper the microphone is resting on is not visible; however, it could be a copy of Charlie Hebdo, indicating that the man is distraught over the Charlie Hebdo attack. The reader is positioned slightly to the side of the image and is meant to feel empathy towards the man.

7.11.2.1.5 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* 'All is forgiven' Video Still 2

The last image of the video is a close-up of the cartoonist holding a microphone and talking. The translation states that he is saying, in reference to when he wrote the "I am Charlie" cartoon, "And I looked at him (the character), he was crying. Then I wrote above it. All is Forgiven." To the left of the image a man is looking at the cartoonist.



Image 17.1.3: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Telegraph* 'All is Forgiven' Video Still 2.

This image works with what the man is saying. It signifies that the man is emotional, and the reader is positioned to align themselves with him. This is reinforced by the silence of the media, who are only apparent by the sound of cameras clicking, presumably taking pictures of the cartoonist. This sound also indicates what the cartoonist says is important, because the media are deemed to report 'truth' and function as power holders, partly determining what is important. Their taking images is cue for the reader that this part is important.

7.11.2.1.6 Charlie Hebdo Telegraph Framing of Images and Two Videos

The non-video image used and stills from the two videos work together in relation to framing and utilising a binary opposition and Orientalist discourse of the 'enlightened West' and 'barbaric' Muslims.

The lighting of the first image could be interpreted in correlation with the main framing and discourse of the text: that the West is enlightened and must remain enlightened and not be 'politically correct' like the liberal left who are 'cowards':

“we despise the cowardly political class that for years has tiptoed around “cultural sensitivities” (Tel4)

The word ‘cowardly’ and metaphor of tiptoeing additionally suggest that fear of offending is preventing freedom of speech, promoted by the liberal Left. This is similar to *The Guardian* discourse of the Left allowing terrorism to happen because of fear of causing offence.

The image is used as a binary opposition to ‘primitive’ Muslims; this is evident in the intertextuality of discussing the sentencing of Abu Hamza in America and the use of a video of Hamza positioned halfway through the article.

The Hamza video is relevant in intertextual terms because it aligns the context of Hamza and links his actions to the Charlie Hebdo attack, the wider discourse of Europe being under attack and the anti-politically correct Conservative discourse of ‘toughening up’. There is further framing of Muslim men in an Orientalist discourse via the use of the word ‘primitive’ and describing Muslims as:

“the group that has been worst at integration” (Tel4)

This creates a representation of Muslims as one homogenous ‘Muslim immigrant’ group who, because of their ‘world view’ (Tel4), cannot integrate and are completely different from the West. Using this discourse and including images of terrorists presented as against the West links to a Clash of Civilizations discourse. This confirms Karim’s (2011) theory that the media construct an image of Muslims via a mix of Orientalism and Clash of Civilization discourse.

The Hamza video is in binary opposition to the Charlie Hebdo video where the crying cartoonist and reference to Muhammad crying shows the emotion or humanness of the West, expressed by the cartoonist and his creation of “I am Charlie” connoting ‘we are all Charlie’. The reader sees main cartoonist Luzier upset, talking about forgiving the attackers; this video further reinforces the ‘enlightened West’ discourse by showing emotion, vulnerability and forgiveness in juxtaposition with intertextuality of Abu Hamza as ‘Captain Hook’ (a Disney villain), who is represented as all that is wrong with many Muslims in the UK who are allowed to continue establishing ‘primitive’ community practices like segregation in schools.

This is in direct comparison with and opposition to the 'barbaric' 'Muslim immigrants', who:

"come here and recreate their primitive, peasant society in this enlightened land" (Tel4)

Muslim men are positioned through Orientalist discourse as 'recreating' their Orientalist culture by using intertextual reference of a Muslim woman raped by a Muslim man in the UK and framed as 'Muslim immigrants' with the cue phrase "they come here". Many Muslims in the UK are British; however, the sentence frames the UK as devoid of rape, when rape is committed in all lands. Additionally, it creates an image of non-Western societies as un-enlightened. The contrast between the Hamza and cartoonist videos is intended to show that the West are capable of emotion and forgiveness, whereas Muslims are not.

The Muslim Victimhood Identity frame is utilised where a grievance narrative is discussed that Muslims use to justify violence. Tel6 use this frame and Star System member Sara Khan, referring to her as 'excellent' and calling the hurt and offence from Muslims as:

"the Muslim 'grievance narrative'" (Tel4)

Khan is further quoted as stating that 'many Muslims insist' on viewing themselves as:

"forever oppressed by the West...they lash out like angry children" (Tel4)

Here Khan is utilised as an 'insider' legitimising this framing of Muslims because she herself is a Muslim who has been vocal in the media about Muslims and integration. The simile comparing 'many Muslims' to 'angry children' connotes an image of a lack of understanding, selfish and uncompromising, because they are 'children'.

7.11.3 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail

With eight non-video images and one video, *The Daily Mail* uses the most images of all the texts. Six of the images are analysed including selected stills of the video. The framing is examined by combining all images and stills.

7.11.3.1 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Image 1

The first image (see image 18.0) shows a street scene of two gunmen, one in the bottom left corner and one in the top right. They are both wearing black clothes and balaclavas; one wears a camouflage vest. Both gunmen are aiming their guns at the right side of the image. In the middle of the image is a black car with the passenger and driver doors open.



Image 18.0: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Image 1. Source: Hastings, 2015.

The right-hand gunman stands in front of a blue car. The image is fully lit, denoting day time.

Underneath the image is the text 'Barbaric: Gunmen attack the office of Charlie Hebdo in Paris this week' (Hastings, 2015).

The image is positioned in between paragraphs (see image 18.1)

MAX HASTINGS: Why the liberals who defended traitors like Snowden and Assange should look at this photo and admit: We were deluded fools

By MAX HASTINGS

PUBLISHED: 01:59, 10 January 2015 | UPDATED: 02:05, 10 January 2015

 Share      **3.9k** shares  **608** View comments

Just imagine the Queen's Birthday Parade, June 13, 2015: the monarch, her family and escorting officers are arrayed on Horse Guards' in Whitehall, watching the serried red companies wheel and march past in slow time.

Suddenly, men burst from the crowd and begin spraying bullets among the soldiers and spectators.

It is a scenario from hell, yet no more fanciful than that of Wednesday's massacre in a Paris magazine office, or last month's slaughter of 132 schoolchildren in Peshawar, or the carnage of the London bus and Tube bombs of July 2005.

It is the sort of image with which security chiefs live every day of their working lives, because for them that would be the cost of a failure.



Barbaric: Gunmen attack the office of Charlie Hebdo in Paris this week

Yesterday's dramatic events in France ended with three terrorists and four hostages dead after a formidable French security and intelligence operation.

The intelligence services have never doubted that new terrorist attacks will come to the West, including Britain. An event such as the Charlie Hebdo killings merely gives the ongoing threat a shocking new sense of immediacy.

Image 18.1: 2015 Charlie Hebdo Image 1 Article Layout.

The image works with the accompanying article headline presented in bold requesting the reader "look at this photo", signifying its importance. It is used after the text asks the reader to imagine the Queen's Birthday Parade and men 'burst[ing] from the crowd...spraying bullets'. After two paragraphs discussing the imaginary scene, the text moves on to what happened at Charlie Hebdo offices in Paris and the image. This form of emotional and evocative storytelling is used to align the reader in more familiar ways with the event in France via a fear discourse: it could happen here. The angle of the image positions the reader

looking down on the scene. The gunmen directing their guns to the right signifies that violence is not over and works in correlation with the two paragraphs inviting the reader to imagine a scenario of Britain under attack. The reader knows the image is from the Charlie Hebdo attack as indicated in the text underneath the image; however, it is recontextualised (Fairclough, 2003) to be situated within Britain, signifying that terrorism does not stop nor have any borders. The lit-up image connotes and produces fear: if an attack can happen in daylight, it can happen anytime.

7.11.3.1.1 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Image 2

The second image (see image 18.1.2) *The Daily Mail* uses is of Director General of MI5 Andrew Parker. The image is of a white man wearing glasses, a dark suit, white shirt and blue tie; his gaze is directly towards the reader. In the background appear to be flower ornaments. The reader is positioned as looking up towards the man.



Image 18.1.2: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Image 2.

The image connotes a man of authority signified by his suit and the positioning of the reader looking upward to him; in this respect the man is in a position of power,

who should be trusted and 'looked up to'. The suit is cue of an authoritative, professional and, therefore, knowledgeable man which is reinforced by the text underneath: "Director General of MI5 Andrew Parker warned that Islamist radicals were plotting terror attacks on the UK". Quotes from Parker, framed as an authoritative figure who is 'warning' that an attack is 'almost inevitable', justify discourses used. Therefore, Parker is used as a discursive tool of modality to legitimise and position the subsequent article's framing and discourses as truth.

Using Parker reinforces the Conservative ideology of authority and maintaining the status quo; the text and image signify that the imaginary scenario is 'truth' and reinforces the dominant fear discourse.

7.11.3.1.2 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Image 3

Image three (see 18.1.3) is of a young white man wearing glasses and a grey shirt. While his head is turned slightly to his right, his gaze is directed at the reader; his lips are closed tightly. The white background is slightly lit to the left of the image. There appear to be buttons on either side of the man's eyes. The reader is looking downward at the man.



Image 18.1.3. 2015 Charlie Hebdo Image 3.

Underneath the image is the following text: "Assange and Edward Snowden, pictured, have damaged the security of each and every one of us, by alerting the jihadis and Al Qaeda to the scale and reach of electronic eavesdropping"

Image 3 frames, through positioning the reader as elevated from the subject, Snowden as someone to scrutinise. Snowden is 'beneath' the reader, not on an equal par, and therefore in relation to the article not trustworthy; the headline

alludes he is a 'traitor'. His head turned slightly to the side and the reader 'looking down' on him connote submission and, therefore, weakness. Furthermore, his clothing indicates, in contrast to Parker, someone who is not serious or of authority.

7.11.3.1.3 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Image 4

Image 4 (see 18.1.4) shows a white man standing in a doorway, wearing a light blue shirt, unbuttoned at the top, with a red tie. His left thumb is up and in his right hand is a sheet of paper. To the right of the man are two microphones pointed towards him and on his far-right is someone holding and pointing a camera up towards him. A yellow, blue and red flag is in the foreground and a sign with the word "Ecuador" is visible. The angle of the image positions the reader as distant from the man. Underneath the image is the following text: "WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange giving a thumbs up prior to delivering a statement inside the Ecuador Embassy, where he has sought political asylum in London"



Image 18.1.4. 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Image 4.

The image connotes a relaxed man, signified via his unbuttoned (at the top) shirt and thumbs-up. The image is used in relation to the article and headline of a 'traitor' who has allowed these terrorist attacks to happen, to connote this man as not caring about the safety of people in the West. His relaxed appearance represents the 'too relaxed' attitude of liberals which has resulted in terrorism.

7.11.3.1.4 Daily Mail Image 5

Image 5 (see image 18.1.5) shows a street scene of seven police officials wearing black helmets and clothing walking with five people, some of whose arms are being held by the police official – these people are assumed as citizens. One police official is carrying someone wearing an orange jacket and dark trousers. Towards the back of these people are three police officials looking towards the right. Next to them is a blue van. To the front of the image are three vans, one of which is a police van; four people stand in front of the van. The reader looks down onto the scene. The text underneath the image states: “Explosions and gunshots were heard as police forces stormed a kosher grocery in Paris where a gunman was holding people hostage”.



Image 18.1.5. 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Image 5.

Image 5 links to image 2, that authority-figures speak the truth and are trustworthy. In this image, the police officials are helping what are assumed as hostages out of the kosher supermarket; therefore, they should be trusted to ‘save’ the ordinary citizen. In the text following the image the reader is positioned to again imagine this scenario in the UK and to trust and essentially obey authority.

7.11.3.1.5 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Image 6

Image 6 (image 18.1.6) is a street scene where the central element is three ambulances in the centre of the image, one has a door open with five police officials standing outside it and a police official on a motorbike in front of it. The ambulance to the left of the image has four police officials standing at the back of it with a woman, presumed a civilian. To the front of the image are eight vehicles. Towards the back of the image are many police officials who appear to be walking towards a building in close. The reader looks down on the scene. The text underneath the image states: "Four hostages were killed as well as three terrorists in the bloody ending of Friday's standoff".



Image 18.1.6. 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Image 6.

The image signifies chaos represented by the number of vehicles visible; the article reinforces this chaos by stating an imaginary scene of a terrorist attack in the UK; thus, the reader is again positioned to examine the image and imagine this happening in the UK. The number of police officials present in the image connote and reinforce the dominant Conservative discourse that 'we' must place our trust in the status quo in authority. 'We' must trust what the status quo says and the action they may take to deal with terrorism.

7.11.3.1.6 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Video

The video is 1.15 minutes long and appears to be from a security camera as it is one static shot from above. Three stills have been taken and analysed.

7.11.3.1.6.1 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Video Still 1

The video opens (see image 18.1.7) where a street is visible; in the foreground are many official vehicles, including approximately seven ambulances and at least three police vehicles parked closely together, following a curved corner on the street. To the left of the image is small bushes, pavement, street lamps and trees. There is a lit-up advertisement sign on the left and to the front right of the image are traffic lights. In the background are buildings and to one side of the buildings are many cars that are parked. The only thing audible is white noise.

The opening still from the video signifies that this is a street like any street in the UK, a connection is meant to be established between the reader and the scene/story that this could and will happen in the UK, according to the discourses and framing. The white noise or lack of sound that would typically be expected from a daytime street connotes the seriousness of the situation. The presence of official vehicles connotes that authority should be trusted to deal with any situation.

their response the next time our turn comes, as it assuredly will.

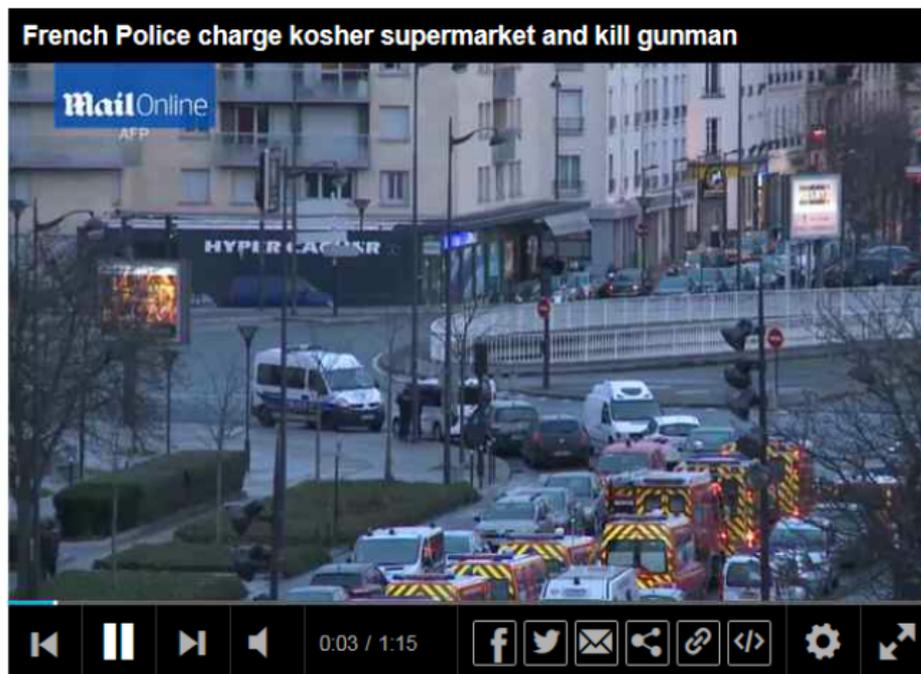


Image 18.1.7: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Video Image Still 1.

7.11.3.1.6.2 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Still 2 and 3 Video

The second still from the video (see image 18.1.8) is the same street scene, but a group of police officials, walking closely together in black clothes and helmets, approach one of the buildings. A black van with white letters 'BRI' approaches and parks in the far right of the video. More police officials come out and move towards the building. Four gun shots are heard; this is followed by people running to the supermarket; flashing (camera) lights are visible.

The emergence of police officials and a large official van approaching within a short period of time frame the authorities' ability to deal with terrorist attacks. The sound of four gun shots are included to remind the reader this is 'reality': terrorism is present in the West and will also be in the UK. Additional people running towards the building and flashing lights connote that the press is always present and ready to report 'truth'. The overarching framing exists to legitimise the dominant discourse of multiculturalism allowing and causing terrorism in the

West. The framing in the article is evident in the images is that terrorism will happen in the UK and it is caused by liberals, but the public should trust authority.

their response the next time our turn comes, as it assuredly will.

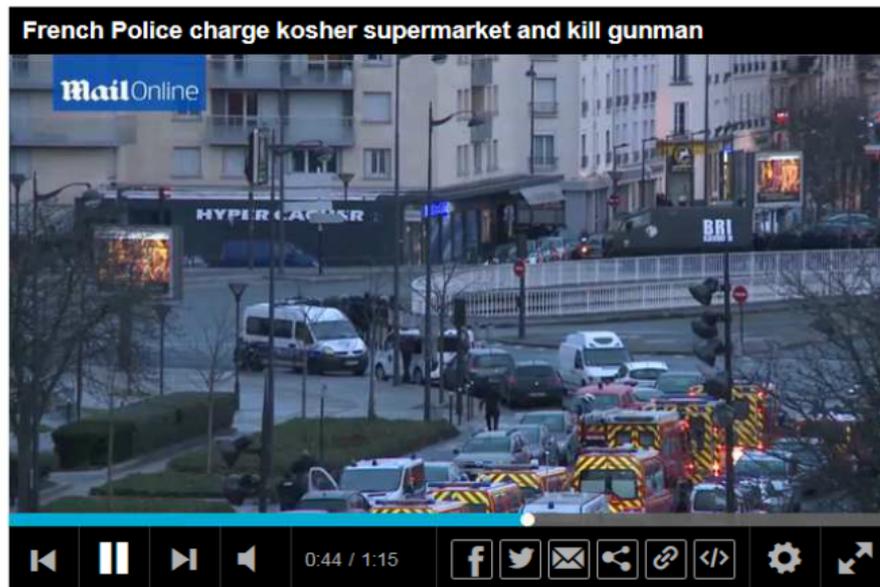


Image 18.1.8: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Video Image Still 2.

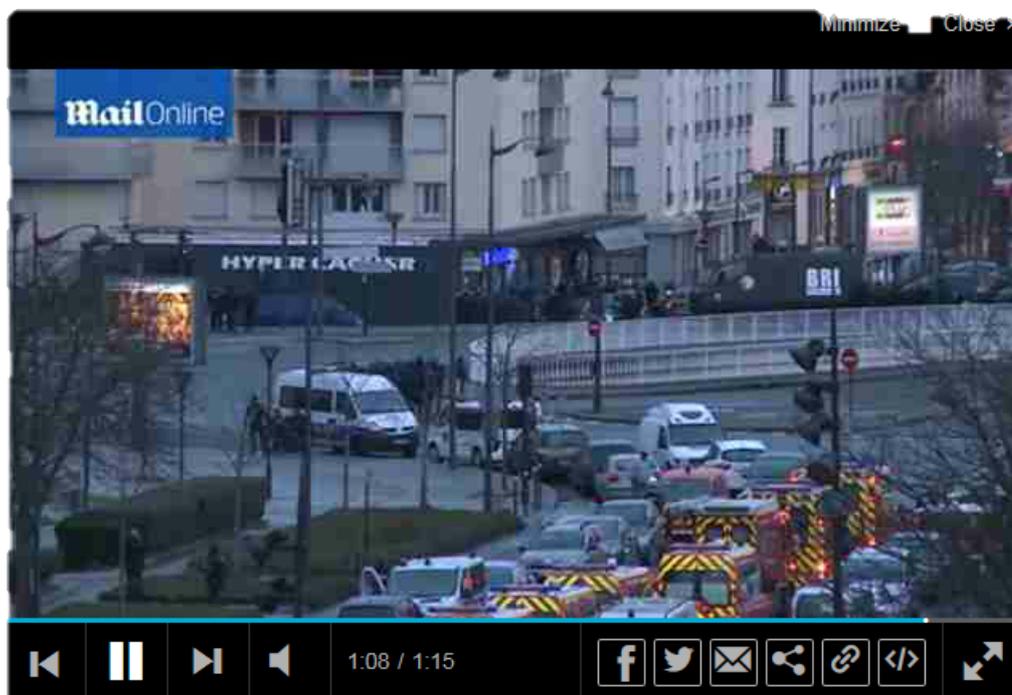


Image 18.1.9. 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* Video Image Still 3.

7.11.3.1.7 Charlie Hebdo Daily Mail Framing

Including images from the French supermarket terrorist attack and linking them to Charlie Hebdo, *The Daily Mail* utilise a fear discourse discursively linked with Muslims. This is demonstrated in a sentence on globalisation that is used in between paragraphs on security:

“globalisation places a disturbing number of such people [attackers who hate our culture] in our midst, rather than far away in Somalia or Iran”.
(DM1)

This reinforces the security and suspect community discourse with Muslims and the images of the ‘gunmen’ and MI5 Andrew Parker; although the article does not state all Muslims are terrorists or against ‘us’, there is a:

“disturbing number of such people in our midst” (DM1)

This paragraph and the positioning of quotes from Parker reinforce fear discourse and suspect community discourse. It is also further expanded to focus on young Muslims who are in their “thousands, and even tens of thousands” (DM1). A further use of numbers to highlight the threat is used:

“At least 300 British-born Muslims are currently thought to be fighting as jihadis in Iraq and Syria”
“security services warn that 150 jihadists [are] back in the UK from Syria”
“an annual £2 million grant to provide security at Jewish schools had been protected until 2016”

Numbers are utilised as part of an additional fear and suspect community discourse because ‘thousands...even tens of thousands’, according to ‘intelligence agency’ and MI5, have ‘expressed’ interest in violence. These are presented as frames in all the images, which focus on security and emphasise the Conservative ideology of respecting authority, and further links the discursive strand of Muslims (who are ‘British-born’ not British) and terrorism, which right-wing populism has successfully mainstreamed.

Images of Snowden and Assange are used to represent the liberal Left or ‘politically correct’ who have allowed these terrorist attacks to happen because they have:

“damaged security of each and every one of us, by alerting the jihadis and Al Qaeda, our mortal enemies, to the scale and reach of electronic eavesdropping” (DM1)

Modality is used to connote Snowden as representative of and supported by the liberal Left whose actions have aided terrorists and caused terrorism. This is further reinforced in the headline:

“Why the liberals who defended traitors like Snowden and Assange should look at this photo and admit: We were deluded fools” (DM1)

Although Snowden and Assange are not involved in the attacks they are intertextually linked and blamed like the politically correct and liberal Left. This reinforces an authoritative ideology of obeying and conforming to authority as the effects of not doing so are dire. Furthermore, it recontextualises Snowden and Assange as part of the liberal Left, who are betraying the ‘people’, and discursively links the idea of not conforming to authority as siding with Muslims and terrorism (Fairclough, 2003).

The relaxed appearances of both Snowden and Assange, in contrast to suit-wearing authority figure Andrew Parker, signify that they do not take safety of Europe or Brits seriously and that it is Conservative ideology that must be respected and is required to deal with what the ‘liberals’ have created.

In image 5, of hostages escorted out of the kosher market, at least eight police officers and a police van are visible, reinforcing the ideology of authority and status quo as ‘saving’ people. This links to the anti-multiculturalism discourse of the need to look at the ‘problem’: the allowance of Muslim charities ‘promoting values totally at odds with those of our society’, Islamic extremism in schools and using multiculturalism to allow this in the UK, further reinforced by Snowden and Assange’s anti-status quo actions.

Image six, showing three ambulances and many police officers outside the kosher supermarket, links with the fear discourse dominant in the text. The ‘bloody ending’ resulting in four hostage deaths is described underneath. This image reinforces the ideology of the status quo, as more symbolic references to authority are present such as the policemen. This is underpinned with the video at the end of the article.

The video reinforces that this terrorist attack could happen in the UK, and the need to follow the authorities (status quo). It utilises a Conservative discourse and ideology of 'facing' the reality that multiculturalism and going against the status quo has 'helped' terrorists. This dominant fear discourse is discursively linked with an Orientalist discourse framing Muslims as angry and full of rage towards the West; DM1 outlines that foreign policy has been:

"feeding the rage of young Muslims against the West" (DM1)

This metaphor of 'feeding the rage' connotes that there has been pre-existing 'rage' within young Muslims and that it will only increase. This Orientalist discourse is mixed with Clash of Civilization discourse (Karim, 2011) where 'expert' Professor Sir Michael Howard is used to create the discourse via using a quote by him:

"we in the West like to delude ourselves that most of the world wants to share the cultural freedom we cherish" (DM1)

This quote is followed by an explanation that 'freedom' is a 'modern idea' and 'huge numbers', many of whom are described as "hard line Muslims", 'bitterly resist it'. The article directly references the 'hostility to freedom' as the cause of the Paris attacks. Although later in the article it is stated that there is a 'fanatical minority' of Muslims who 'aim at destroying Western civilization', the word 'minority' is negated by the quote earlier in the article of 'huge numbers' who are against freedom, and essentially incompatible with the West. The solution to this rage of Muslims, who are in 'huge numbers' and are potential terrorists in the UK, is to respect authority and denounce the liberal Left, adding to the regime of truth and order of discourse that Muslims are suspect, should be monitored by authority and are potential terrorists.

7.11.3.1.8 Charlie Hebdo Berlingske Image

Like *The Sun*, *Berlingske* use images of politicians in the text. This may be because the Danish newspapers were expressing caution, explained earlier, after the 2006 Muhammad Crisis or because the text was written by the MP Brian Mikkelsen. Additionally, this may also be because, like *Politiken* using a picture of Naser Khader in the 2009/2010 Burka Ban debate cluster event, the article was written by the politician in the image – Brian Mikkelsen.

7.11.3.1.9 Berlingske Image 1



Image 18.2: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Berlingske* Image One. Source: Mikkelsen, 2015

Image 18.2 is a head shot of Conservative MP Brian Mikkelsen, previous Minister of Culture. He is smiling, wearing black glasses, a dark blue suit and light blue shirt (unbuttoned at the collar). While his shoulders are angled away from the viewer, he faces the reader with a direct gaze. The background is white.

The overall size allocated for the images is large and the image is situated underneath the heading and sub-heading (see image 18.2.1).

Vi skal ikke lade os kue af mørkemænd

Jeg tror stadig på, at de demokratiske frihedsværdier, vi repræsenterer, vil sejre ved en kombination af øget sikkerhedsindsats og ideologisk kamp. Vi skal igen styrke kendskabet til kulturarven.

• REDAG D. 9. JANUAR 2015 KL. 17:00



Af Brian Mikkelsen, Gruppeformand (K) og tidl. minister

Jeg var en ung idealistisk polit.-studerende i 1989 da Muren faldt. Tog til Berlin, og hentede et obligatorisk stykke fra muren, som følger mig overalt. Jeg troede fuldt ud på en fredelig demokratisk verden, for kommunismen var jo brudt sammen. De vestlige frihedsværdier ville nu gå deres sejrsgang i hele verden. Den drøm er desværre flere gange de seneste år blevet punkteret af fundamentalistiske mørkemænd, der ikke vil vores demokrati og frihed.

Udvekslingen af synspunkter i vor tid er

Image 18.2.1: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Berlingske* Image One Layout

This is a 'typical' publicity image of a politician with clear lighting so that the face is completely visible and was shot by a photo editor in chief. This is in contrast to the *Politiken* image, in the Burka ban debate of Naser Khader whose face is only partially visible.

7.11.3.1.10 Charlie Hebdo *Berlingske* Image 2

The second image (see image 18.2.1), positioned next to the image of Brian Mikkelsen, is of people standing. There is a dark-haired white woman wearing a black jacket, black gloves and grey scarf; in her left hand she is holding a piece of paper that says in white font 'Je Suis Charlie'. The woman's gaze is off to her left and her mouth is slightly downturned. Behind the woman is a grey-haired

white man wearing glasses, a black jacket, blue shirt and yellow patterned scarf; his gaze is slightly to his left past the reader. Behind this man are more people gazing in different directions; one man is holding the same 'Je Suis Charlie' sign. One woman at the front of the image is holding hands with someone behind her.

This image is explained in the article as being of European politicians supporting France and Charlie Hebdo. The image shows the politicians looking upset, connoting the Europe-wide sadness of the event, and the need to look at authority for guidance in how to react in this situation. The inclusion of this image represents the Europe-wide support for Charlie Hebdo, demonstrated by the woman holding the hand of someone else, and reinforces the Conservative discourse and ideology of the status quo. This is evident when questioning why members of the public holding the Je Suis Charlie posters were not used: the text states that European leaders attended the march, but so did members of the general public, yet those images were not used.

7.11.3.1.11 Charlie Hebdo Berlingske Images Framing

Like many of the images from right-leaning newspapers, these images reinforce the status quo and authority. They frame, within Conservative ideology, that Conservative authority and thinking is needed in this situation, and this is reinforced with the discourse of education as key to integration of Muslims, which will prevent an incident like Charlie Hebdo in Denmark. Thereby framing non-integration as linked to terrorism. Muslims are represented as 'new citizens', cue words for immigrants, requiring education in Danish culture, which is:

“the best vaccine against undemocratic currents” (Ber2)

This education frame is viewed as essential, such that:

“we do everything to ensure immigrants and their descendants become familiar with our society. It is time to take our country back” (Ber2)

This implies Denmark has been overtaken by 'Muslim immigrants' and 'under siege' from non-integrated “immigrants” – the discourse DPP have mainstreamed (Siim & Meret, 2016).

What is 'under siege' is Danish society, which has been built from generations of 'respect':

"we respect each other's differences from a common understanding that we have used for generations to build and pass on via educating our children to understand this so they can then pass this to their children" (Ber2)

There is focus on 'passing on' cultural heritage of Denmark, or teaching Danish values, to children and the idea that 'successful integration' requires:

"A foundational understanding of Danish history, culture and language...that all new citizens should have" (Ber2)

7.11.3.1.12 Charlie Hebdo Jyllands-Posten Image

Jyllands-Posten use two images in the article titled "We can't just pretend they are not Muslims".

7.11.3.1.13 Charlie Hebdo Jyllands-Posten Image 1

The first image (see 19.0 and image 19.1) shows a necklace with a silver chain. At the bottom middle of the image is a star symbol; in the middle is what appears to be round glass with a black dot and light blue background. Connected to the star is a half-moon crescent. Underneath the image is the text: "In 2013, Professor Emeritus Mehdi Mozaffari published the book "Islamism", comparing it with the 20th century totalitarian ideologies like fascism, communism and Nazism. He believes that the events in Paris show that it is necessary to criticise Islam".



Image 19.0: Charlie Hebdo *Jyllands-Posten* Image One, Source: Lavrsen & Kaae, 2015

09.01.2015 KL. 20:10

»Vi kan ikke bare lade, som om det ikke er muslimer«

Islam og terror: Ayaan Hirsi Ali og danske eksperter er enige om, at debatten om terroren ikke kun kan reduceres til et spørgsmål om islamisters ekstreme fortolkning af Koranen. Det er nødvendigt at se på islam, siger de.



I 2013 udgav professor emeritus Mehdi Mozaffari bogen "Islamisme", hvor han sammenligner den med det 20. århundredes totalitære ideologier som fascisme, kommunisme og nazisme. Han mener, at begivenhederne i Paris viser, at det er nødvendigt at forholde sig kritisk over for islam.

Image 19.1: Charlie Hebdo *Jyllands-Posten* Image One Layout

The image frames the necklace as a symbol for Islam although, as the Islamic Research Foundation International, Inc (2012), states it is not 'accepted' by all Muslims. It is cue to the reader that this article is about Islam or rather that the Charlie Hebdo attack is. The glass circle in the middle of the star could also frame the necklace as the 'evil eye', which could be cue for the reader that Islam is evil. However, the evil eye historically is meant to ward off evil, so it could also present the idea that Islam attempts to ward off evil and, in this essence, the terrorist attack was an attempt to ward off the evil of the West. While the source of this image is not stated, its selection is an editorial decision and, therefore, the necklace resembling the evil eye is significant; however, it is polysemic, open to interpretation, as all texts are (Hall, 1980). Nevertheless, the writing underneath the image is a cue to the reader, linking Islam with 'totalitarian ideologies' like

Nazism and the wider discourses in the article such as Muslims as suspect community and the overall framing of Muslims potentially becoming 'Islamists'. This is in addition to the discourse of Muslims showing tacit support by not publicly denouncing terrorist attacks in the name of Islam and being responsible for 'raising awareness' that not all Muslims are terrorists.

7.11.3.1.14 Charlie Hebdo Jyllands-Posten Image 2

Image 2 (see 19.1.1) is of an ethnic minority woman whose torso, head and gaze are angled slightly to the left of the reader.



Image 19.1.1: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Jyllands-Posten* Image 2.

The woman's dark hair is tied back; she wears hoop earrings, a blue scarf and a dark suit jacket; a hands-free microphone appears at the right side of her face; her mouth is open slightly. Her face is predominantly lit up but her left side is in partial shadow. The background and foreground are blurred.

The image is large, see 19.1.2, and appears underneath image 1.



Det siger en række eksperter i religion og idevidenskab og politikere fra både blå og rød lejr nå Christiansborg. De bakker i forskellig grad op om pointerne i et

Image 19.1.2: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Jyllands-Posten* Image 2 Article.

7.11.3.1.15 Charlie Hebdo *Jyllands-Posten* Images Framing

The image is of Ayaan Hirsi Ali, indicated in the article underneath the image, who is framed as one of a group of 'experts' claiming it necessary to examine Islam as part of the terrorist attacks. The image in relation to the text constructs a woman who has a lot to say and is invited to speak, shown by the hands-free microphone and her open mouth. Furthermore, the image is large and therefore is cue to the

reader that her opinions are important. This legitimises her opinion, as does her Star System membership via intertextual explanation of her past as the writer of the film which was cited as the reason filmmaker Van Gogh was murdered. This recontextualises Van Gogh's murder and builds on the order of discourse that Muslims are linked with crime and terrorism. Hirsi Ali is further legitimised with reinforcement of quotes from Naser Khader, another Star System member, and a host of other 'experts'.

Jyllands-Posten utilise quotes from Muslim or ex-Muslim 'experts' within the Clash of Civilizations discourse. The headline "We cannot just pretend it is not Muslims" is supported by Hirsi Ali, who is pictured in the article, and 'Danish experts' who all agree that the terrorists' inspiration is from the Quran. In conjunction with the headline this creates an image of a clash between Islam and the West because it homogenises Muslims as one group following the same ideals or 'ideology' as Islamists, due to the statement that "a row of experts" in religion and politics have confirmed it is "not possible" to separate the terror attacks from Islam. The metaphor of a 'row of experts' creates an image of many people who are knowledgeable in the area; that they all agree presents a strong legitimisation of the discourse, despite the article failing to state the number of experts. The article continues that the experts "underline" that:

"the terrorists follow an extreme version of Islam, but this is based on a religion practiced worldwide by 1.6 billion Muslims" (JP3)

The use of the word 'but' negates what was previously stated because it situates all Muslims 'worldwide' as following the same religion as the extremists, framing all Islam as clashing with the West and Muslims as potential terrorists. Although towards the end of the article the text states that not all Muslims should be blamed for terrorism, the next paragraph states that 'according to the experts' Islam cannot be separated from terrorism, reinforcing that it is a problem with Muslims and Islam and legitimising and naturalising the discursive strand of Muslims and Islam equating to terrorism and crime.

Clash of Civilizations discourse is mixed with Orientalist discourse (Karim, 2011); *Jyllands-Posten* use quotes by Star System member Naser Khader to present Muslims within an Orientalist discourse. Khader states that Muslims must speak up against terrorism more:

“[There is] a need for a complete fundamental culture war inside the Muslim house” (JP3)

“far more Muslims should distance themselves from terrorism” (JP3)

“[Terrorism is Muslims’] problem more than it is the Danes’ problem...You have a problem as a Muslim if you do not say ‘not in my name’” (JP3)

The metaphor ‘culture war’ connotes that within the ‘Muslim house’ or homogenous Muslim community the pre-existing cultural norm of terrorism needs to be challenged. This framing implies the ‘problem’ is the tacit support of Muslims (who are not Danish) who do not speak up against terrorism.

This is further reinforced with quotes from Professor Emeritus Mehdi Mozaffari who wrote a book on Islamism in 2013 which is stated to legitimise his words “violence is part of Islam” and, therefore, a part of all Muslims, and that Muslims are ‘sensitive’ in their reactions, utilising a Muslim Victimhood Identity frame. A further quote from previous leader of the DPP Pia Kjærsgaard, who became Speaker of the Danish Parliament in 2015, states that Muslims must be:

“better at becoming aware [of voicing that not all Muslims are terrorist]” (JP3)

Therefore, the onus of responsibility for terrorism is within the Muslim ‘community’; it is their fault and they must change it, similar to Muslims being blamed for living allegedly segregated lives (Pitcher, 2009; Phillips, 2006).

Utilising a mix of Clash of Civilizations and Orientalist discourse, the two images used by *Jyllands-Posten* reinforce that terrorism and Islam go together, that Islam and ultimately Muslims, not just in France but Europe, are motivated by an ‘ideology’. Intertextually compared to and therefore linked with Nazism,

It is important to note that contextually *Jyllands-Posten* has always been critical of Islam and Muslims; this is evident from the Muhammad Cartoon crisis of 2005 – 2006 although, as Hervik (2014) note, *Jyllands-Posten* was critical of Muslims pre-9/11.

7.11.3.1.16 Charlie Hebdo Politiken Image

Politiken use an illustration at the top of the article. The text is written by DPP MP Mogens Camre.

The illustration (see image 20.0) is of two men facing each other. On the left is a man with a dark beard, wearing a white cap and vest, holding a gun pointed at the man on the right. A grey/blue shadow covers all of him except part of his face. He has a large nose and furrowed brow; his eyes are staring at the man on the right.

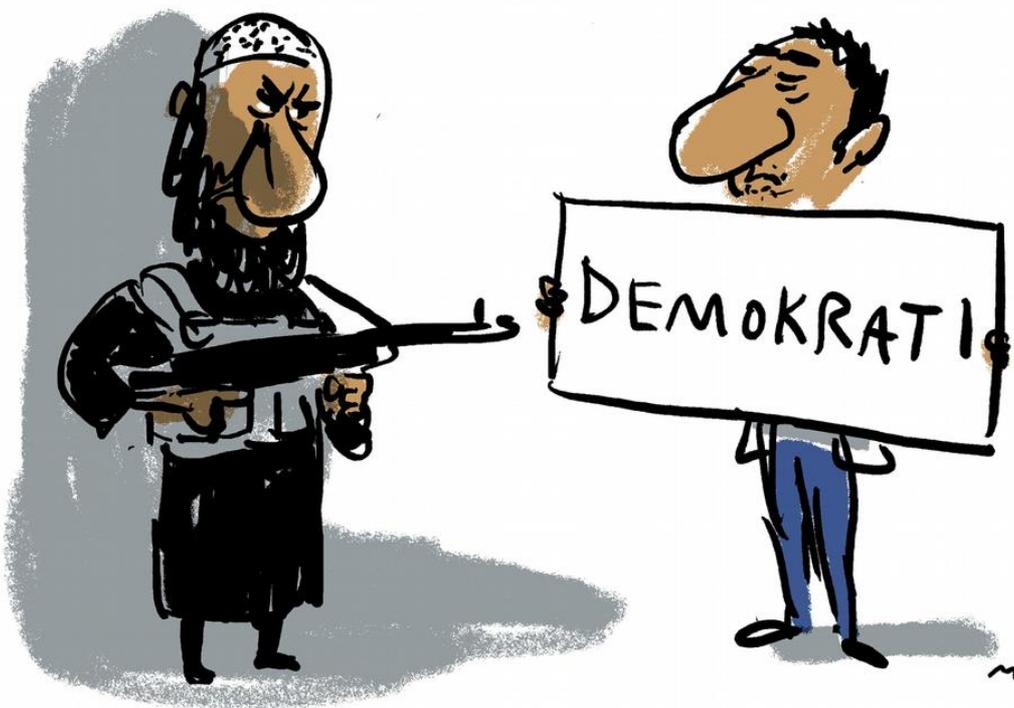


Image 20.0: 2015 Charlie Hebdo *Politiken* Image 1. Source: Camre, 2015

The man to the right of the illustration is holding a large sign with the word 'democracy'. He wears light blue trousers and a white top. He has short dark hair and a large nose; his eyes are closed, and his mouth is downturned.

The image is large, appears before the heading and is used to cover the majority of the page for the article (see image 20.1).



Tegning: Mette Dreyer

JAN. 2015 KL. 09.12

Dette er et debatindlæg. Indlægget er udtryk for skribentens holdning. Alle holdninger, som kan udtrykkes inden for straffelovens og presseetikens rammer, er velkomne, og du kan også sende os din mening [her](#).



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Mens vi venter på det næste terrorangreb

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Terrorangrebet på Charlie Hebdos redaktion blev gennemført uden hindringer.

Sikkerhedsvagterne blev dræbt på sekunder, derpå redaktionen og så politifolkene, ingen nåede at ramme terroristerne.

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Image 20.1: Charlie Hebdo *Politiken* Image 1 Article Layout.

The grey/blue shadow predominantly covering the gunman represents darkness. He is potentially coming out of the darkness in reference to the overall narrative of Denmark being the next target, reinforced with the headline "Whilst We Wait", because society has allowed democracy to be attacked for too long. Therefore,

terrorism is coming out of the darkness. The darkness additionally represents the dark that is already present in Denmark but is now coming out into the light.

Duality is present in the image with the shadow which is over the gunman but not the sign-holder. Additionally, duality is present with the colour of their clothes: the gunman wears black while the sign-holder's clothes are light in colour, connoting evil versus good. Furthermore, the gunman's long beard, white cap and angry eyes connote and signify that he is potentially an angry Muslim terrorist. The man on the right does not have a beard and is holding a sign saying 'democracy' which represents him being potentially Danish, and his eyes are closed as if in pain or sad. The gun pointing to the sign saying 'democracy' presents democracy threatened or under attack.

7.11.3.16.1 Charlie Hebdo Politiken Image Framing

The image constructs the dominant discourse of Clash of Civilizations and the framing that Islam is not compatible with the West or Denmark because it is 'angry' or threatening to 'democracy', a cue for Danish identity. This is reinforced with the shadow around the gunman, framing the event as a 'challenge'/'clash' between the unenlightened Muslim in duality with the enlightened Westerner; in this aspect it conforms to an Orientalist and Clash of Civilizations discourse. *Politiken* utilises an image of homogenous Islam against the West via stating:

"we can't continue to house humans who reject our fundamental values"
(P5)

The focus on the term 'values' is used more in Danish newspapers than the British who use this discourse of mixing Orientalism and Clash of Civilizations (Karim, 2011). Muslims are represented as 'Muslim immigrants' through the cue word 'house', implying that there needs to be a review of immigration from countries opposing Danish values, which in this discourse is non-Western Muslim countries. To house humans is a Danish idiom, the article continues to state:

"we cannot have foreigners in this country, who are against democracy"
(P5)

It is important to note as explained in previous sections that in the Danish language there are two words which mean foreigner – *udlænding* and *fremmede*. *Fremmede*, as Boreus in Wodak (2013) outlines, is linked to fascist Germany right-

wing populist discourse. This was the word chosen by the text producer, a member of the DPP which has links to fascist ideals; therefore, the Clash of Civilizations discourse is framed within a populist right-wing discourse.

This is similar duality to that of *The Telegraph* and the use of videos showing duality between Hamza and the cartoonist, or the barbaric, angry 'foreign' Muslim versus the forgiving, enlightened West.

7.11.3.1.17 Conclusion: Charlie Hebdo

Both countries use Muslim or ex-Muslim 'experts' as justification for actions and discourses, thus utilising Star System members, but the UK does so in a more subtle form. Denmark utilises Ayaan Hirsi Ali, an ex-Muslim and Star System member, Hirsi Ali is legitimised as an authority to listen to via the angle of the image.

Duality is used in some of the images for both countries, but in different ways. *The Telegraph* and *Politiken* both use duality to establish and reinforce a West versus Islam framing and discourse. *The Telegraph* do this by using videos intertextually of Hamza and his barbaric 'rise' in terrorist acts and influence on young Muslim men in the UK, in contrast to the enlightened, 'forgiving' West/European. This is also evident in the illustration used in *Politiken* of one man dressed as a Muslim terrorist pointing a gun towards a man in Western clothes holding a sign saying 'democracy'. Here, again, duality is evident in the illustration of the 'barbaric threat' coming from dark into light (or into Denmark), threatening Danish identity, as identified via the banal nationalism of using the word 'democracy'.

But the majority of UK newspapers do not use national identity explicitly in the images used. *The Daily Mail* uses street scenes from the Charlie Hebdo and kosher supermarket attacks and writes an imaginary scene using the Queen under attack as a cue for 'us' under attack; as such, they recontextualise explicitly the situation as in the UK, and the images are used to reinforce Conservative and right-wing populist discourses as the solution to the problem.

The Guardian, *The Daily Mail* and *The Telegraph* all use 'political correctness', either explicitly referencing it or implying it is the fault of the 'liberals' allowing terrorism to happen and not making Muslims integrate.

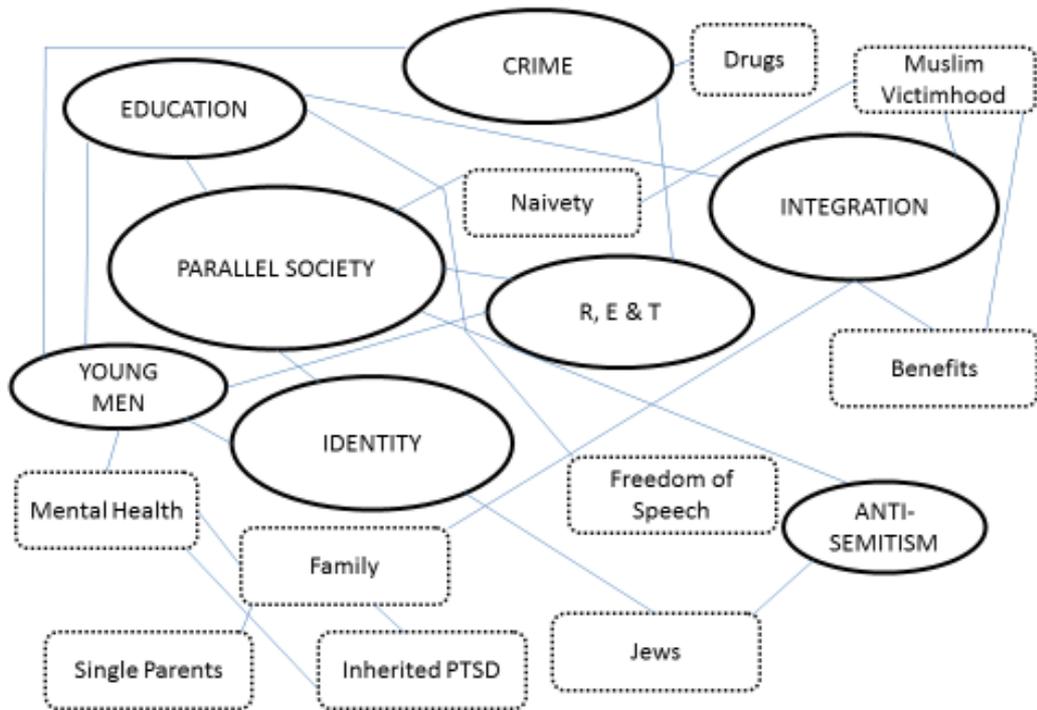
Rather than focus on liberals creating a space for terrorism to flourish, the Danish newspapers focus on 'fighting' for the Danish identity by framing it as something to fight for; the British newspapers frame national identity as something in confusion because of the liberals' multiculturalism and not making minorities integrate. The idea of fighting for national identity is linked to right-wing populist discourses in combination with authoritarian ideology (Mudde, 2007).

Therefore, Muslims are represented in this cluster event through Orientalist discourse (Said, 1995) as the primitive, dangerous and barbaric Other against the Western enlightened Self. In the UK context, national identity is unclear, but the UK is under threat from terrorism linked to non-integrated Muslims. In the Danish context, national identity is established and should be 'fought' to preserve. Therefore, in both countries Muslims are framed as a threat to national identity.

The images in combination with the wider text function to legitimise and 'transform' the Charlie Hebdo event. Recontextualisation of the event situates the issue within each country, and intertextual reference to previous terrorist attacks, Nazi fascism and crimes function to naturalise the history or knowledge of Muslims as terrorist (Barthes, 1972).

7.12 Copenhagen 2015 Terrorist Attack

Discourses



23

Image 21.0: Copenhagen 2015 Discourses



²³ R = Radicalism, E = Extremism, T = Terrorism.

7.12.1 Themes

All discourses are classified within themes that are evident within most of the newspaper articles. The dominant themes are cause, or how and why the terrorist attack happened, the second dominant theme is prevention; or how terrorist attacks could be avoided in the future. Some discourses are used to frame both the cause of the attack but also the solution.

Articles

Thirteen articles are analysed for the cluster event. Table 7.9 should be used in conjunction with the analysis;

<i>Number</i>	<i>Article reference</i>
1	P1
2	EB2
3	P3
4	P4
5	Ber5
6	JP6
7	JP7
8	JP8
9	Ber9
10	Ber10
11	EB11
12	BT12
13	BT13

Table 7.9: Copenhagen 2015 Terrorist Attack Cluster Event Article Key

7.12.1.2 Cause

This theme focuses on what caused the terrorist attack and it centres predominantly on discourses of blame; who is to blame for what has happened. The findings reveal that Muslims within the parallel society and the politically left are predominantly assigned the blame. The dominant discourses within this theme are; *parallel society, integration, identity, crime, family, terrorism, mental health, Muslim grievance, Muslim Victimhood and naivety/political correctness.*

7.12.1.2.1 Parallel Society

The parallel society discourse is the most dominant and used by 11 out of the 13 articles. All newspapers use this discourse in each article, except *Politiken* which uses the discourse in two articles out of three and *Ekstra Bladet* which only uses the discourse for one article out of two. The parallel society is a myriad of things, but fundamentally is a marker and location of difference, or a 'cue' term relating to living on the outskirts of mainstream society. The physical location of the parallel society is not mentioned, although some newspapers cite urban areas within Copenhagen. None of the articles mention Muslims living outside of the parallel society, although there are attempts to mark differences between an extremist, radicalised terrorist and 'Moderate Muslim'. All are grouped as living in a parallel society.

JP8 cite parallel society as a space with Muslims who live physically, yet also mentally, apart from the rest of Danish society;

"we have accepted, that there exists a parallel society where people live here physically, but is in a completely different place mentally"

(JP6)

Muslims living in the parallel society are described in opposition to the national 'we' via a metaphor as never having "packed their mental suitcase" and their "satellite dish is facing towards their old homeland" (JP6). A focus on this framing of the parallel society is dominant in *Jyllands-Posten*.

This discourse is framed and linked to radicalisation (dominant) terrorism and extremism, therefore examples of these are grouped within this section. Within this discourse, people living within the parallel society are 'vulnerable' to radicalisation. *Jyllands-posten* utilise this link between these dominant discourses to frame Muslims as having a different mentality from the rest of Danish society. Through using a fear discourse and 'results' from research, which are not cited, JP6 link the parallel society with the belief that a "frighteningly large number of Muslim immigrants" aim to "return to 'Islam's roots'". Additionally, this framing is further linked with a hatred of Danish society;

"we have a parallel society in Denmark. That we have people who have such a big hatred towards our society" (Ber9)

In this excerpt the parallel society in Denmark (a national identity word) is framed as being non-Danish, and is a semantical marker of non-integration, via the use of deictic words 'we' and 'our'. Additionally, *Politiken* outline this stance as well, with a cautionary discourse of;

“the danger of living in two separate Worlds” (P1)

The *Politiken* article (P1) continues that it is 'hard' for the authorities to tell if someone is becoming 'radicalised', therefore, it is up to the people living in the parallel society to metaphorically 'keep an eye' on all extremists, who, according to all newspapers utilizing the parallel society discourse, live in the parallel society. This creates a schema of radicalisation and extremists being the same and only living in a parallel society. The focus of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods where parallel lives exist legitimises the 'ghetto plan', introduced in Denmark in 2010 as part of an integration strategy (Jensen, 2015; Simonsen, 2016). This discursively links the 'parallel society' and lack of integration with terrorism.

7.12.1.2.2 Young Men and Identity

Within the parallel society discourse is an Orientalist framing of young men who are angry, this is evident in *Politiken*, *BT* and *Ekstra Bladet*. In this neo-Orientalist framing, the men are Danish, although not represented as such, but have grown up in Denmark in a 'parallel society' where their religion has influenced potential violence towards Denmark. Muslims are described, through hyperbolic adjectives, as living in a "sick subculture" are "explosive" with "screwed up macho ideals" (BT12) they are "hateful" (P1), "aggressive", "violent", and "can suddenly explode" (EB11).

This links young men to the parallel society, radicalisation and terrorism discourse through an identity discourse; the men are described as 'boys' who are "isolated and socially excluded" (BT12), 'vulnerable' to having their "minds poisoned", a metaphor which conjures an image of a dangerous situation whereby a young man can easily be persuaded to turn to terrorism (Ber5) within the parallel society, therefore, they are seeking an identity within radicalism and terrorism, after their religious identity has been "violated" (EB2), it is an "attack on them" (BT12). The outline of 'vulnerability' has been found in previous cluster events such as 2005 London Bombings, 2006 Muhammad Crisis, 2009/2010 Burka Ban Debate and 2013 Murder of Drummer Lee Rigby.

7.12.1.2.3 Integration

The discourse of parallel society being out-with Danish society links to an integration discourse or a barrier to integration, evident even when discussing the attacker, who was born in Denmark and was a Danish citizen. Integration is the second most dominant discourse with every newspaper utilising the discourse at least once; *Politiken* use the discourse more than the other newspapers. In this discourse, integration is viewed as 'failed' with people living in the parallel society as 'fighting' against Danish society (*Berlingske*), an avenue to the creation of societal problems and linked to crime, terrorism and radicalisation. In P4 article 'unsuccessful' integration is cited as one of the reasons that young people with an ethnic background are seeking an identity within an 'extreme' Islam, it is not cited what integration is nor what would make it successful. Thus, framing an image that if one becomes a terrorist or turns to 'extreme' Islam, one is not integrated into Denmark.

JP6 frame integration or non-integration as "bad adaption" and links this discourse as leading to social problems through using the discourses of crime and radicalisation. Furthermore, a discourse of family, focusing on parents is utilized by *Ekstra Bladet* to frame non-integration as an almost trickle-down effect, because the story of the attacker's parent's struggle to 'integrate' links implicitly as reason for Omar committing the attack. High modality is used in the line describing Omar's parents as finding;

"it difficult to establish and integration into Danish society"

(EB11)

In BT12 'social experts' are used to legitimise the discourse; a prison priest who is stated as having a PhD and author of a book about young men of ethnic minorities in prison, is quoted as stating "several hundred young men" are from split families. BT13 cites the then Integration Minister Manu Sareen (Social Liberal Party) that children with Palestinian parents "suffer from secondary trauma and anxiety", linking mental health with terrorism. Furthermore, BT13 use an unemployment discourse to link integration, young men and family discourse where "most" parents (who are "unintegrated") are described as "being on benefits". This benefits frame is used in JP7 within the integration and parallel society discourse, that 'we' have created this problem, allowing people to become "dependant for life on the treasury"; this hyperbolic statement legitimises the

ideology of Muslims as being on benefits. The focus on benefits and linking with integration can be explained by the Danish welfare state, whereby society or community is provided for but also interlinked with Danish values, which scholars like Jespersen & Pittelkow (2005; 2011) have helped mainstream. Therefore, the 'allowance' of Muslims on benefits 'threatens' the welfare state; the national identity of Denmark and accompanying values which as DPP outline must be protected, allowing a right-wing populist rhetoric to become mainstream (Koefoed, 2015).

Employment discourse is utilised again by Bertel Haader a previous integration minister who states, in BT13, the solution to integration being to "get immigrants and refugees" into work from "day 1", contextually both men and women working is important within Denmark (Bergqvist, 1999).

JP6 also use family discourse and Clash of Civilizations to highlight the patriarchal culture of Muslims in Danish society and the need to enlighten Muslims.

Although one *Politiken* article does attempt a counter-discourse that using freedom of speech to print Muhammad will not 'benefit' integration;

"No one can really believe that it benefits integration" (P3)

The article states that printing Muhammad cartoons potentially 'fuels' extremists and 'poisons' (used twice) the progress of educating Muslims on self-critical debate. This is also framing integration, or lack of, as leading potentially to extremism and terrorism and positions Muslims as being unable to understand freedom of speech and self-critical debate.

7.12.1.2.4 Crime

Crime and drugs discourses are used to link to terrorism, radicalisation and extremism. These discourses are used by the two tabloids and *Berlingske*. The drugs discourse is linked to a 'problem' amongst ethnic minorities and the word 'drugs' or 'hash' were often used when discussing crime in these articles particularly in *BT*.

EB2 refer to Omar as having a 'messy past with allegiance to Islamic State' in one headline, this metaphor eludes to Omar having a criminal past and links crime with terror by citing that he sides with Islamic State.

BT12 use modality to frame 'the radicalised' as having some type of criminal past. This is legitimised and said/quoted by the debater Mohammad Sabah Ahmad, who is described as having 'in-depth knowledge of the radicalised environment in Aarhus' and that crime runs the 'risk' of them getting into the 'wrong hands'. This metaphor of 'wrong hands' additionally implies that the men committing the crimes are vulnerable. He is also a Muslim and therefore, this discourse through listing the criminality of these angry young men is legitimised further as he 'knows' the 'community'. The focus on using metaphors with hands is reiterated in Ber5 that states 'we' must 'catch' the young men before they turn to crime. The discursive linking of crime with drugs and terrorism is one which DPP have utilised as part of their agenda and this has been to ensure Muslims and 'Muslim immigration' is a dominant topic (Aalberg et al, 2016). This has aided in determining the 'cultural order' (Mill, 2003) or cultural understanding and normalisation of representing Muslims in Denmark as Muslims living in 'parallel societies' as not integrated, susceptible to crime and therefore terrorism and extremism.

7.12.1.2.5 Naivety/Political Correctness

A further discourse used to claim the cause of the attack is naivety/political correctness. *Jyllands-Posten* and *BT* use these discourses, with *Jyllands-Posten* focusing on the discourse the most. Politicians are accused of 'neglecting the problem', creating a "client and victim hood" position and being naïve about 'Nazi Islamists', intertextually linking the issue with the World Wars (JP8). Written by Naser Khader, a Star System member, and Conservative MP who is Muslim and has been critical of Muslims in the past, legitimises the discourse and Muslim Victimhood Identity frame (Gullestad, 2006). JP7 states the politically correct 'class' have allowed 'incompatible' Middle Eastern immigrants to enter Denmark and 'deny' that Islam has anything to do with terrorism. BT13 cite 'soft cynicism' as a demonstration of the politically correct not making stronger requirements for "immigrants" which has led to non-integration and terrorist attacks. Thus, all Muslims are homogenised and represented as "immigrants" from the Middle East.

7.12.1.2.6 Danish Identity

The discourse of Anti-Semitism is used to frame the idea that an attack on Jews is an attack on Denmark and the Danish identity. P4 describe Jews using the metaphor that they are the “heart of Danish society”. Within *Politiken* articles, Jews are viewed as essential to help Muslims integrate into Denmark, although not explicitly stated, an idiom of helping them “well on their way” into integration is used to connote this. Whereas, JP7 links Anti-Semitism as a ‘war’ against Western values, but *Ekstra Bladet* and *BT* use the Anti-Semitism discourse the most with both repeatedly using the statement that the attacker “hated Jews”. This creates a schema that to hate Jews is to hate Denmark, because Denmark has a history of protecting Jews during World War II; the World Wars is intertextually mentioned in all *Politiken* articles. As described throughout the findings section Danish identity is framed as in opposition to the attack and other young ethnic minority men living in the parallel society, BT10 state the need to “keep an eye on” non-Western immigrants and descendants, utilising a suspect community discourse.

7.12.2 Prevention/Solution

The second theme within the articles is prevention/solution, how future attacks can be prevented and the solution to the problem of radicalisation, extremism and terrorism. One discourse used is education, framed in two separate ways; *Ekstra Bladet* and *BT* both frame education in “immigrant schools” where the ‘problem’ starts, because they “have not done well” (EB11). *Politiken* and *Berlingske* use the discourse as a parental responsibility for Denmark that people living within the parallel society must be ‘educated’ on freedom of speech and self-criticism (P3), which ultimately means what it is to be Danish. Ber5 use the metaphor “to catch” any signs of radicalisation within schools.

JP6 frame Muslims as requiring to; “accept the sanctity of rights of freedom”, here freedoms in Denmark is projected as ‘holy’, this frames Muslims as not accepting of freedoms in Denmark thus a frame of a Clash of Civilizations, often used in European media (Vink, 2007; Nohrstedt, 2013). Ber9 cite ‘moderate Muslims’ as being “part of the solution” “have a responsibility” and the need for moderate Muslims to “make clear opposition against extremism”, what a moderate Muslim

is, is not defined. Therefore, as outlined previously in this cluster event it is the responsibility of Muslims to 'reform', conform to Danish national values of freedom of speech and vocalise opposition to terrorism.

7.12.2.1 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is often utilised in this cluster event with the most explicit use of intertextuality in JP7 where 5 events are used in one paragraph, they are; Theo Van Gogh murder, Ayaan Hirsi Ali protection, attempted murder of Kurt Westergaard, Salman Rushdie Fatwa and the attack of Lars Hedegaard. These intertextual events focus around a memory discourse, the phrase "we remember" is used three times whilst listing the events in one article. This short article ends with the discourse of freedom being at risk and the blame discourse against the politically correct by listing of events to reconstruct the idea that all the events have been 'attacks' on freedom. Therefore, it is not just terrorists and radicals who threaten 'our' freedoms but also the politically correct. *Jyllands-Posten* refer to the Charlie Hebdo attack used as an attack on an ally and viewed as an "equal" event to the Copenhagen attacks. The focus on 'remember' is used as part of a wider European identity of a collective memory of previous attacks against the West (Billig, 1995). Thus, within the Danish national identity a sense of European identity is evoked, to focus on Muslim opposition to Denmark and the West.

Politiken, as previously mentioned, reference the World Wars in all the articles, this was used in varying degrees to link the 'fight' for freedom of speech and the assertion of Danishness, to position the attack as the most prolific since World War II and highlight the significance of this attack.

7.12.3 Conclusion: Copenhagen

The findings for the Copenhagen 2015 attack cluster event, reveal that although the attacker was Danish, he is represented as a 'Muslim immigrant'. Muslims are discussed as living within the parallel society which, according to the right leaning newspapers, is a location of crime leading to radicalisation, extremism and terrorism that must be monitored. The left leaning paper *Politiken*, does not focus on a crime discourse, however, does utilise an education discourse to 'educate' Muslims on freedom of speech and self-critical debate. All newspapers, except one use explicit language to separate Danes from Muslims, this is achieved by

focusing on integration and parallel society discourse, with the tabloid newspapers favouring deictic words such as 'we' and 'they' (Billig, 1995). *Politiken*, use intertextuality of World War II focusing on freedom of speech and Jews, however, implicitly separate Danes from Muslims by utilising the parallel society discourse and need for Jews to 'help' Muslims integrate.

Results show that Danish identity and Muslim representation is constructed in an Orientalist framing and discourse of a Danish 'parental' identity that must monitor Muslims and children of Muslim immigrants from school age and educate Muslims on freedom of speech, projected as Danishness. The shifting focus where all newspapers are critical on Muslims is a reflection on the growing right-wing and far right support in Denmark (in January 2015 200 people demonstrated with PEGIDA in Copenhagen) (Mikkelsen, 2019).

Chapter Eight Discussion

8.0 Chapter Overview

Chapter Seven demonstrates that the findings from the results are a dominant utilisation of Clash of Civilizations and Orientalism discourses. Within the dominant discourses are further sub-themes that emerge which support and reinforce the discourses. The findings reveal the following discourses:

- Clash of civilizations
- National Identity
- Orientalism
- Star System
- Muslim Victimhood Identity Frame
- Suspect Communities
- Multiculturalism Creating Suspect Communities
- Segregation and Integration
- Threat of Islamification

Foucault's theory of power is evident in the findings and is utilised to control the representation of Muslims concerning the construction of national identity in the UK and Denmark. Furthermore, there is populist right-wing framing and discursive linking of national identity, the threat of Islamification, suspect communities, free speech, multiculturalism, extremism, terrorism and wider social issues 'perceived' relevant to Muslim communities. This discussion chapter outlines and expands on these dominant discourses and frames utilised by Britain and Denmark in the cluster events for the diachronic period of 2005-2015. Relevant literature and theory are employed to the discussion relating to the dominant findings.

8.1 Clash of Civilizations

The Clash of Civilizations is based on Samuel Huntington's (1996) book and ideology that post-Cold War, the World will be divided into civilizations with main clashes between Islam and the West. The discourse is employed to frame the ideology that Islam and the West are entirely different and can only ever clash, leading to negative consequences. The Clash of Civilizations discourse is dominant

in seven of the cluster events, and these are London bombings 2005, Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2005 I, Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2006 II, Asmaa 2007, Burka Ban 2009/2010, Charlie Hebdo 2015 and Copenhagen 2015 terrorist attack. Within the Clash of Civilizations discourse, there is further discursive linking with other discourses. These are used to recontextualise and discursively link the representation of Muslims with wider societal issues.

Focus on difference is critical in this discourse and both Denmark and the UK utilise it in cluster events to demarcate the national identity of each country from Muslims. The framing of Muslims being against the West is evident in the London Bombings cluster event where Muslims live in communities that “eschew British values”. In Burka Ban Muslim women who wear the Burka demonstrate they have not “left their tribal villages at all” and in Charlie Hebdo *Daily Mail* state Muslims “bitterly resist” liberal values.

Jyllands-Posten in Muhammad Crisis I use the Clash of Civilizations discourse to outline that “The division between cultures is growing” and “It is important that one accepts that religion plays a role.” *Politiken* focuses on Huntington’s theory and frame it as “correct”, but it is “difficult to admit” that Huntington is “right”, and there are “collisions between civilizations”. In Charlie Hebdo, *The Telegraph* frame Muslims as having “cultural sensitivities” and are treated as such because they are different from the UK. Muslims are framed as requiring special treatment from the Left because they do not understand freedom of speech and other liberal values in the UK. This focus on not understanding values is evident in both the UK and Denmark and expanded on in section 8.2.

There is an implicit reference to the Clash of Civilizations discourse throughout all cluster events in the framing of binary opposition of Brits/Danes versus Muslims and this is constructed, supported and legitimised through other discourses presented in this chapter. Therefore, reference to the Clash of Civilizations discourse is mentioned throughout Chapter Eight.

8.2 National Identity Tropes as Signifiers of 'Our' Civilization

National identity is critical in reinforcing and legitimising the Clash of Civilizations discourse and framing of a clash between Muslims and the UK and Denmark. This is binary opposition and often used in right-wing populist rhetoric to simplify issues by the containment of a representation of *Us v Them* (Stoica, 2017). Power is used to control, legitimise and normalise the Clash of Civilizations discourse ideology that Islam and the UK or Denmark can never work together. The discourse manages the representation of Muslims as Other (Foucault in Sheridan-Smith, 1971). Therefore, Muslims are framed as non-British and non-Danish because they belong to a religion with views and values different from Western 'ideals'.

The London Bombings 2005 cluster event uses the discourse to frame the true people of the country as those that uphold and follow the traditions. Furthermore, values and right-wing populist rhetoric is used to emphasise the enemy Muslims who are "vigorously anti-British" (Mudde, 2007). Muslims are framed as segregated and not conforming by following only Islamic values, leading to a "lack of a 'common identity'" in the UK. Values are under threat, and this is reflected in all cluster events utilising the discourse. In Muhammad Crisis I there is evidence of the influence of the DPP on the mainstream media reinforcing a clash between Muslims and Danes (Wodak, 2013). This is achieved by framing, through an Orientalist lens, Denmark as modern in opposition to Muslims who are viewed as against freedom of speech. The use of the discourse aligns with DPP's rhetoric of the threat of Islam via a value argument or the threat to Danish values (Bachler & Hopmann, 2017). Furthermore, it reiterates Wren's (2001) theory that Denmark's use of Grundtvig national identity as a nation under threat is still prevalent and applied to the construction of Muslims as the menacing Other. Reference to "angry" Muslims and that "Islamic immigration" is "aggressive" is made in Muhammad Crisis I to create a binary opposition where Muslims do not know how to "speak in public"; cue for freedom of speech in Denmark.

Additionally, this non-integration of Danish values goes against the 'imagined sameness', where everyone conforms to the same ideas (Gullestad, 2002), which

is prominent within Scandinavian societies, and framed as essential for a Danish national identity. In this respect, national identity and Clash of Civilizations is, like Foucault's view of the panopticon, used to make visible who is and is not included (1977), it is a form of power constraining representation.

Similar to the London Bombings cluster event, Sleepwalking into Segregation references that the UK has become "so "multicultural" that all sense of common identity breaks down" and there is "lack of commonality". National identity is therefore cited as the key ingredient for successful integration/assimilation.

In the Muhammad Crisis II cluster event, the Clash of Civilizations discourse continues to frame Muslims through an Orientalist lens. There is a reference to freedom of speech but a shift in focus that Muslims are not merely against it but do not understand it (Said, 1997). National identity is "under threat" from Muslims who do not understand freedom of speech because Islam does not permit it. In Islam, "Muslim Freedom of Speech" is the permitted speech but only from elders. Lack of understanding of Danish society from Muslims who live "far from the ideals of a modern enlightened society" is a form of Orientalist framing and a means of controlling and regulating the power of representation (Hall, 1992) or maintaining a representation of Muslims as uneducated and incompatible with Denmark.

Orientalism and Clash of Civilizations are therefore discursively linked and function to justify each other. Orientalism is utilized to represent an unreasonable Other, different from the UK and Denmark and consequently subject to clashing with the values of each country (Karim, 2011). The focus on values is power whereby the ideology that Muslims cannot and will not conform to Danish values is an exclusionary tactic in maintaining the dominant-negative framing of Muslims as Other (Foucault in Young, 1981). The construction of the enlightened and modern West throughout Danish cluster events is used to represent Muslims as non-Western, clashing and incompatible with the West in Orientalist framing. Furthermore, there is a focus on the perceived failures of Islam and Muslims, which is a crucial feature of neo-Orientalist framing and discourse (Yamaguchi,

2012). This finding is consistent with previous findings of the crisis in both Denmark and wider Scandinavia (Veninga, 2014; Nohrstedt, 2013; Hervik, 2014; Meer & Mourisen, 2009; Bødker, 2009).

The framing of Muslims not understanding Danish values puts the onus on Muslims; it is their fault they do not understand. This constructs the idea that Muslims have the power to change their representation. This is power whereby the discourse is creating a type of knowledge that it is Muslim responsibility to understand Danish values, rather than acknowledging discrimination against Muslims (Schirato et al, 2012). Focus on the Danish model of assimilation, values and lack of Danish understanding is further evident in the Asmaa 2007 cluster event in that Asmaa has not successfully assimilated as she has not adopted Danish customs or Western ideals (Cineros, 2015; Alsultany, 2015). Asmaa is therefore framed as a political threat to Denmark. This framing is constructed through power and utilised because of the normalised negative discourses constructing Muslims as 'threatening' Others (Foucault, 1977).

This threat framing shifts in Charlie Hebdo with an explicit focus on the need to protect Danishness and aligns with Grundtvig's notion of Danish identity and 'imagined sameness'. In other words, that Danes are linked through common history, birth and language (Agius, 2013; Veninga, 2014) and if new citizens (Muslims) do not embrace this and integrate (assimilate), they are a threat to Danish society and Danish and European security (Wren, 2001). This is exemplified in *Berlingske* where there is a call to "take our country back [from 'Muslim immigrants']". Further threat and framing of Denmark as a home of people, linked through a shared history, is demonstrated in Copenhagen terrorist attack 2015 cluster event. *Jyllands-Posten* uses family discourse and Clash of Civilizations to highlight the incompatible patriarchal culture of Muslim "environments" out-with portrayed Danish norms of gender equality in contrast with "Danish society" (Rytter, 2010; Holtug, 2013). The discourse is further used to frame the consequences of the politically correct allowing mass immigration from the Middle East; framing terrorism as linked to immigration and perceived

immigrant communities and part of the framing of Muslims as a threat to the harmony of the nation (Yilmaz, 2006).

The Other is created by demonstrating that Muslims do not adhere to values such as equality, which is essential in Danish society. This is power where the representation of Muslims is controlled by creating the binary opposition of *Us v Them* (Foucault, 1977). This argument has been used within Danish media since the 1990s (Hervik, 2012; Wren, 2001). Confirming scholarly argument, Pedersen (2006), Rydgren (2010) and Hellstrom & Hervik (2014), argument that since DPP entered government in 2001, the discourses on how Muslims are constructed has been a dominant focus of Danishness under threat through a Liberal discourse. This outlines the dialectical relationship of power in discourse between the micro, meso and macro levels (Foucault, 1977; Fairclough, 1992). Muslims are thus the Other because under Grundtvigian notions of Danish identity, still prominent in Denmark today; Danishness is exclusionary to anyone different. Danishness functions to exclude anyone out-with the imagined same community (Gullestad, 2002, Hobbs, 2008) too different from the Grundtvig ideals of identity. Therefore, mention of Danish identity is a cue to readers that Muslims are the Other (Fairclough, 1989; Agius, 2013; Hervik, 2011). Thus, this is an example of the exclusionary elements of power within discourse (Schirato et al 2012).

In the UK, national identity is contrastingly portrayed as weak and in the earlier years of the diachronic period unidentifiable with no clear outlined values. Furthermore, race is an essential factor in UK cluster events, particularly London 7/7 Bombings 2005 where reference to race and trust align with Gilroy's (2004) theory that visibility of the British colonial past, in this cluster event in the form of race – "Asian Muslims", provokes fear of the colonial history. Although this is not explicitly expressed, it is represented in the form of Muslims requiring to prove their allegiance to the UK. Again, this is power at play because Muslims are responsible for controlling their representation, in this example, by stating allegiance to the UK (Foucault, 1977). Racial elements are also invoked in Muhammad Crisis II 2006, Muslims are framed as non-white and potentially non-

Danish, despite a growing number of white Danes converting to Islam (Jensen, 2008). This contributes to the racialisation of Muslims (Silverstein, 2005).

In the UK, liberal discourse is used to position the clash between the UK and Muslims evident in the Jack Straw cluster event where Muslim female headwear is presented as a symbol of non-integration (Byng, 2010). Power, specifically biopower, is evident in the construction and constraining of Muslim women; what they can and cannot wear (Foucault, 1977). This is justified via a liberal discourse of advancing society and is framed as only possible if women show their face.

National identity is also utilized to justify placing blame on Muslims for the Lee Rigby murder in Lee Rigby 2013 cluster event. British national identity is framed as essential; otherwise, there will be further terrorist attacks. Muslims lack of standing up to terrorists is framed as creating this situation, thus relaying the responsibility of stopping terrorism on Muslims (Pitcher, 2009; Phillips, 2006). National identity shifts in the UK in Charlie Hebdo 2015 to focus on freedom of speech clashing with Muslims. The danger and fear of losing freedom of speech expressed in a left-leaning newspaper such as *The Guardian* demonstrates the mainstreaming of right-wing populist rhetoric utilising a traditionally left-liberal value of freedom of speech (Yilmaz, 2006; Lesinka, 2014; Wodak, 2015; Wodak, 2013).

National identity is utilized differently in each country; the UK use the frailty of national identity and the need to assert a "common identity", and Denmark focuses on the threat of Muslims to national identity. Both countries, however, focus on the need for Muslims to understand and be educated on values and integration. In the Sleepwalking into Segregation cluster event, there is a call to "push education authorities into...integrating schools in multi-ethnic communities". In Muhammad Crisis II "education is the solution" to "integration", and in Murder of Lee Rigby, Muslims require educating to be civilized in liberal culture whereas in Charlie Hebdo, *Berlingske* state that education is "the best vaccine against undemocratic currents". These examples demonstrate the

similarities of how UK and Denmark both use liberal discourse, or the need to educate Muslims on the national identity of each country to aid their integration. This reinforces the Orientalist discourse of a civilizing project, whereby the ethnocentric European superior must educate the uneducated Muslim (Said, 1995, Joppke, 2008). Therefore, the colonized subject, Muslims, is controlled through subjectification of national identity whereby a fixed national identity is presented, and the subject must be educated on this through constraints and monitoring of their community (Bhabha, 1994; Foucault, 1977).

8.3 Orientalist Tropes as Signifiers of 'Their' Civilization

Orientalism as discourse is used to construct Muslims as Other through binary oppositions (Said, 2003) and, in some texts, using descriptors and identifiers such as "barbaric" and "uncivilized". Thus, functioning, through power, to represent what the British and Danish are not (Said, 2001; Foucault, 1977). Orientalism is evident in all cluster events and is, therefore, the most dominant discourse used in the analysis. There are several discursive strands and frames within the Orientalist discourse, such as Clash of Civilizations which has already been discussed. Further discursive links include the Suspect Community discourse, Star System Members, Muslim Victimhood and various framings of multiculturalism. Orientalist discourse functions to legitimise the right-wing populist framing of the threat of Muslims (Wodak, 2015; Wodak, 2013; Yilmaz, 2006). Power is used to represent the Self as everything the Other is not because Self and Other are interlinked; one cannot exist without the other (Foucault, 1970). Therefore, Orientalism is vital in reinforcing positive Self-representation.

Orientalist discourse in all the texts frames Muslims as "angry", like "children" who always have a "strong reaction" and this reaction is a "particular minefield" towards criticism against Islam. Muslims are framed as dangerous and in need of integration which functions to legitimise the right-wing populist 'Muslim Question' of the threat of Muslims, non-integration and a clash between Muslims and the West (Wodak, 2015; Wodak, 2013; Yilmaz, 2006). Furthermore, the discourse is utilized to frame Muslims as 'Muslim immigrants' in Denmark as evident in Muhammad Crisis I 2005 where an Orientalist lens is used to examine Muslims

living in Denmark (Kublitz, 2010). Muslims are not framed as Danish but in binary opposition to being Danish, where Danes are “enlightened”, and Muslims are unenlightened requiring “educating” on Danish values, aligning with Morey & Yaqin (2011). Therefore, the utilizing of constructing Muslims through an Orientalist lens functions to contain the representation of Muslims as a monolithic force, unable to be constructed heterogeneously (Poole, 2002). Thus, the construction of Muslims is constrained and contained by utilizing power through an Orientalist lens (Foucault, 1977).

Orientalism is further linked with segregation in Sleepwalking 2005 where the ghetto is a metonym for segregation and Muslims are constructed as living in “a foreign land” in an “ethnic enclave”. The ghetto is a location of concentrated Orientalism whereby Muslim women are oppressed by Muslim men who “rule the roost” and are patriarchs controlling and dominating women. This aligns with Haque (2010) & Shirazi & Mishra (2010) that in the West Muslim women are represented as being controlled by Muslim men. This focus on Muslim men is also evident in Lee Rigby 2013 where framing, with the intertextuality of the Rotherham abuse case, aligns with Dagistanli & Grewal (2016) that Muslim men are viewed and associated with violence and potentially threatening behaviour (Rashi, 2016).

Further evidence of angry and dangerous Muslim men is in Charlie Hebdo where images from *The Telegraph* of young men, presented as joyous over terrorist attacks, in the Hamza video indicates the myth of violent Muslim men (Razack, 2008). This is reinforced with a paragraph immediately after the video stating that Muslim men have come to the UK to “recreate their primitive, peasant society” (Pearson, 2015, p.1). Of interest is the counter-framing of Muslim women as “angry” in the Burka Ban 2009/2010 where, particularly in *The Daily Mail*, women are wearing the veil and burka because they are “angry”. This is different from typical Orientalist framing of Muslim women as passive (Navarro, 2010). Anger has in the literature been reserved for men (Ewing, 2008; Rashid, 2016). Nevertheless, the construction of Muslim men through an Orientalist lens is dominant and links to previous research on the representation of Muslims that

Muslim men are framed as misogynistic and dangerous (Razack, 2008; Rashid, 2016; Mishra, 2007). Furthermore, despite some evidence of constructing female Muslims as active participants by being “angry” and choosing to wear a veil, Muslims are still represented through an Orientalist lens focusing on constructing Muslims as a foreign group void of being Danish or British (Alrasheed, 2013).

8.4 Star System

An extension and further application and sub-section of Orientalist discourse and representation is Gullestad’s theory of the Star System (2006) whereby Scandinavian media ‘super-privilege’ minority women who demonstrate a more Western outlook and are critical of the Muslim community, is evident from the findings. The findings show that Star System members are also male and often referred to as Muslim explicitly. This is a form of Orientalism (Said, 1997) and power (Foucault, 1977) as it seeks to contain the representation of Muslims as Orientals through utilising Star System members to confirm and reaffirm while normalising this representation. This is to legitimise the discourses within the texts but also create an image of promoting diversity as a mechanism of avoiding accusations of racism and stereotyping. Therefore, it is a tool to reinforce the ‘regime of truth’ (Foucault in Gordon, 1980). This is similar to the tactic right-wing populism uses with rhetorical devices such as the protecting ‘freedom of speech’ to allow the unsayable to be spoken (Augoustinos & Every, 2010). This demonstrates the dialectical relationship between the media and politics and the power effects of the rise of right-wing populism influencing what is considered truth (Foucault, 1977; Oliver, 2010).

Both countries use Star System members with the UK focusing on female members, namely Sara Khan who concentrates on the “ghetto mentality” of Muslims and Yasmin Alibhai-Brown who outlines the “visible symbol of male ownership” Muslim women face. In Denmark Naser Khader, who is praised as a hero “fighting” for Danes and calling for the integration of Muslims is utilised most (although for both countries other Star System members are mentioned). For the UK five of the cluster events use Star System members, they are London bombings 2005, Sleepwalking Into Segregation 2005, Jack Straw 2006, the Burka

Ban Debate 2009/2010 and Charlie Hebdo 2015. For Denmark six of the cluster events use Star System members, they are Muhammad Crisis I and II, Asmaa 2007, the Burka Ban 2009/2010, Charlie Hebdo 2015 and Copenhagen terrorist attack 2015. For most cluster events there are a few quotes or references to Star System member in texts to legitimize discourses. However, as the diachronic analysis shifts so do the highlighting and utilization of Star System members in texts. This is evident in the Burka Ban 2009/2010 cluster event.

The Burka Ban, 2009/2010 cluster event image analysis, outlines the power struggle (Foucault, in Young 1981) to legitimise the discourses of a struggle between the Self and Other; Star System members are permitted to state what otherwise may be considered taboo. In this cluster event both newspapers, *The Daily Mail* and *Politiken*, utilize Yasmin Alibhai-Brown and Naser Khader as authors to illustrate the Otherness of the burka while relating this Otherness to both authors. Alibhai-Brown and Khader are represented as British and Danish because they reaffirm they are integrated by referencing Western ideals or presenting truth (Foucault in Young, 1981). However, Star System members are also the Other because they have insider knowledge and are part of the Other community. Therefore, both authors' identity is contained and constrained within a hybrid form (Bhabha, 1994).

In the Star System, the media use members as a device by presenting the opinion of Star System members who know because they either are or have been a part of the Muslim community. The Star System functions to present members as having an Islamic viewpoint (Karim, 2011) and contain a representation of Muslim identity, even when the Star System member is Muslim or ex-Muslim. This is because it functions by categorising them as moderate, which they become when they align with a more homogenised ideal of national identity and denounce Muslims. This aligns with Karim (2014) that a moderate Muslim is one who politically sides with the West. Furthermore, there is evidence that Star System members are referenced and utilized more explicitly in the Danish texts by foregrounded Naser Khader and including more quotes from Muslims or ex-Muslims who are critical of Muslim communities. This is particularly evident in the

Charlie Hebdo cluster event where *Jyllands-Posten* outline Naser Khader, Ayaan Hirsi Ali and a host of other experts including Muslim politicians who are highlighting there is a problem with Muslims and terrorism, thus, discursively linking and legitimizing Muslims with terrorism.

Members of the Star System are represented as nationalised but at a safe distance. Star System Members identity is in limbo because they are not quite Danish or British, but the acceptable Other. Like Foucault's view of the panopticon, Star System members are utilised to make visible what an integrated Muslim is while enforcing the monitoring and perceived acceptable integration implementation of Muslim communities by Muslims themselves (Foucault, 1977). Thus, there is fixity of cultural superiority and preservation of the Other by using Star System members to control and contain their presented own communities (Said, 2003).

In this respect, the manifestation and representation of Star System members as part of a hybrid identity (Bhabha, 1994) is critical in their utilisation to legitimise and normalise discourses of Muslims. Star System members are exemplified as the epitome of an integrated Muslim – one who is presented as 'siding' with the West. Therefore, Star System members can never be represented as 'British' or 'Danish' because there is a requirement to demonstrate and prove they are integrated, rather than merely being British or Danish. Integration and Muslims are then fetishized within the Star System. Star System members are crucial to containing the Other for the preservation of Self because, as Foucault outlines, within power is within identity construction and Self and Other are interconnected (1970). This interconnection must always be reaffirmed for the preservation of national identity.

Members are utilised in the form of mimicry (Bhabha, 1994), where the colonized subject's construction of siding with British or Danish dominant discourses, which signify power in the media, is used to gain power for themselves. This is clear when examining Naser Khader and his political movement from the Danish Social

Liberal Party (2001 – 2007) a social-liberal party, to founding New Alliance (2007 – 2009), a right-libertarian party, to joining the Conservative People's Party (2009 – present), a centre-right party. As the findings demonstrate, within Denmark, Khader has been given more media coverage following the 2005-2006 Muhammad Crisis, and it appears the further right he has become politically, or the more of mimicry he has used, the more of a platform he has been given. This is inter-related to the rise and naturalisation of right-wing populist discourse in Denmark which since DPP entered government in 2001, has become mainstream. Furthermore, it relates to Foucault's (1977) idea that power permeates in society through "capillary function" (ibid: p.198) in various channels. In this respect, the Star System is one of these channels where the voice of the unsayable, xenophobic is channelled, reinforced, legitimized and normalized through a Star System member, thus, controlling the discourses and representations of Muslims (Foucault in Young, 1981).

However, the Star System is also evident in the UK and within the diachronic timeframe has increasingly been utilised, particularly in the later years after 2013. This coincides with the changing political climate in the UK, where anti-multiculturalism has flourished following Cameron's 2011 announcement of the failure of multiculturalism (Lesinska, 2014). In Charlie Hebdo Star System members are used, and it is reductionist in constructing the myth that Islam, and therefore Muslims, are motivated by terrorism and ideology. This is achieved by utilising a Star System member's image to legitimise the myth and wider discourses of Muslim responsibility for terrorism.

Star System members function through mimicry to contain the "culturalization of citizenship" (Duyvendak et al, 2016, p.3) within the media whereby an increasing focus on the cultural incompatibility of Muslims and Muslims framed as 'Muslim immigrants' has been witnessed in Europe (Fekete, 2008; Wodak, 2015, Betz, 2013). Additionally, it relates to the increasing competition for readership in both UK and Denmark and political economy to create content with limited sources (Poole, 2014; Curran et al, 2009; Hjarvard & Kristensen, 2014; Doyle, 2013).

The findings from this research lead to a proposed extension of Gullestad's (2006) Star System theory focusing on minority women within Scandinavian media to also focus on, and include, minority men used in both British and Danish media. There are findings of Muslim voices who attempt to present a counter-discourse, although these are few and because they do not conform to dominant discourses or dominant newspaper ideologies are not categorised as Star System members. As such for the benefit of future research a categorisation of what constitutes a Star System member is necessary and outlined below;

A Star System member must;

1. Be represented, explicitly or implicitly, as a 'moderate' Muslim or ex-Muslim; this is to help contribute to the regime of truth
2. Reaffirm the dominant discourse of the time period to align with the orders of discourse
3. Be critical of Muslims and offer solutions to issues around Muslims

The findings reveal that dominant discourses of Muslims have focused on utilising a binary opposition where the national identity of each country is positively represented against a negative construction of Muslims who are discursively linked with crime, terrorism, extremism, criticism of multiculturalism and the Left, and non-integration. This is achieved through a predominant mixing of Clash of Civilizations and Orientalist discourses to represent Muslims as non-British and non-Danish. This is in line with previous research presented in the literature review. This development contributes to literature providing a categorisation to be used when analysing how Muslim voices are used in the media and how this contributes to the construction of Muslims. The findings demonstrate that British and Danish newspapers increasingly use Star System members to legitimise and naturalise discourses of Muslims. This presents the value of establishing and categorising an outline for identifying a Star System member for future media research. It highlights the need to examine the use of the Star System in media analysis as an examination of how ideologies and discourses are dispersed and naturalised in the media. The expansion of this theory and outline of what

constitutes a Star System member highlights the original contribution to knowledge specifically to academia.

8.5 Muslim Victimhood Identity Frame

A further frame and discursive strand connecting to an Orientalist discourse is the Muslim Victimhood identity frame. It is identified as part of Orientalist discourse because it focuses on constructed behavioural representations of Muslims and their “self imposed isolation” or non-integration. It is used to portray Muslims as manipulating and fostering an identity of being victims, and oppressed by the West, when, according to the frame, they are not. This frame is evident in all the cluster events except the Muhammad Crisis I 2005 and Asmaa 2007.

Said’s (1997) Orientalism focuses on Muslims in the Middle East, whereas the application of this neo-Orientalism frame focuses on Muslims living in the West. However, through the Muslim Victimhood identity frame, Muslims are still within classical Orientalism represented as behaviourally suspect and manipulative.

The frame functions to delegitimise any claims of racism and discrimination as non-serious and is manipulated by Muslims to create a Muslim Victimhood Identity. In London 7/7 Bombings 2005 the frame is discursively linked to the frame of political correctness, a result of multiculturalism, leading to authorities not speaking up for fear of offending (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). This coincides with the declining social trust in Europe and aligns with Rydgren (2009), that social trust is utilised in right-wing populist rhetoric, whereby in neo-liberal countries like the UK, people are looking for someone to blame (Wren-Lewis, 2017). The perceived failure of multiculturalism and rise in political correctness, opening a space for a Muslim Victimhood Identity, is utilised as an avenue for terrorism. Power is therefore enacted in framing Muslims as constructing this manipulative and fake/inaccurate representation as victims. It reiterates by representing Muslims as inaccurately ‘crying’ racism/prejudice, confirmation, or truth of the positive Self aspects of British identity in opposition to the Muslim Other (Bhabha, 1994; O’Farrell, 2005).

The Muslim Victimhood Identity is also evident in Muhammad Cartoon Crisis II 2006. Muslims are framed as claiming the world is against them and will go to great manipulative lengths to maintain this identity construction for devious means. *Ekstra Bladet* contextually uses an interview with an Imam who encouraged Muslims to protest the Muhammad cartoons to justify the use of a victimhood framing. The Imam is called a "liar" who speaks with "two tongues" and cannot be trusted and is framed as having fooled many politicians in Denmark over the years by portraying a victimhood narrative.

The utilization of the Muslim Victimhood Identity frame in the UK cluster events is evident in demonstrating that Muslims are celebrating their victimhood. Muslims are framed as "sensitive", a word used in all cluster events for both countries throughout the diachronic period. Additionally, there is further discursive linking where the blame for this manifested identity is shifted to multiculturalism and the Left. In *Sleepwalking into Segregation 2005*, Orientalist discourse is used to suggest that multiculturalism has allowed and given strength to 'Muslim Grievance' or a Muslim Victimhood Identity. This is achieved by framing multiculturalism as preventing commonality and a shared British identity allowing this Muslim Grievance. The frame views Muslims as utilising a victimhood image, rather than being actual victims who cite Islamophobia or racism when they are denied opportunities such as jobs. In *Burka Ban*, there is the threat from "troublemakers" who may use a Burka ban to cause "trouble" "against their host country".

This is also evident in the Lee Rigby 2013 cluster event where Muslims are framed in the right-wing texts as willing to "speak out against Islamophobia", a cue for Victimhood Identity, but deny or refuse to discuss the issue within their community. There is further linking of segregation with Muslim Victimhood Identity where it is Muslims' fault they are segregated because they consistently view themselves as victims. This aligns with Pitcher (2009) and Phillips (2006) that Muslims are responsible for their segregation, community tension and subsequent representation and that it is their responsibility for how they are

represented. Additionally, it is a form of 'linguistic imperialism' (Wodak, 1999) where control of Muslim representation has ensured Muslims are represented as homogenised, responsible for segregation, terrorism and Islamophobia, despite a lack of pluralist Muslim voices in the media to discuss these issues. There is collective amnesia (Billig, 1995) in the history of how groups became segregated because racism is forgotten.

Fear of causing offence and provoking a reaction from Muslims is used in all UK texts and becomes explicit in the Charlie Hebdo 2015 cluster event. In this event, *The Guardian* blames multiculturalism and the Left for curtailing freedom of speech to be "especially sensitive to the views of minorities" and uses contextual examples from the Danish Muhammad cartoon crisis of manipulating Muslims. This aligns with Vertovec & Wessendorf (2010) and Meer and Modood (2009), who found that a common argument against multiculturalism is the Left, allowing terrorism and preventing free speech. There is further fuelling of lack of trust towards the liberal elite in creating this issue which is a trope and news cue often used by right-wing populists (Algan et al, 2017; Sheets et al, 2016).

Further use of the Muslim Victimhood Identity frame in the Charlie Hebdo attack is outlined in *The Telegraph* when quotes from Sara Khan, a Star System Member, states Muslims believe they are "forever oppressed by the West...they lash out like angry children". This quote further evolves the frame to discursively link with violence and juvenile understanding of issues and concepts, demonstrating a further strand of Orientalism and Clash of Civilisations. Additionally, anti-multiculturalism discourse is implied in this framing of a single doctrine of an industry of liberals who foster and ignore negative aspects of multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). Multiculturalism is to blame allowing a Muslims Victimhood identity, and the left has used "traditional British tolerance" while "ignoring" how serious issues are with Muslims.

Finally, the Muslim Victimhood Identity frame could be defined as a key element in Islamophobic discourse, whereby Islamophobia is 'justified' as the 'fault' of Muslims (Allen, 2010, p.3).

8.6 Suspect Communities

A further discursive strand within the Orientalist discourse and additionally linked to the Muslim Victimhood Identity frame is suspect communities. The discourse of Muslims as a suspect community is dominant within this cluster event. It is connected to integration and a cue that Muslims are not integrated because they are suspect. Fairclough (1989) outlines the media often provide ideological cues to the reader and the use of suspect discourse functions as a cue that they are not integrated, because they cannot be trusted. The suspect community discourse frames Muslims as living out-with the British community; therefore, the discourse establishes a binary opposition. London Bombings frame Muslim communities as being "conspiratorially mired" where young Muslims fall "prey" to manipulating Imams and that trusting Muslims "has been 'corroded' in Britain". Muhammad Crisis I *Berlinske* creates a fear suspect frame where there is "fear of retaliation" from Muslims where Imams cannot be trusted. In Burka Ban, *The Daily Mail* uses suspect community discourse to justify a ban. The image analysis reveals focus on the darker side behind wearing a Burka potentially reinforcing violence towards Muslim women who are "forced to accept domestic abuse".

The Lee Rigby cluster event constructs Muslims as having prior knowledge of potential attacks where "the Muslim community itself will have had prior knowledge of their [attackers] extremist views and activities". Muslim communities are blamed for tacitly supporting terrorism because they are not speaking out that their "faith is being hijacked they should stand up and say so".

The suspect community discourse homogenises Muslims aligning with Meer & Modood (2009) that Muslims are framed as part of a 'radical 'otherness'' (ibid: p.481) community. This discourse leads to suspicion towards Muslims, as evident in the London bombings 2005 cluster event, who are framed as a threat to security and not loyal to the UK. However, all cluster events use the suspect discourse,

which confirms previous findings (Nickels et al, 2012). In some texts, there are intertextual references to the World Wars and the Cold War to connote a discourse of a suspect community, like Germany (the enemy) in the World Wars aligning with a Clash of Civilizations discourse. The use of intertextuality is a function of power because it outlines the will to truth (Foucault, 1981) or the positioning of the intertextual event (World Wars) whereby the reader understands the truth of the World Wars and Cold War and know who the enemy of those events is. Therefore, the discourse positions Muslims as the enemy like the Germans and Communists, for readers to know the truth that Muslims are an enemy in our midst. Discursively the suspect community discourse is linked through many strands, including the main framing of multiculturalism.

8.6.1 Multiculturalism Creating Suspect Communities

Multiculturalism is used to legitimize the suspect community discourse. Blame is placed on the Left who have advocated for multiculturalism, which has contributed to the allowance of segregation, non-integration, terrorism and extremism, leading to terrorist attacks and security issues. All these elements function to create a suspect panoptic lens on Muslims (Foucault, 1977) who must be monitored, which as Bhabha (1983) states is necessary to maintain power and gaze over the Other. Like Foucault's theory of power and view of panopticism, the constant visibility and monitoring of Muslims and utilising of significant events, e.g. the Lee Rigby murder, ensure that all who are not Muslim can keep an eye or monitor Muslims, through discursive regimes of truth (Schirato et al, 2012; Bhabha, 1993). This is important because if a discourse of Orientalism is linked to security, it functions to demonstrate the necessity of Prevent and TERFOR (Sian et al, 2012; CARR, 2019). As is evident in the Lee Rigby cluster event where "multiculturalism [has] allowed fundamentalists to insert themselves into Muslim communities with the tacit encouragement of the British establishment". Multiculturalism and the liberal Left are framed as promoting this divide which has created a suspect focal point on Muslims and Muslim communities where fostering of terrorism is located.

This demonstrates the need for examining discursive strands or how discourses link and overlap into the wider macro environment (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Furthermore, there is additional use of multiculturalism; or zombification, shifting the blame on multiculturalism (Allen, 2015) and of Vertovec & Wessendorf (2010) identified arguments against multiculturalism as a single doctrine. This is where an elite group of liberal whites allow and support non-Western practices while ignoring issues with these practices and these are linked to the censoring of speech and limitation of freedom of speech.

In the Burka debate 2009/2010, the burka is a metonym for wider issues with Muslims; it contributes to the regime of truth, whereby the burka ban is necessary to prevent further security issues within Denmark. It utilises the orders of discourse of Muslims as suspect and must be observed and controlled physically from a security aspect (Foucault, 1990; Fairclough, 2005).

The Daily Mail in Charlie Hebdo 2015 blame multiculturalism 'favouring' liberals who are "guided by...colonial guilt", for creating and allowing terrorism to flourish. The solution is to embrace Conservative ideology, and populist rhetoric can save Britain from the panic of terrorism from immigration and perceived immigrant communities (Yilmaz, 2012; Mudde, 2007). Furthermore, policed multiculturalism or the monitoring of Muslims, is presented as necessary for security (Ragazzi, 2016).

However, multiculturalism's allowance of suspect communities has also constructed the negation of a common identity because Muslims are allowed to "withdraw into cultural isolation". This is particularly evident in the UK cluster events where "'multiculturalism' doctrine actually encouraged division". This is a typical argument used within Europe since the 1990s as outlined by Vertovec & Wessendorf (2010) and functions within a common values debate, that multiculturalism causes prevention of common ideas (national identity) and therefore changes the social order within a nation. It functions within a power struggle for a coherent, national identity, whereby multiculturalism is viewed as

dissolving national identity, which leads to the “unthinkable” cue to a terrorist attack. This further outlines the argument that multiculturalism leads to terrorist attacks. This is an example of how the media have allowed right-wing populist rhetoric to become mainstream because it links to right-wing populist ideas of focusing on political cynicism towards multiculturalism in combination with anti-immigrant views (Sheets et al, 2016). Additionally, the discourse reiterates Poole’s (2006) finding that the British press constructs Muslims as an out-group with a focus on the threat to security and culture clash being dominant features.

8.7 Segregation and Integration

Multiculturalism is discursively linked with both segregation and integration. In London bombings 2005, the community where the 7/7 terrorists come from has racial tension causing people to live parallel lives. This right-wing populist tension framing adds to the truth that living separately and not integrating has caused terrorism to happen (Wodak, 2013). Lack of community cohesion is to blame (Jackson, 2018) where multiculturalism has “helped create a tribal Britain with no political or moral centre”.

In Sleepwalking 2005 there is a focus on language which is framed in populist nationalist discourse. Language is an invitation into the imagined community (Anderson, 2006) but also a potential barrier into the community; mainly when the focus is on different languages spoken in school and at home. There is a lack of a “shared language” and schools must “inculcate the values of our country”. This is similar to the focus on language in Austria (Wodak et al, 1999). It is not stated what British values are, but the link of multiculturalism as preventing commonality and integration alludes to the idea that British values are not espoused via multiculturalism. This further links to Vertovec & Wesserdorf’s (2010) idea of a backlash against multiculturalism and the common argument used in Europe that multiculturalism allows segregation and therefore prevents common values and national identity.

Furthermore, the veil is a metonym for segregation and permitted by multiculturalism creating “an alien culture”, and it is “unsettling”. This further links to Foucault and power, whereby clothes Muslim women wear should be debated and potentially regulated for the benefit of her because it “restricts women”. However, Muslim women who support wearing of the veil are not invited to contribute to the debate thus denying ‘access to this discourse’ (Navarro, 2010, p.100) and denying an opportunity for a counter-discourse to emerge. This highlights the ideology of preserving the status quo and desire to contain Muslim representation. It positions the veil as a physical barrier to integration and as Byng (2010) found is framed as a symbol of non-integration.

The Guardian is traditionally left-leaning but frames multiculturalism as causing segregation where “ethnic minorities” are receiving special treatment at the detriment of the British. This is right-wing populist rhetoric and confirms previous research findings that both right and left-wing newspapers are critical towards multiculturalism and Muslims (Werbner, 2004; Baker et al, 2013; Poole, 2002).

The Copenhagen, 2015 cluster event, frames the discourse as “part of the solution”; that members of the segregated, parallel society must monitor each other and aligns with findings in the UK of segregated communities (Pitcher, 2009; Phillips, 2006). Muslims must also speak out against terrorism where they must “make clear opposition against extremism”. Additionally, focusing on parallel lives is similar to how Germany has framed Muslims (Wegmann, 2014). Furthermore, the event is used as a discursive strand to discuss the wider unintegrated community within which it is claimed Omar, the attacker, lived – the parallel society. Through this discourse, Muslims are excluded physically and textually from the imagined sameness of Denmark. There is no attempt to include Muslims in the Danish family as it is framed that Muslims have made the decision not to be included, to live in the parallel society. This assigns the blame of segregation and terrorism on to Muslims. This is exclusionary power in truth-effects by constructing a further discourse of the Danish family which Muslims have not embraced (Felluga, 2015).

8.8 Threat of Islamification

The framing of a threat to values within the Clash of Civilizations discourse is also extended to a discursive framing of the threat of 'Islamification' and is linked to fear in both countries. The dominance of this framing is an example of the epistemic shift or change in what constitutes as true knowledge or the naturalised and normalised representation of Muslims as a threatening Other (Shirato et al, 2012, p.33; Foucault, 1977). The discourse is used in Muhammad Crisis I 2005, Muhammad Crisis II 2006, Sleepwalking 2005, Asmaa 2007, Burka Ban 2009/2010 and Charlie Hebdo 2015. This threat is a populist rhetorical device of constructing an enemy Other who is against the freedoms of the indigenous people of a country and is a framing which has been evident in Europe (Eatwell, 2010). In Muhammad Crisis I 2005 there is a focus of Muslims not integrating into Danish society reiterated by a heightened emphasis on fear, the threat of Islam and integration into Danish society and the "Islamisation of Europe" (Olwig & Paerregaard, 2011). The focus of the threat of Islam and both countries becoming 'Islamised' is right-wing, xenophobic populist rhetoric, which has become normalized, leading to a similar finding to Moore et al (2008). Furthermore, it reaffirms the dialectical relationship between media and politics (Foucault, 1970; Fairclough, 2003). The representation of unspoken danger is apparent in many cluster event texts about Muslims, and this is because it does not "need to be spoken" (Moore et al, 2008, p.65). The idea of Muslims posing a security or cultural threat has thus become normalised in discourse and the decoding process (Hall, 1999) resulting in a hegemonic encoding of Muslims as a threat. This is power at play because it results in a naturalised perception of common-sense ideology (Talbot, 2007) and ensures the threat frame within the orders of discourse surrounding Muslim representation remains intact (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002). In Sleepwalking 2005, the threat of Muslims is linked with national identity and multicultural discourse. This is effective in normalising the right-wing populist discourse that multiculturalism and the elite who brought multiculturalism to Britain is not good for Britain. Additionally, it further functions within power with "normalizing effects" to represent anyone who fits within multiculturalism, i.e. Muslims, as not British (Bevir, 1999) and a threat to British values. In this respect, the dialectical relationship of discourse between politics, particularly right-wing populist politics and the media is evident, whereby right-

wing populist ideological exclusionary language is normalised and platformed in the media (Foucault, 1977; Wodak, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In the Asmaa 2007 cluster event, the threat of Islamification discourse is mainly utilized by all texts to denounce and delegitimise Asmaa potentially joining parliament where "If Islam influences legislation freedom will be at stake". Using right-wing populist rhetoric to frame Asmaa in this way reflects the power and rise of right-wing populism in Denmark of DPP since 2001 (Siim, 2015; Foucault, 1977). The focus on Islamism and Islamist is indicative of Morey & Yagin's (2011) finding that Islamism is used to represent Muslims in broader ways. Islamism is a term defined as Islamic fundamentalism and the arguments of Asmaa not shaking hands and wearing a hijab is not fundamentalism, yet, as a floating signifier (Lentin & Titley, 2011) is framed as such.

Right-wing populist discourse is utilised to support this framing and emphasise the threat of Islamification of Denmark if Asmaa entered parliament. This representation, focusing on the physical expression of Asmaa's beliefs, such as wearing a hijab and not shaking hands, is framed as "fascist" and a "Middle Ages" custom, thus, outlining that the headscarf has become politicized (Andreassen, 2007). Therefore, this is a symbol of power where ideological language is used to control and constrain a representation of Asmaa and hijab-wearing Muslim women as a threat to Denmark (Foucault, 1977; Wodak, 2013). This has also been evident in Germany, where a high-profile case of a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf was framed in *Die Spiegel* as intolerant because she did not shake hands with men (Schiffaur, 2006).

Reiterating Wren (2001) that Denmark, as a nation under threat from "external" influences has remained a "powerful idea" (ibid: p.149) the threat of Islamification of Denmark is based around threats to Danish values which outlines the influence of DPP rhetoric in Denmark as the party focuses on the threat of Muslims on Danish values (Bachler & Hopmann, 2017). Quotes from Muslims represented as 'Muslim immigrants', and refugees opposing this are used to legitimise this discourse.

This aligns with Karim's (2014) theory that the media use terms like Islamism loosely, often inaccurately. This is a form of power to constrain a representation of Asmaa, but also Muslim women who wear hijabs and do not shake hands. The use of the words 'Islamist' and 'Islamism' is employed to create an authoritative voice and premise of established knowledge about Islam (Karim, 2014). Like Jack Straw's 2006 comments on the veil, this supports the argument that European media frame the hijab and Muslim female headwear as repressive (Christiansen, 2009; Thielmann & Vorholzer; 2016; Rottmann & Marx Ferree, 2008; Lervik, 2014). Furthermore, this finding adds that female Muslim headwear is utilized in the media to represent the threat of Islamification because it signifies difference, signifying visibly the Other.

Difference is further reiterated to legitimize the threat of Islamification discourse in the Burka Ban 2009/2010 cluster event where "oppressive Islam" has been welcomed and where acceptance of the Burka is a "threat" to the UK. This is because "those who wear the burka are already defying that tolerance and respect" in other words, they have not integrated and embraced British values.

In the UK image analysis, the white woman represents British identity potentially under threat from Islam and Muslims. The colonial subject (i.e. the Muslim woman) reflects a fragile Self-presentation of the West because the West is represented as covered by the niqab or threat of Islam (Said, 1995; Hall, 1992). Therefore, the Orientalist discourse is used to negate this reflection of the colonial past. The coloniser needs to exert power (Bhabha, 1994) to construct an idea of a threat as justification for banning the burka. Power is controlling the colonised by banning the burka. Therefore, the threat of Islamification discourse discursively links to Orientalist discourse to legitimize the 'regime of truth' (Hobbs, 2008).

Thus, the contextual environment of the rise of right-wing populism and fear discourses around Muslims has legitimised the discourses around the burka as a cue that Islam is something to be protected from (in Denmark) and that it is potentially taking over Britain and British identity. Both countries utilise fear of Muslims through images used, and wider discourses function to simplify Islamic dress and frame it as something to be feared. Muslims have been part of both countries for many years, either from the colonial past, converts or as guest

workers. However, this negation of history is thus a part of the construction and organisation of this myth and free of “contradictions” (Barthes, 1972). Like right-wing discourses, this simplifies issues and fails to elaborate on the complexity of the multifaceted people and ideas within Islam. Therefore, ideological language is used within power to simplify, with “normalizing effect”, the representation of Muslims to potentially block counter-discourses of Muslims challenging this representation (Bevire, 1999, p.346; Foucault, 1977). The analysis reveals both countries frame burka-wearing women as visible identifiers of Muslims but also the Islamification of Europe, thus further diachronic use of Islamic headwear as a floating signifier (Lentin & Titley, 2011).

The threat and fear of Islamification of the UK and Denmark is further reiterated in the Charlie Hebdo 2015 cluster event. Both countries construct a Self-identity of an enlightened West under threat from barbaric Muslims and ultimately a multicultural state which formulates the myth of Western progress (Bhabha, 1990, p.209) while failing to acknowledge the varied unenlightened histories of the West such as colonialism. *The Telegraph* uses images of Abu Hamza preaching in a British street; this constructs the right-wing populist myth that Islam is taking over Britain. The text further discursively links the threat of Islamification as being allowed by multiculturalism and the Left (Betz, 2013).

All articles utilise a fear discourse because it has been established as part of a regime of truth, or what is accepted by society as ‘truth’ (Foucault in Gordon, 1980, p.131). Discourses function as part of an “agreed cultural paradigm” of negative representation of Muslims (Martin-Munoz, 2002, p.1) which has developed since 9/11 (Morey & Yaqin, 2011). The threat of Islamification reiterates a right-wing populist discourse, whereby the foreign Muslim with the foreign religion is a threat (Pelinka, 2013) and this Othering is justified as a defence of free speech (Chiang, 2008).

Therefore, this threat frame is a result of mediatization and culturalisation of developing a threat society framing Islam and Muslims, through a culture of fear,

as entities to be feared (Nohrstedt, 2013, Yilmaz, 2006). Additionally, a moral panic of the threat of Islamification functions to contribute to framing the new folk devil, Muslims, (Morrison, 2016) potentially invading the UK and Denmark with Islam (Morrison, 2016c). This is achieved through a continuous process of Othering (Morgan & Poynting, 2012) and through utilizing national identity in a clash with Muslims, the texts and newspapers function as promoters within the “populist agenda” (Mazzoleni, 2014, p.49). This contributes to the regime of truth that Muslims clash with the West, further legitimizing right-wing populism (Hobbs, 2008; Jasinski, 2001; Wodak, 2015).

8.9 Conclusion

This chapter examines the dominant findings and presents a discussion engaging with the literature covered in Chapter Two, Three and Four. The main finding is that texts in cluster events predominantly use the Clash of Civilizations and Orientalist discourse, often discursively mixing both to construct a negative Othering of Muslims. The utilization of these discourses creates a binary opposition of *Us v Them*.

Liberalism is used to construct a positive Self-identity of enlightened UK and Denmark contrast and clashing with negative Othering of Muslims in the UK, functioning, as Joppke (2008) states, similar to what the British Empire did during colonialism of non-Europeans through the ideology of liberalism. Liberal ideals such as freedom of speech and gender equality are presented as British/Western, and the presentation of other ideals are not welcome. This is expressed in anti-multiculturalist discourses discursively linking multiculturalism with wider issues with Muslim communities such as segregation, non-integration and terrorism.

Within Denmark, liberalism and the mixing of these discourses work to reinforce the ‘imagined same’ where the focus is additionally on segregation and non-integration of Muslims. Muslims living in the parallel society is described in opposition to the national we via examples of Islamic practices such as female headwear and presenting metaphors such as never having “packed their mental

suitcase”, and their “satellite dish is facing towards their old homeland” (Copenhagen 2015 cluster event). This focus on national identity is in line with Grundtvig’s notion of shared history and mentality (Veninga, 2014). This is essential to acknowledge, as it also refers to a lack of assimilation into the ‘imagined sameness’ (Gullestad, 2002).

Both countries utilize Star System members to normalize, legitimize and reinforce negative discourses of Muslims. Star System members are a further tool the media can and do use to control and contain the orders of discourse successfully linking many negative ideas and strands with Muslims by presenting them as truth (Foucault, 1977).

Finally, towards the end of the diachronic period, all newspapers in both countries, irrespective of political leaning, utilize anti-elite, anti-left right-wing populist discourses to frame Muslims as negative Others.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.0 Chapter Overview

This thesis examines, critically and diachronically, how the media construct national identity while representing Muslims in the British and Danish press. The research employs an interpretivist paradigm using methods of textual analysis; content analysis and CDA. This chapter concludes the thesis outlining the original contributions to knowledge, summarising the main findings, implications of findings, outlining limitations of the study, recommendations for future research and researcher reflection.

This chapter restates the research aim and objectives, see table 8.1²⁴, and outlines how each objective has been met.

Aim: To examine critically and diachronically, how Muslims have been represented in the British and Danish media and how the perceived identity formation of the indigenous 'in-group' is then defined and constructed.

Table 8.0: Table of Aim

O1: To explore and examine the various histories of Muslim settlement in Denmark and Britain.	O2: To examine how 'national identity' is utilized as a discourse within the media.	O3: To examine critically how the discourse on Muslims differs in the Danish and British media.	O4: To analyse the effect of the changing political discourses and culture in Denmark and Britain on the reporting of Muslims.
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Table 8.1: Table of Objectives

²⁴ O = Objective

9.1 O1: Histories of Muslim Settlement in Denmark and Britain

Through conducting a literature review, the various histories of Muslim settlement in Denmark and Britain have been established and relayed in the introduction and throughout the different literature chapters. Both countries have experienced migration and immigration of people since early 1900s, although in different patterns and numbers.

Britain has a history of being a colonial empire, and therefore the migration of people into the UK is different from Denmark. Following the Second World War soldiers fighting for Britain, including South Asian Muslims, were granted the right to remain in Britain. Additionally, the introduction of the Polish Act of 1947 allowed Polish soldiers to remain in the UK and gain British citizenship.

During a period of economic instability after the Second World War, the UK established the 1948 British Nationality Act to allow former colonial subjects to move to the UK to work and rebuild the economy. These were Citizens of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth and were from the West Indies and Pakistan. Legislation continued to be introduced to allow citizenship to Commonwealth citizens in 1970s resulting in larger migration numbers. Movement of people continued following the expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2008 and the recent refugee crisis.

In the late 1990s, Prime Minister Blair years introduced policies to recognise the multicultural communities within the UK, thus attempting to create a multicultural British identity. However, this period also saw the establishment of an anti-multiculturalism discourse (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010) fore-fronted by conservative ideology and right-wing, ethnocentric ideals of identity. Notably, this period additionally saw the rise of predominantly mainstream media constructing a British identity as white and the development of "collective amnesia" (Billig, 1995, p. 38) of the long-established multi-cultures belonging to Britain.

Denmark has historically experienced movement of people from neighbouring Scandinavian and European countries, such as Poland and Germany. After the Second World War Denmark, like many European countries hit by the low economy, sought people from outside of Europe as part of the Guest Worker programme, specifically Turkey, Pakistan and then Yugoslavia. This marked a change in Denmark's immigration history as traditional migration of people into

Denmark were of European background and typically Christian or Jewish. The people in the guest worker programme were from a non-Western, non-Christian background and predominantly Muslim.

Movement of people was encouraged to grow the economy and because guest workers were not expected to remain in Denmark they were not viewed as a threat. However, the subsequent family reunification laws such as the Asylum and Immigration Act 1983 allowed for significant numbers of people to enter and live in Denmark. This marked a changing point where guest workers became Muslim 'immigrants' who are perceived as a threat to Danish values (Yilmaz, 2006).

As the literature showed, Denmark has followed the discourse of being a homogenous nation and homogenous people as outlined by Grundtvig (Veninga, 2014). The realisation that guest workers would remain in Denmark was met with hostility and has paved the way for the rise in right-wing populist parties like the DPP which now has significant influence over Danish politics and policies.

There has continued to be movement of people into Denmark from asylum seekers and refugees fleeing war to the expansion of the EU and most recently the 2015 refugee crisis. The outlining of the different immigration histories of both countries has contributed the need to examine if different histories of immigration affect Muslim media representation. As the findings indicate there is a need to examine the cultural aspects and histories of immigration and national identity when examining *how* Muslims are represented and *why* they are represented in a certain way. The results show that despite both countries having a history of Muslim settlement, indigenous British/Danish Muslims are still represented as 'Muslim immigrants'. As the literature outlines, the immigration history of each country affects how national identity is portrayed and therefore demonstrating a need to examine immigration history in Muslim representation research in European countries. History can and does affect discourses and may be utilised as part of right-wing populist exclusionary discourse.

9.2 O2: How Media Utilise National Identity As A Discourse

In the texts analysed Muslims are constructed predominantly as 'Muslim immigrants', irrespective of whether they are British/Danish-born. This is increasingly evident as the use of the word 'immigrant' is in decline as the years increase in the diachronic analysis, particularly for the UK. This can be explained through the increasing mainstreaming of right-wing populism and the framing of Muslims as the Other who threaten Europe and values within each country. Therefore, the need to use the word 'immigrant' is not necessary as the word 'Muslim' has been naturalised to be understood as an Other; 'Muslim immigrant'. This is further demonstrated through discursive linking of terrorism with Muslims (Moore et al, 2008; Awan & Rahman, 2016) as evident in the 10-year diachronic time period. This contributes and exemplifies, when conducting research on Muslim representation, the need to consider and outline the changing discourses and contexts in countries that contribute to discourses such as national identity. It contributes the need to examine representation within a diachronic approach; discourses do not happen within a vacuum; they are naturalised over time. It is essential to document the past to analyse the present to and establish the 'epistemic shift' (Schirato et al, 2012, p.33).

The representation of Muslims inter-relates with construction of national identity for each country; this is a finding consistent throughout the diachronic analysis. British national identity develops within the diachronic analysis from a focus on 'values' but not necessarily expanding on what British values are, to specifying British values of freedom of speech. Danish national identity remains consistent with Grundtvig notion of 'community' which essentially excludes Muslims because of religious and potentially ethnic differences. This is managed by utilising Star System members who are the acceptable Other and 'moderate', supporting Danish ideals, but still Muslim.

Contrary to KhosraviNik's (2010) finding that conservative newspapers create a homogenous "unanimous identity" of RASIM (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants) as opposed to liberal newspapers who did not. This thesis finds liberal newspapers in both countries predominantly construct a

homogenous representation of Muslim in a negative framing often representing Muslims as Other. Although, liberal newspapers make attempts at counter-discourse to construct Muslims as part of British and Danish national identity in some examples in cluster events. An increasing negative focus from liberal newspapers on Muslims is evident particularly within UK newspapers towards the end of the diachronic analysis especially in the 2015 Charlie Hebdo cluster event.

A further device used by the media to represent Muslims is the utilising of a Star System member. The Star System (see Chapter Eight, section 8.2.1) functions to legitimise negative discourses of Muslims by positioning current or “ex” Muslims as co-constructing the Othering of Muslims. The use of a Star System member, ‘nationalised’ as the acceptable Other, acts as ‘confirmation’ and reiteration of the Othering of Muslims whilst attempting to negate accusations of discrimination and prejudice (Gullestad, 2006). Thus, the “regime of truth” (Hobbs, 2008) permeates through Star System members to manage the discourses and representations of Muslims.

9.3 O3: How Discourses on Muslims Differ in Danish and British Media.

The dominant discourses found in the diachronic analysis align with previous research findings (Baker et al 2008; Moore et al, 2008; Poole & Richardson, 2006; Nickels et al, 2012 for example). A mixing of Orientalist and Clash of Civilization discourse (Karim, 2011; Poole, 2002, Poole, 2011; Hervik, 2012) is present in each cluster event for both countries. In this respect, both countries do not differ in that negative discourses are used in both to construct Muslims in the press.

Discourses on Muslims additionally focus on national identity to differentiate between Muslims (‘Muslim immigrants’) and the ‘host’ country. This utilisation for each country differs during the period 2005-2015. Danish newspapers focus on utilising a Danish identity in discourses throughout the time period with increasing use of right-wing populist framing of conservative, Clash of Civilizations and Orientalist discourses. This coincides with the rising influence of the DPP in Danish politics and further contributes the need to examine how politics influence media and vice versa and interchangeable relationship between media and politics.

Furthermore, increasing focus on a 'static' 'Grundtvig inspired' Danish identity, irrespective of the history of immigration to Denmark, is utilised in combination with feminist discourse to target 'visible' Muslims. This is particularly notable in the 2007 Asmaa Abdol-Hamid and 2009/2010 Burka Ban cluster events.

The UK does not focus on national identity until after 2006 where a perceived shift in attitude to multiculturalism from the liberal left is noted in the press. Unlike Denmark, the UK does not have a firm history/historical figure of establishing 'British identity'. However, remnants of the colonial era of focusing on Western 'superiority' and 'enlightenment' is increasingly evident in the discourses during the time period. Of note is the 2015 Charlie Hebdo cluster event where all UK newspapers, including *The Guardian*, utilise discourses representative of an enlightened UK where freedom of speech is under threat by terrorists and the Liberal Left. This is in contrast to earlier years where an attempt to balance arguments were presented by *The Guardian*, particularly focusing on the history of racism in the UK.

9.4 O4: Effect of Changing Political Discourses in Denmark and Britain On the Reporting of Muslims

Denmark and the UK follow two different political models of integration; Denmark follows assimilation and the UK multiculturalism. These, in combination with the rise of right-wing populism within Europe, affects the reporting of Muslims. As outlined, Denmark utilises an assimilation model of integration, which is justified because of the history of Grundtvig promoting the idea of Denmark being one, homogenous community. Therefore, Muslims constructed as 'Muslim immigrants' are expected to assimilate and become like the host nation, which prides itself on being a land of freedom of speech and equality. As Gullestad (2002) outlines, equality in Scandinavia equates to "imagined sameness", or the need to be like everyone else. This is reflected in the political discourses and landscape in Denmark during 2005-2015 where a right-wing government was consistently in power and as the years progressed the DPP grew in influence and popularity. This is reflected in the discourses and use of Star System Member Naser Khader who, as he progressed and shifted political views increasingly to the right, became more

popular and utilised more frequently in the media. This results in negative and xenophobic discourses of Muslims becoming naturalised by the year 2015. Contributing the need to utilise the categorisation of the Star System to identify further Star System members in the media.

The UK follows a multiculturalist political model. Which, unlike assimilation, focuses on promoting people to embrace their cultural background. This is because of the historical background of colonial rule and varied immigration. The findings demonstrate, multiculturalism has been contested amidst a 'backlash' in Europe and this was evident in the British texts where increasing focus on British identity framed multiculturalism as a failed project. In the years of 2005 – 2009/2010 multiculturalism is not contested by all texts. However, by 2015 both left and right-wing newspapers contest multiculturalism through right-wing populist discourses. This shift, highlighted in the Burka Ban 2009/2010 cluster event, is marked by a wider European shift in 2010 when European leaders such as Merkel and Cameron declared multiculturalism had 'failed' (Ossenwaarde, 2014, p.174). Additionally, the rise in media exposure for right-wing and far-right groups like BNP, EDL and Britain First has made its "mark on the public consciousness" (Allen, 2014, p.358). Thereby, this media exposure legitimises anti-Muslim discourse and fear framing of the 'Islamification of the UK' becoming mainstream in politics and media. This is reflected in the findings extending Allen's (2014) note that the rise in right-wing and far-right groups have influenced media representation of Muslims. This is additionally evident in Denmark, with the rise of DPP.

9.5 Contribution of Findings

The critical examination of the corpus of texts confirms and enhances previous academic work in this area. Therefore, as Baker et al (2013) outline the research aids in 'confirming' and strengthening previous findings in the field. Additionally, the research is unique and contributes to existing academic mediation literature covering the time period 2005-2015 Denmark and the UK. Although these countries have been examined and compared previously, they have not been compared over this specific 10-year period.

There are significant contributions in the examination and application of the Star System theory in a diachronic analysis. This theory has developed from examining

University employment in America (Dominguez, 1994), to examining minority women in Scandinavian (Norwegian) media (Gullestad, 2006) to applying it to 'super-privileged' Muslim or ex-Muslim men and women critical of Muslim communities (this doctoral research). Additionally, the categorisation of what constitutes a Star System member provides scope for its further utilisation within media research on Muslim representation. It would be interesting to see the development of the theory and how Star System members are used within other European countries.

On a societal level, the research has impact to aid the general public in challenging representations of groups of people like Muslim communities. As studies have indicated, media representation potentially influences public opinion and policy (Smets & Bozdog, 2018). This type of research and dissemination of findings is vitally important in the current climate as studies have found the media contribute in 'promoting' a 'dehumanization' of especially Muslims (Esses et al, 2013, p.518). It is important to continue research into how the media can potentially influence political issues like Brexit, although it is difficult to directly relate the media as the dominant instigator of change (Allen, 2012). Studies have found the saliency of immigration during the Brexit campaign and the focus on the refugee influx have misrepresented Muslims (Morrison, 2016c). Negative media coverage focusing on Muslims and Muslim immigration was dominant and "more than tripled" (Moore & Ramsay, 2017, p.8) during the campaign.

Furthermore, Hanes & Machin (2014) found as terrorist attacks occur in the West, hate crime against Muslim communities remain high up to 6 months following the attacks. This can be attributed partly to how Muslims are represented in the media as a whole, and as the thesis has found, homogenous discourses representing Muslims through a mix of Orientalist and Clash of Civilizations lenses is dominant. It is important that dialogue between academics and the general public remains open and research is disseminated so that negative discourses can be challenged.

Post-2015, the rise of right-wing populism has given 'permission' for the media mainstreaming of far-right groups/figures like Tommy Robinson (UK) (Allen, 2017) and Pernille Vermund's party Nye Borgerlige/New Right (Denmark) (Panagiotopoulos, 2017) and rise of Rasmus Paludan (Hard Line). This is concerning, and research must outline how these ideologies become normalised,

so members of the general public can remain informed of the media and challenge them.

As Allen et al (2013) found conducting interviews about hate crime with Muslim women, a suggestion of 'tackling' (ibid: p.28) the negative representations in the media to allow 'understanding' of Muslims and Islam could help deter anti-Muslim sentiments in Britain. The importance of media facilitating Muslim 'voices' to challenge anti-Muslim media representation was also highlighted in the Open Society Institute (Choudhury, 2005) report. This is a key element which must be recognised and challenged - misunderstandings and lack of interaction with Muslims may potentially contribute to dominant and naturalised negative discourses of Muslims.

9.6 Limitations

All research has limitations of differing degrees, and this research is not without limitations. It is important to acknowledge limitations as a marker for future research questions and improvements on appropriate methods not only in media representation research but all research (Ioannidis, 2007).

The research is a diachronic examination from 2005–2015, with 101 articles analysed. Twenty cluster events are selected, and these cluster events deemed logically to contain more debate and discussion of Muslims. The limitation in this method of diachronic analysis is that it presents findings of cluster events, rather than, like Baker et al (2008) examining all news-stories within each year that mentioned Muslims. Unlike Baker et al (2008) this research sought to examine how national identity is constructed when creating a representation of Muslims and although similar to Baker et al (2008) was also markedly different. Therefore, there is a need to examine specific cluster events as Vliegenhart & Boomgaarden (2007) 1991–2002 diachronic study outlines that cluster events result in more 'direct impact' and attention given to Muslims and Muslim communities in the news (ibid; p.293). Furthermore, the approach to a diachronic analysis can be and is varied according to methods used. The research employed qualitative methods with a focus on CDA, providing substantial textual evidence, which allowed to trace the changing discourse over the time-period.

Additionally, as has been outlined in the Methodology chapter, there are limitations to the use of content analysis and CDA, with the main criticism being that of researcher impartiality and lack of 'evidence'. This has been challenged in the research with the inclusion of research diary excerpts of personal reflection to track the researchers' engagement with the findings (see Appendix E). Additionally, evidence in content analysis timelines and quotes from the analysed texts has been consistent throughout the analysis chapter and essential in exemplifying how specific discourses function within newspapers. Focus is on CDA with image analysis for selected images within two cluster events, in line with Ahmed & Matthes (2017) call for more visual representation analysis of Muslims.

9.7 Recommendations

Whilst the findings and conclusions from the current project are significant and timely, they do highlight the need for future research, specifically for more visual analysis of media representation of Muslims. This could be in the form of examining cluster events, re-examining cluster events analysed in this research with the inclusion of images to examine if the images reinforce discourses within the texts. Furthermore, as outlined, the use of Fairclough's CDA method is beneficial for examining the media. However, there is a need when using this method to include more 'evidence' in the form of quotes from selected texts, to reduce perceived researcher bias.

The use of a research diary to demonstrate the researcher's beliefs and potentially changing opinions which may influence how data is analysed is recommended to be used in conjunction with conducting CDA see 7.8.

There is an increasing need to examine specifically online news reporting in conjunction with social media, because social media is becoming a source of news consumption and sharing (Bergström & Belfrage, 2018) with far-right groups increasingly utilising the online space (Allen, 2019) and potential space for counter-discourses on Muslims (Saeed, 2016). There is scope to continue the diachronic analysis and examine key cluster events 2015 onwards, specifically Brexit and how discourses prominent during and after the Brexit campaign have become legitimised and normalised, and this requires diachronic analysis and comparison of previous cluster events. Furthermore, future research on the

recent banning of the Burka in Denmark, and comments made by Boris Johnson in 2018 are significant cluster events which could be compared with the 2009/2010 Burka Ban Debate cluster event analysis in this thesis.

There is scope to develop and expand the Star System Theory and apply this to future research examining Muslim media representation in countries outside of the UK and Denmark.

9.8 Researcher Reflection

Chapter five which outlines the methodology refers to the use of a reflective research diary that was kept during the PhD (see Appendix E). The utilisation of a research diary within this doctoral research is original in its application in design. As outlined above, one recommendation for future research involves the process of the researcher reflecting during the analysis stages to document how beliefs/opinions have impacted on the research. In this short section, I offer a final reflection of my PhD process as a whole and further contributions the work has made.

Through the course of this PhD process my beliefs and opinions have been challenged not only by myself but also by other people. From debates and experiences of hostility towards my research topic but also words of encouragement from others, I have learnt that the issue of examining how Muslims are represented within the media is important. Engaging with and developing theory, particularly Gullestad's Star System, has allowed me to examine how I read a text and challenge my own normalised sense of national identity. In this respect, the reflexivity process has been "personally introspective" (Dean, 2017, p.8). I now appreciate that prior to the completion of this thesis I viewed national identity as fixed - which it is not.

I am a hybrid; a mix and 'Danishness' and 'Britishness' and can assess and now recognise how these identities are constructed in a homogenous way, excluding Others. However, from experience I know I am not perceived by most in the UK as an 'immigrant' because I am white and have a Scottish accent. From positioning myself in the research this racialised notion of Othering has highlighted the selectivity of who is considered Other; who is permitted to be hated.

Representation, through language, 'gives...meaning' (Hall, 1997, p.3) in culture about people and this has a potential effect on how people are treated in any given culture. Although one cannot directly link dominant media discourses of Muslims to rise in Islamophobic hate crime. In 2017 Tell Mama, recorded 1,201 reports of anti-Muslim hate crime which was a 26% rise on the previous year and noted as a 'record' number (Marsh, 2018, p.1). This has been noted as linking media discourse and rise in hate crime. In 2016 there were 56 Islamophobic reported incidents and 20% of hate crime was committed against Muslims, who are described as the most "targeted minority" (Bayrakli et al, 2017, p.28). This may be a conservative number as many Muslims choose not to report Islamophobia (Allen, 2015).

The rise in right-wing populist rhetoric has given "permission to hate" (Perry, 2001, p.103), and this is creating more divisions between people. It is essential to examine language and language production in culture in Foucauldian archaeological terms because as the results demonstrate language and discourse on Muslims has not been static. One finding is that 'Islamist' has become more commonly used in the media but as Karim (2014) suggests definitions are not provided in the media. Therefore, there is potential for the meaning of this word and others to equate to Muslim. This is Islamophobia and should be challenged. This area must be researched so that right-wing populist and far-right anti-Muslim can be challenged and naturalised discourses exposed. There is a need for academics and the general public to challenge this as a form of counter-discourse. Therefore, the research also functions as having societal impact in that it offers strategies and theories to identify representations of Muslims so that they can potentially be challenged.

How people, events, debates are represented in the media must always be questioned and examined with a critical eye and this doctoral research contributes to existing literature and establishes a need to continue to examine how Muslims are represented. Examining, critically, how the media represents people and issues, or perceived issues should be taught and encouraged from Primary School age.

For the first two years of the PhD at times I feared mentioning my topic in conversation as I was often met with great hostility. But, I am now thankful for

choosing this topic. Recent events like the banning of burkas in 2018 in Denmark and Boris Johnson's derogatory comments about women who wear burkas are just the tip of the iceberg of the normalisation of racism and discrimination within the media. Representation in the media is important. Normalisation of negative stereotypes and discourses within the media coupled with the rise in right-wing populism is a concern and should be researched and challenged. I believe this PhD has contributed and impacted to this necessary research and future research should continue to build on previous research to archive the changing discourses of Muslims within the media.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Rise of Nationalist-Populist Anti-Muslim and Anti-Immigration Parties

Country	Party	1990–1999	2000–2009	2010–2015
Austria	BZÖ		7.4	3.5
	FPÖ	22.0	12.8	20.5
Belgium	FNb	1.6	2.0	
	VB	8.1	11.8	5.8
Denmark	DF	7.4	13.2	16.7
	FrP	5.1	0.6	
Finland	PS	2.4	2.9	18.3
France	FN	13.7	7.8	13.6
	MNR*		1.1	
Germany	REP*	1.9	0.6	
Greece	LAOS		3.9	1.8
Italy	LN	9.1	5.6	4.1
Netherlands	CD	1.6		
	LPF		11.4	
	PVV		5.9	12.8
Norway	FRP	10.8	19.9	16.3
Sweden	NyD	4.0		
	SD		3.3	12.9
Switzerland	SVP	16.4	27.8	28.9
United Kingdom	BNP*		1.9	
	UKIP*		1.9	7.9
Average		8.0	7.5	12.5

Note: * Party only elected to the European Parliament.
Source: data from www.parlgov.org.

Rise of Right-Wing Populist Parties Europe. Taken from (Akkerman et al, 2016, p.2)

Pelinka (2013, p.3) defines right wing populism as a 'protest' "against the checks and balances introduced to prevent 'the people's' direct rule", furthermore, contemporary populism is directed towards "the enemy who is considered to be foreign – ethnically, culturally and religiously foreign" (ibid: p.8).

Europe has witnessed a rise in right-wing populist parties, such as the National Front (France), Flemish Interest (Belgium), Freedom Party (Austria) and Freedom Party (Netherlands), following a 'backlash' against multiculturalism generally beginning in the 1990s (Sniderman et al, 2014) and very recently the AfD (Germany) (Greven, 2016). An 'extreme' example is the Netherlands shifting from multiculturalism to assimilation (Coenders et al, 2008) following

comments/essays from politicians and public figures such as Frits Bolkestein (Van Reekum & Willem Duyvend, 2012) and the rise of Geert Wilders Freedom Party (Vossen, 2010).

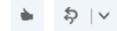
Attention to right-wing populism gained significance following the success of Jean-Marie Le Pen in the French presidential elections 2002 and success of Pim Fortuyn List in 2004 following the murder of their leader, although nationalist populism is not recent, most parties were perceived as "a ghost from the past" that could be eradicated with 'modernisation' (Mouffe, 2005, p.50). However, this was not the case and right wing populism and the accompanying rhetoric has spread across the West, as evident with the right wing populist party Law and Justice party winning the Polish election (2015) (Independent, 2015) American Presidential election (2016), the Dutch Election (2017) where populist Geert Wilders accused his opponent Mark Rutte (who was re-elected) of 'stealing' the Freedom Party's rhetoric (Meeus, 2017) and the French Presidential Election (2017).

Appendix B

Email Correspondence with ONS



MICHELLE LAWRIE (1107695)
Fri 17/11, 10:16



Hello,

I am trying to find an official **definition** of **immigrant**, would you be able to provide me a link to a page which states this **definition** please.

Many thanks,
Michelle



Pop Info <pop.info@ons.gov.uk>
Fri 17/11, 12:03



Dear Michelle

Thank you for your enquiry which has been passed to us for reply. I have copied the **definition** below which has been taken from the notes page of the latest release of [migration data](#).

Definition of a Long-Term Migrant

The UN recommendation for defining a long-term international migrant is used. That is, a migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes the country of usual residence. This **definition** does not necessarily coincide with those used by other organisations.

Definitions of a Short-Term Migrant

The tables present information on Short-Term International Migration using three separate **definitions** of a short-term migrant:

The broadest **definition** of a short-term migrant is anyone who enters or leaves the United Kingdom (UK) for a period of one to twelve months (a stay of 31 to 365 nights) for any reason.

A narrower **definition** of a short-term migrant is anyone who enters or leaves the UK for a period of three to twelve months (a stay of 91 to 365 nights) for any reason.

The most specific **definition** of a short-term migrant is the United Nations (UN) **definition**. The UN **definition** of a short-term migrant is "A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year (twelve months) except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage". These **definitions** do not necessarily coincide with those used by other organisations.

We would really appreciate it if you could [give us some feedback](#) on the service you received today.

If you need anything further please do not hesitate to contact us.

With kind regards

Lin

Lin Malthouse
Stakeholder Engagement Team
Migration and Population Statistics Divisions
ONS
Segensworth Road
Fareham
Hants
PO15 5RR

Email: pop.info@ons.gov.uk
Telephone: 01329 444661



MICHELLE LAWRIE (1107695)
Fri 17/11, 12:07



Dear Lin,

Thank you for your prompt reply. I note that I was aware of the **definition** of long-term and short-term migrant on the ONS website.

I was wondering if there is a separate **definition** for **immigrant**?

Kind regards,

Michelle



Pop Info <pop.info@ons.gov.uk>
Fri 17/11, 12:26
MICHELLE LAWRIE (1107695); MigStatsUnit <MigStatsUnit@ons.gov.uk> ↵



Inbox

Hi Michelle

The **definition** is exactly the same so no there is not a separate **definition** for **immigrant**.

With kind regards

Lin

Lin Malthouse
Stakeholder Engagement Team
Migration and Population Statistics Divisions
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Appendix C Wider European Reporting on Muslims

Europe

As emphasised in the Chapter One and throughout the thesis, perceived contestation towards Muslim communities in the media has been a Europe and Western wide phenomenon, with a dominant discourse being of Muslims constructed via an Orientalist lens, represented as violent, terrorists and incompatible with the West (Benzehaf, 2017). The multicultural nature of many European countries is not represented within media, rather a focus on cultural characteristics of Muslims which are reported on are used to create an 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy used predominantly in the media (Gemi et al, 2013). However, as Caviedes (2015) identified to categorise Europe as having an "emerging 'European' news portrayal of immigration" (ibid: p.897) is inaccurate and news representation of Muslim communities is context dependent, highlighting the need to examine cluster events and the two countries contextual environments.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands, like Denmark, categorised migrants as 'guest workers', mainly Muslim and Turkish, who were invited to help build the economy in the 1970s (Verkuyten, 2005). Historically, the Netherlands saw a faster rate of immigration influx from 1970s than Denmark and the 'issue' of immigration has been discussed for a longer period of time in the Netherlands (Klingeren et al, 2015).

In the early 1990s Frits Bolkestein a Dutch politician of the VVD party created a platform, as a mainstream politician, for open criticism of Muslim integration policy via discussing the Rushdie Affair (Van Reekum & Willem Duyvendak, 2012), however, it was in the early 2000s that the ideas of two social actors magnified the current discourse on Muslim integration: the first was the liberal left writer Paul Scheffer who in 2000 wrote an essay - the "multicultural disaster" - about the problems with multiculturalism in the pillarized Dutch society (Joppke, 2004). The second was Pim Fortuyn the populist right wing politician who in 2004 was murdered by a Moroccan immigrant. During this period there had, in politics and the media, been a focus on the religious culture of immigrants namely Islam as a 'barrier' to integrating fully into Dutch society, otherwise known as the Islam-as-

threat 'frame' (Roggeband & Vliegenthart, 2007, p.533). This frame has resulted in a "clash of civilizations" discourse emerging, in the media, with focus on issues of culture, national identity and language becoming the dominant issue which populist and some mainstream politicians employ. This frame has been described as a "radicalised discourse [of] 'new realism' that has been developing for over a decade" (Vink, 2007, p.339). This was accomplished via linking "immigrant" (Muslim) integration with other political issues such as the welfare state to demonstrate the 'failure' of past immigration policies (Scholten & Timmermans, 2010).

Germany

In Germany, the European country with the largest settlement of immigrants post World War partly due to immigration being viewed as 'uncontrolled' (Zimmerman et al, 2007, p.3), Muslims are debated in the media and by politicians using 'neo-ethnicity'. This is the encompassment of religion as cultural heritage as opposed to 'spiritual life', Muslims are therefore debated as a homogenous 'communal identity' outside of the German identity (Spielhaus, 2009, p.16). In 2004/2005, like in the Netherlands, restrictions were placed on immigration with a focus on integration; specific German language and culture tests became mandatory (Gerdes, 2010). This marked a shift in the discourse on Muslims as living in 'parallel societies' (Wegmann, 2014, p. 134), further reinforced with 2007 National Integration Plan whereby many long-time resident foreign-born (Muslim) immigrants would have to take language and culture courses with new immigrants. This was exasperated by the post 9/11 discourse of focusing citizenship as religion forcing Muslims and Jews to "into identities many never actively embraced" (Muschaben, 2010, p.86); invoking anti-Semitic stereotypes of privileged, greedy Jews and Muslims as incapable of integration.

Politician Thilo Sarrazin, Thilo Sarrazin gave a controversial interview in 2009 and published his best-selling book 'Germany Abolishes Itself' in 2010, with support from the BILD newspaper and right-wing populist party NPD who used his statements in their political campaigns. Sarrazin criticized Muslim communities, stating; they (Muslims) did not want to integrate and an individual's cultural genes determined 'ability'. This followed with a 'new Socialist Darwinism' discourse

emerging in Germany (Schellenberg in Wodak et al, 2013, p. 149) and a focus on *Leitkultur* (leading culture/German Christian nationalism).

High profile events such as when Muslim teacher Fereshta Ludin won a case to wear the headscarf as a teacher follow heightened media focus in this case from feminists in *Die Spiegel* discussing the symbolic intolerance of the headscarf and personal vilification of Ludin herself (it was alleged that she does not shake hands with men and believed women in Germany are 'impure') (Schiffauer, 2006, p.105). The discourse on the Islamic headscarf has involved comparing the hijab with the swastika, intolerant and undemocratic – this is significant as Germany "overcoming the intolerance of the Nazi era" is a key element in German national identity (Rottmann & Marx Ferree, 2008, p.487).

France

Within France following political and social change particularly post 9/11 and the media have described an ongoing 'identity crisis' because of Muslims who are allegedly not integrated, which politicians are acknowledging via generating serious debates. In 2009/2010 a lengthy debate involved the discourse of French national identity and 'values' of equality and liberty, this led to the debate and subsequent banning (in 2010) of the burqa and niqab in public, although debates on Muslim dress in schools also occurred in 2003 resulting in the banning of school girls wearing a hijab. Although this debate occurred in France it was influential in igniting a veil debate within other European countries such as the UK and Denmark. Subsequent debates surrounding Islamic dress have been increasing and in August 2016 the Burkini was banned from beaches in the city of Nice as a defence of laicite (secularism) and equality (McQueen, 2016).

Muslims are portrayed as 'undeserving citizens'; this discourse has been perpetrated by the elite (politicians, the media and intellectuals) to "erase France's colonial past" and to "reassure the 'deserving' French [those who live by the rules of liberty, equality and fraternity] and alleviate the pessimism engendered by France's prolonged labour slump [and] challenges in handling immigration" (Fredette, 2014, p. 30). This discourse has continued to be replicated and combined with an Islam as threat frame in the media, particularly following the recent terrorist attacks in France and Europe wide (Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie, 2016).

Scandinavia

Media and right-wing populist political discourse in Scandinavia focuses on the perceived 'threat to European culture' Muslims pose (Mulinar & Neergaard, 2012, p.16). The word 'indvandrer'²⁵ and the Norwegian and Swedish spellings, are used within Scandinavian public and media discourse as a form of exclusion, whereby the immigrant is always an outsider (Myrberg, 2010).

Violence, such as honour killings, is linked to not only the background of the perpetrator but also the 'culture' of Islam constructed in media, in particularly Scandinavian media. This is in contrast to indigenous males who when violent are framed as suffering from unemployment, mental health or drugs (Keskinen, 2009). The focus on gender, in particular the perceived oppression of Muslim women has been dominant in Scandinavia; Norwegian media has since 1990s focused on issues of marriage, female genital mutilation and the hijab in opposition to Scandinavian egalitarian notions of gender equality (Leirvik, 2014). Furthermore, a focus of youth and cultural conflict framed as a result of following Islam is evident in Norwegian media (Fangen & Vaage, 2018) with interviews with media editors citing a focus on freedom of speech "overriding all other rights and concerns" such as "rights to non-discrimination" (Bangstad, 2013, p.367).

Media discourse has been influenced by the rise of right-wing populism and terrorist acts and events such as the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2005 – 2006 have witnessed a shift in media discourse in Sweden. In 2007 the Swedish liberal newspaper *Nerikes Allehanda* printed Lars Vilks cartoons of Muhammad as a dog with the dominant discourse of freedom of speech used to justify the editorial choice, this shifted to a discourse of clash of civilizations of Islam threatening democracy (Nohrstedt, 2013).

²⁵ Danish word for 'immigrant'. Norwegian word = 'innvandrer', Swedish word = 'invandrare'.

Appendix D Content Analysis Coding Sheet Example

The right response to terrorism in Britain

Telegraph

Content Analysis

Lee Rigby

National Identity

We - 6

Us -

Our - 3

British/Britain - 7

Country - 4

UK

Them - 2

They

Their - 3

Muslim - 1

Islamist - 2

Immigrant/immigration - 2

Terrorist/terrorism - 4

Political Model

Multiculturalism - 1

Assimilation

Integration

Community - 4

Group

Culture - 1

Society - 2

Appendix E
Research Diary Extracts

Inner Dialogue and Reflection

Reflection of inner dialogue on the research subject matter is valuable and ongoing and is indicative of the influence inner dialogue has on interpretation of findings (Parahoo, 2006). Denzin & Lincoln (2011) cite the significance of acknowledging a researchers' stance on dominant issues within their research, something they claim is often overlooked by researchers. Below, the excerpt displays an important question reflected on, a philosophical self-reflection (Lynch, 2000).

3/3/2018

How much is my emphasis whilst discussing or thinking about topics shaped by the media? How does this affect how I view 'issues'? Has it become that when the word Muslim is used in the press that there is a cue for 'issue'? Do I react this way? Am I influenced by framing? Or influenced to view a topic a particular way by framing?

Typically, when I see the word Muslim or Islam in a newspaper article I prepare myself for a criticism or a negative story. Often when I read Danish newspaper articles about 'ghetto's' I immediately think Muslim - this is because of the political debates about 'parallel societies' in Denmark being dominant. Particularly at present where Venstre have proposed to eradicate the 'parallel society', the so called 'ghetto plan', with a view to having no ghetto's in Denmark by 2030. But, the reality is many people from a non-Muslim background live in these ghettos and they are protesting this 'no ghetto' plan - asking where they should live. The focus though has been made clear - that it is people from a perceived non-Western background, cue word for Muslim, who are the 'problem'.

Engagement with Findings & Theory Development

The following two extracts exemplify the abductive process of the analysis, viewed as an essential part of critical discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009); whereby the researcher is engaging with the theory and findings to add to the existing theory (methodological self-consciousness). Additionally, the extracts, identifies areas the researcher reflected on as requiring further development within the research.

25/05/2017

My analysis is again confusing me, integration is a word that is used or implied often. Yet, what constitutes as integration is not specifically defined – some papers cite a shared language, others simply emphasise the 'foreignness' of non-integrated people. Is this then a clear link to assimilation? I am starting to think that I will need perhaps a discussion section on integration alone as this appears to be the linking factor to whether someone is considered part of the nation.

How is an indigenous person integrated? Or is integration only for people constructed as non-indigenous people? What constitutes an indigenous person? I have found one attempt at a counter-discourse discussing white people and integration it was interesting to read, especially compared with later articles published by that newspaper shifting towards a more right stance on integration.

30/05/2017

Working on adding to Marianne Gullestad's Star System theory to include minority men, who if critical of 'their' community are used within the media to purport newspapers ideological stances whilst creating an image of a diversity friendly organisation. This is, in my belief, a tactic to appear non-discriminatory because it was 'said' by a minority person.

However, if I categorize a text producer (journalist/author of text) as part of the Star System do I not 'otherize' them as well? Am I not detracting from the reality that these journalists may have been 'heard' simply because they are talented or

well-established writers? Could it not be that these journalists truly feel this way about topics such as integration? People have different opinions on issues, could this not simply be the case? How can I strengthen my argument here, should there be markers necessary to categorize someone as part of the Star System?

My addition to the Star System theory is based on the finding that there does not appear to be inclusion of minority voices of all sides – left and right, only it appears so far in my analysis on the right. Although, there has been the counter-discourse that I found in the 2005 UK Sleepwalking into Segregation article in the Guardian.

7/9/2017

In terms of Bhabha's hybridity and location of culture, could it be argued that the reason some Muslims are being portrayed as immigrants, when they are in fact British is due to the necessity for the 'weak' colonial *Self* to retain the powerful colonial identity by exerting power in terms of how someone is represented by grouping all Muslims as part of this culture which has been 'imported' into the West and must be 'educated'? Additionally, there is a necessity to keep representation of Muslims static whilst the West/British/Danish remains 'progressive' and positive.

Appendix F

Example Translations

Muhammad Crisis I 2005

JP9 (Pittelkow, 2005)

Pittelkow: Multicultural Freedom of Speech

When JP published the much talked about drawings of the Prophet Muhammad, it was mark in the debate on freedom of speech. The message was simple: There should be no doubt that such drawings fall into the scope of freedom of speech. They must neither be suppressed by law nor by self-censorship.

The background for this was, among other things, the experience that the author Kaare Bluitgen had with artists who refused to put their name to drawings of the prophet Muhammad in a book.

The criticism that JP has undergone because of the drawings demonstrate there is a need for this debate. The criticism comes from two sides:

The first and most far-reaching criticism is found from a number of Muslim country ambassadors and some resident Muslim immigrants. They demand that utterances like the drawings in question should not be allowed. But not only that. The ambassadors want the Prime Minister to make sure that the media does not repeat this.

This is in line with the traditions of the countries that the ambassadors in question represent. In these countries there are no inviolable freedoms such as freedom of expression. Religious dogmas and the interests of the guardians come first. If the media does not do as the religion and powers prescribe, the rulers silence them one way or another.

There is a gulf between this attitude and the Danish freedom tradition. We knew that in advance. Nevertheless, there is something very remarkable about the reactions of the Muslim ambassadors. In the choir is Turkey! The action has even been approved by the Turkish Foreign Ministry.

You wonder how many of these cases are needed before this sinks in with the supporters of Turkish EU membership.

The other form of criticism has come from among others, law professor Eva Smith and former Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen. Smith speaks of utterances that only aim to smear others or do not have meaningful content. Ellemann calls it Jyllands-Posten's juvenile demonstration of their freedom of expression.

The reasons behind this criticism, which goes back to several culturally radical voices are interesting:

There is apparently a broad consensus among lawyers that JP have not committed blasphemy. But the critics argue that JP's action is offensive because it is meaningless provocation.

How does one then find out if such an action is meaningless or meaningful?

JP's stated purpose was to highlight freedom of speech. It was meant to be a meaningful matter. But critics say that this was not really JP's motive. Or said another way: JP's crime is that the newspaper did not have the right idea when it published the drawings.

It is absolutely to build guidelines for the freedom of speech on such an arbitrary and wishy washy basis.

Just as wishy washy as the second element of the criticism of JP:

The newspaper should not print the drawings because they are highly offensive to Muslims.

Offense does not mean that JP has induced hate speech against Muslims. It is offensive on the other hand to say that JP has done something which according to many Muslims should not have been done.

Now others have strong feelings that no restrictions be placed on freedom of speech by law or self-imposed silence. Is it not offensive to them that JP's critics put up with such a thing?

This question is rhetorical. It serves to emphasize that the criticism of the critics of the offended is as arbitrary, dangerous and inapplicable as their argument is.

A modern society may have some written and unwritten rules where one should not hate or deny population groups. But one cannot have written and unwritten rules where you must not utter anything that a particular religious or other belief rejects. If this becomes an unavoidable act, you are on a serious path.

JP's critics, with law Professor Smith leading, would never be able to draw up any useful general guidelines for the freedom of expression on the basis of the arguments they use. They don't even try to. Their arguments can be boiled down to the fact that one should not utter anything that is in contrast with important prescriptions of the growing Muslim minority.

This is really about the attitude to integration:

Immigration policy of the past was initially defended by the fact that immigration would only have a negligible impact. It turned out to be wrong. Then it was said that the number of immigrants was not a problem – they just needed to be integrated. But too many are unfortunately poorly integrated. Thus, the argument goes into a new phase:

One acknowledges that quite a few Muslim immigrants are distant from the principles of freedom of expression, which are the foundation of Danish society. Instead of standing by and explaining these principles and work on them becoming common for Danes and immigrants another way is used:

Two different versions of freedom of speech are in place: one is the established Danish version. The other is a version that takes special account of the societal regulations that lie in Islam.

Muhammad Crisis II

EB4 (Pedersen & Quist, 2006)

Muhammad Crisis! He lives off hatred

Imam Abu Laban has a big responsibility for the growing terrorist threat against Denmark – but who is the man with the many tongues that will not integrate but likes to receive public benefits?

In the sofa opposite the Ekstra Bladet's publisher, sits the most prominent initiator of Danish Muslims propaganda trip.

The Danish-Palestinian Islamist, Imam Ahmed Abu Laban, is a small friendly man who smiles as he offers chocolate.

As he sits there in his brown knitted sweater in the Islamic religious community's premises at Dorthea street in Copenhagen's north-west quarter, he is a nice, harmless grandfather. Not a man who lives up to that twisted hateful image.

But he is for some the reason why many hundreds of furious Palestinians are screaming their anger toward Denmark on a Sunday night in the city of Nablus on the West Bank.

Later, the raging crowd burns the Danish flag.

At home the experts agree that the terrorist threat to Denmark has never been greater. Even the dimmest Muslim terrorist has now realised that it is modern to hate Denmark.

In Saudi Arabia, two Arabs are attacked because they work for Arla.

All after Danish imams and Muslim spokesmen in December went on several trips to the Middle East to create anger against Denmark.

It has succeeded.

The Imam on benefits.

Abu Laban is the Imam but he is also a Palestinian refugee who for many years has lived with his family in social housing in Valby and who, according to Ekstra Bladets sources, has lived for a long time on public benefits.

He is charismatic. He charms and captures people. He is gifted and knows the Arabic language to perfection. But is scarce with Danish. He has never been integrated. Does not want it.

Intense eyes

Of course, I had heard all the critical stories about him such as that he speaks with two tongues. Still he charmed 'the pants off me' in minutes. Throughout my professional life I have otherwise lived by judging other people and negotiating.

But in the case of Abu Laban, I was completely duped by his suffering and intense eyes when he speaks of all the good things he wants to do for Denmark and the integration, says ISS director Ulrik Damm who met Abu Laban at the Confederation of Danish Industry.

After the meeting, Ulrik Damm described the Imam as:

He is a charismatic man who does much for integration. I must recognize that I have fallen for a prejudice. I'm embarrassed.

Today Ulrik Damm is, if possible, even more embarrassed to have shamefully praised Abu Laban and says

When you see how he lied and manipulated in connection with the Muhammad cartoons, it is actually embarrassing that I have praised him.

And you shouldn't be fooled by Abu Laban's brown eyes. He knows exactly what he is doing.

Victory for Laban

This episode has meant a great victory for him and his organisation which he is interested in making known in both Denmark and the Gulf states.

He represents a few Muslims – mainly Palestinians – but wants to give the impression that he is representing everyone, says former member of Copenhagen city council Ben Haddou.

As a religious head in Islamic Religion, Abu Laban has been working overtime to pour gasoline on the embers of Jyllands-Posten's famous and infamous prophet drawings for several months since lit in the Middle East.

The 18th of November Abu Laban told www.islamOnline.net:

- 'We want to internationalise this case, so the Danish government realises that the caricature drawings have not only offended Muslims in Denmark, but Muslims around the world.'

But Abu Laban is using stupid tricks. As revealed in Ekstra Bladet, he has manipulated and lied to sow the seeds in people's minds. And now that Denmark is at the top of fundamentalists hate list he does not do anything to extinguish the fire.

Abu Laban could stop this trouble in ten minutes if he went to Al-Jazeera (Middle East's main TV station) or other Arab channels and made up for the many lies and misunderstandings that is spreading about Denmark.

Just in that context he has more power than even Anders Fogh Rasmussen, says the Danish Social Liberal Party member Naser Khader, who has been following Abu Laban for many years.

But the imam does not go on Al-Jazeera to calm things. On the contrary. He never could. He lives for the conflict. Of the flaming hatred that makes him an important figure says Naser Khader.

Leader

Abu Laban sees himself as a member of the Muslim Brotherhood who fights to transform Denmark into an Islamic society resting on the Qur'an and Islamic law.

The Islamic religious community is built around him. With his anti-Western rhetoric and his political speech at Friday prayer's he has managed to gather many young people around him. And there is no doubt that the mosque at Dorthea street will fall apart the day Abu Laban is no more, says a source.

Protest-Imam

Abu Laban is 59 years old and the father of seven children. He has been married to his cousin, Inam for 30 years and came to Denmark in 1984 as a Palestinian refugee. He is actually a trained mechanical engineer but was invited to Denmark by the Danish imam Abdul Wahid Pedersen who wanted to have an English-speaking Imam in Denmark.

It all began in a backyard on Vesterbro street in Copenhagen, where Abu Laban started his first congregation and became a kind of protest Imam who took up political issues.

Very powerful

Abu Laban has never received Danish citizenship, but today he is a very powerful person.

He is invited to prestigious meetings with the government ministers. He is the man whom the Danish intelligence service invites to coffee when they are in contact with Muslim leaders. At the same time, Abu Laban has been close to virtually all Muslims in Denmark who support Al-Qaeda.

He is very Arabic and never really landed in Denmark. He does not know the Danish society. And he doesn't know the norms here, a source says.

The truth plus VAT

In the black leather sofa in the Islamic Religious Society, Abu Laban continues to speak to Ekstra Bladet's broadcasters. When asking him a specific question, it is like sitting in a carousel with closed eyes. You get dizzy, because his smooth-talking voice constantly takes you in new directions.

The tumultuous Arab rhetoric tumbles toward the listener in one long, exhausting orientation course. Ekstra Bladet has confronted him with a series of lies in connection with Jyllands-Posten's famous and infamous drawings of the prophet Muhammad.

But Abu Laban does not seem to care. He just smiles and laughs, while he talks about the truth – plus VAT.

Asmaa 2007

BT1 (Skibby, 2007)

Should we also accept the burka in Parliament?

Red-Green Alliance new parliamentary candidate Asmaa Abdol-Hamid recently stated that when she comes into parliament it will be with a scarf on.

The same scarf has Asmaa Abdol-Hamid cheerfully used as political bait through her license paid platform in Denmark's Radio where she has made herself spokesman for better integration and coexistence with the Muslim minority in Denmark. Only if the Danes fall on their tail and accept a large number of Muslim demands.

For me, Asmaa Abdol-Hamid can wear all the scarves that she wants in her spare time, but when such a woman's suppressive garment is to be used in parliament, my understanding of Muslims' right to diversity ceases.

What will be next, should we then also have burka-clad parliamentary politicians?

Why does Asmaa Abdol-Hamid not acknowledge that she has chosen to live in a democratic and enlightened society where women should not hide behind a religiously conditioned scarf which some thought was fitting 1400 years ago? The same Asmaa also refuses to shake hands with male politicians.

Personally, I cannot understand why those kinds of dark-men²⁶ with Middle Age customs should have as much space in Danish society when we have worked for equality and liberalism for generations.

Hans Kristian Skibby, MP for DP

Burka Ban 2009/2010

²⁶ Danish saying meaning negative people towards society.

JPS (Øktem, 2009)

A burka ban will have no effect

There are clearly more important issues, we can agree, that we can discuss than burkas such as the closure of Lindø Shipyard, that we lack money in the Treasury and the rising unemployment. But we must also not forget we have soldiers in Afghanistan who are fighting to help a real democracy begin where women's right to freedom is limited.

They do this with all their might. So maybe it doesn't matter.

Is the burka oppressive of women? Yes, I would say so without hesitation. Whether for religious, traditional or cultural reasons. Whether it is a woman choosing to wear the burka it does not change the debate.

The burka signals to me that women are responsible for men's acts and desires. She must be invisible, non-existent and is not equal to a man.

Unacceptable

I will in no way accept it.

Likewise, I cannot understand that men will accept themselves being portrayed as someone who cannot control their actions when they see hair or tight-fitting clothes. The burka raises many mixed feelings. It also raises concerns about whether the desired integration can succeed when the signal from these women can only be interpreted as a desire for distance and strong rejections of the outside world.

To ban the burka is far from my feelings.

The individual's freedom is inviolable.

56% of the Danish population is for such a ban. There is not much room in the debate whether you are for or against such a ban because it is our culture for

equality, equality between sexes and basic human values in our society. Therefore, it is most obvious to be "for" this prohibition despite the fact that we do not want a society where prohibitions govern us.

I still believe that a large part of the 56% who are for the ban, really believe that here we know what we are and what we mean.

We look each other in the eyes.

We look each other in the eyes, shake hands, we do not hide ourselves away. We are all equal, equality must not be restricted.

So maybe the focus should be shifted from 40-100 women who wear this to the signal we would like to send and have about the community.

We all know that a ban does not release these women. It does not change their attitudes or other reasons for choosing the burka. Just like it does not change the view of women and the lack of equality that also lies behind it.

Therefore, I welcome all realistic initiatives in the field including the burka debate.

But not a ban – it will have no effect – on the contrary.

Our basic values are shocked when we see a burka.

Charlie Hebdo 2015

Ber2 (Mikkelsen, 2015)

We should not be scared of dark men²⁷

Optimistic. I still believe that the democratic freedoms we represent will win by a combination of increased security efforts and ideological struggles. We must once again strengthen our knowledge of our cultural heritage.

I was a young idealistic political student in 1989 when the Wall fell. I went to Berlin and picked up a mandatory piece from the wall that follows me everywhere. I fully believed in a peaceful democratic world, because communism had collapsed. The Western values of freedom would now gain strength in the rest of the world. Unfortunately, that dream has been punctured several times the past year by fundamentalist dark men who do not want our democracy and freedom.

The exchange of views in our time is a civil war – just done by other means. The civil war is in Denmark filled with criticism, blame and irony, but also with respect and good behaviour. It is – to use an already worn expression – the Denmark we know. We respect each other's differences based on a common understanding that we have used to build generations and continue to educate our children to understand so they can pass it on to their children.

We have gained common understanding through education. It has happened by reading and understanding the democracy's history and the thinkers and philosophers who developed the democratic mindset and convinced the outside world of introducing democracy and equal rights for all. The terror attack in Paris, but also the resurrection after Jyllands-Posten's Muhammad drawings in 2005 and the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001 show clearly that we are challenged these days both from the outside and from the inside in a way I certainly hadn't seen coming when I picked up my piece of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

I believe that is what has happened because we either forgot or have been in doubt about the values our country and the rest of Western civilisation is based on is the best. Maybe we have taken them for granted? Formation, customs

²⁷ Danish saying meaning negative people towards society.

and traditions, however, have only necessary authority if they are recognised as being better and more superior to others. Here we must remember that not everything is equally good. Our democracy and the rights that are written in the Constitution, ensures that freedom of speech in Denmark is better than the values that challenge us in these days.

If we diminish the threat on the authorities that maintain our democracy and rights, social order dissolves, and we lose the integration that ensures that the peaceful civil war that we have so loved turns into a real civil war. This is what happened in Paris, on January 7th, 2015.

That's why I'm conservative. I do not want a minimal state without a moral order, which we have jointly agreed to protect. I want to maintain the authorities that uphold our democracy and rights, and I would even like to strengthen them as long as they do not limit human freedom and the ability to create a better life.

That is why, as Minister of Culture, I helped launch the so-called democracy canon.

The Democratic Canon consisted of 35 events, people, texts and philosophical events. The Muhammad drawings are only briefly mentioned in the Democratic Canon under a section on the so-called Salman Rushdie case of 1996. The Canon Committee decided to draw a time limit so that the canon only dealt with events and phenomena from before 2000. I was totally in agreement with this, but the caricatures became a landmark event.

Therefore, in my opinion, it would be natural to include them independently in a new democracy canon, now that we have the necessary perspective and have seen their consequences. Not everyone was enthusiastic about the democratic canon.

Some said at the time that the canon was a product of Western thinking and this was correct because it is, of course, this thinking that we must uphold and pass on to our children.

After all, we are all Charlie Hebdo – right? I am OPTIMISTIC. I believe that the democratic values of freedom we represent will be victorious with a combination of increased security efforts and an ideological fight. We must once again strengthen our knowledge of our cultural heritage. Cultural heritage enriches us

and strengthens the common understanding that all citizens in Denmark must have wherever they come from.

Successful integration depends not only on how many people come to the country. Successful integration is also not just about who comes to the country. It is about much more than the quantity and the quality of the foreign labor. If you want to become a part of the Danish society, it is more than just complying with Danish legislation.

A basic understanding of Danish history, culture and language is also necessary to create the common understanding we have in Denmark, which we should not lose and which all new citizens must therefore have.

Cultural build-up is the best vaccine against undemocratic currents²⁸ both at home and abroad, and it shows we must again do everything so that immigrants and their descendants become familiar with our society, history, democracy and rights.

It's time to take our country back, as Søren Pape Poulsen said as chair of the Presidency of the Conservative Council in September. We must dare to never let ourselves be fooled by dark men whether they are Communists or Islamists, or where they come from, or why they are doing it. Let's fight for what we love.

²⁸ Currents in this respect means people/events/debates.

Copenhagen 2015

P1 (JP/Politikens Hus A/S, 2015)

Stop the hateful

The terrorists nearest and dearest must be forced to sound the alarm.

It was a changed Denmark, we woke up to Sunday morning.

Since the Second World War ended, there have been many dramatic events and shots in the streets under gang conflicts.

But when two innocent civilians are killed and five policemen injured by terrorist acts in Copenhagen, we are facing a new situation, which is incompatible with the society we know. Therefore, it is crucial that the precise circumstances surrounding the attacks at the culture house Krudttønden and the Jewish synagogue in Krystal street are cleared up.

It is always easy to stand back and determine how authorities should have responded in an extreme pressure situation. But at the same time, it is important to learn from decisions made for the sake of the future.

So far, everything indicates that the police and PET²⁹ acted professionally at the first shooting incident in Østerbro.

On the other hand, investigations must determine whether it was a wrong decision that Krystal street was not blocked or guarded better in the hours when the police chased the now deceased offender everywhere in Copenhagen.

The recent terrorist attacks in France and Belgium show that the Jewish community is an independent target for militant Islamists. You wonder how the perpetrator could reach the synagogue and kill a guard at a confirmation with 80 guests.

²⁹ Danish Security and Intelligence Service

The understanding that authorities can slow down all radicalised individuals is delusional. Although PET knew the perpetrator, it is practically impossible to monitor all suspects around the clock.

If you really want to deal with the problems, you must identify the hateful young men earlier. Preferably in school before they get lost in the twilight of fanaticism.

Unfortunately, there are parallel societies in Denmark, where especially young people with ethnic backgrounds create an identity through a perverted interpretation of Islam and a fascination with terror. There are several explanations, of which failed integration is only one.

The danger of living in two separate worlds is that communications are not heard, and the authorities have not identified young people on their way (to fanaticism).

Therefore, close family members, friends, sports clubs, internet cafes and mosques have a responsibility for alerting the authorities if they have the slightest suspicion that something could be wrong.

In Aarhus, the police and the social authorities have had good experiences working with the communities.

Others can learn from them.

The alternative of looking the other way resulted in us seeing the most extreme form of terror in the terrorist attacks in Copenhagen, which risks further polarising of our community.

Appendix G

National Identity Additional Words 2005 – 2006

Cluster Event: 7/7 UK (2005)

<i>National Identity Additional Words</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
'tolerant society'	Daily Mail
'good humour'	Daily Mail
'West'	Daily Mail
'our way of life'	Telegraph
'tolerant'	Telegraph, Guardian, Times
'equality'	Guardian
'free'	Guardian
'British indifference'	Guardian
'respectability'	Times

Cluster Event: Muhammad Crisis I DK (2005)

National Identity Cue Words/Phrases	Newspaper
"Christianity"	Berlingske, Jyllands-Posten
"traditions in this country"	Jyllands-Posten
"Danish freedom tradition"	Jyllands-Posten
"modern society"	Jyllands-Posten
"democracy"	Berlingske, Jyllands-Posten
"they must not believe they are anything"	Jyllands-Posten

Cluster Event: Sleepwalking UK (2005)

National Identity Additional Words	Newspaper
`cricket`	Daily Mail
`liberal`	Daily Mail
`tolerant`	Daily Mail, Telegraph
`land of opportunity and prosperity`	Daily Mail
`equality`	Guardian
`respect`	Telegraph

Cluster Event: Jack Straw UK (2006)

<i>National Identity Additional Words</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
`modern society', `open society'	Daily Mail, Telegraph
`Western'	Daily Mail
`tolerance'	Daily Mail, Guardian, Times
`free speech', `freedom'	Daily Mail, Guardian, Telegraph
`liberalism'	Guardian
`respectful'	Guardian
`the nation'	The Sun
`patience'	The Sun
`restraint'	The Sun
`national pride'	Telegraph

Cluster Event: Muhammad Crisis II DK (2006)

<i>National Identity Additional Words</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
`freedom of speech restricted'	Berlingske
`freedom of speech under pressure'	Berlingske
`Danish society is generous'	BT
`most tolerant', `tolerant'	BT, Politiken
`equality'	BT
`Western inheritance' (freedom of speech)	Jyllands-Posten
`human rights'	Jyllands-Posten, Politiken
Christian'	BT, Jyllands-Posten
`freedom'	Jyllands-Posten, Politiken

'opportunities for children'	Jyllands-Posten
'good traditions'	Politiken
'respectful'	Politiken

Political Model

Cluster Event: London Bombings (2005)

<i>Political Model Additional Words</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
'civil war'	Daily Mail
'multicultural experiment'	Daily Mail
'Londonistan'	Daily Mail
'malign impact of multiculturalism'	Daily Mail, Guardian
'multiculturalism had major inadequacies'	
'walk on eggshells'	Daily Mail
'divisions'	Telegraph
'self-segregation', 'segregation'	Telegraph, The Sun
'demands of loyalty'	Telegraph
'cultural calamity'	Telegraph
'alienation'	Guardian, The Sun
'basic design fault'	Guardian
'obsession with diversity'	The Sun
'fear of upsetting'	The Sun

'borders secured'	The Sun
'fanned the flames of extremism'	Times
'tribal Britain'	Times
'community divided'	Times
'melting pot'	Times
'wrongly mixed'	Times
'parallel lives'	Times
'separate'	Times

Cluster Event: London Bombings (2005)

<i>Words/Phrases Associated with Muslim Immigrants</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>
'second and third generation British Asians'	Daily Mail
'odds with wider society'	Daily Mail
Pakistan	Daily Mail
'anti-British establishment sentiments'	Daily Mail
'they portrayed themselves' (as victims)	Daily Mail
'inward-looking communities'	Daily Mail, Times
'new breed'	Daily Mail
'Muslims with a cause'	Daily Mail
Pakistani	Daily Mail, Guardian

Bangladeshi	Daily Mail, Guardian
'later settler'	Daily Mail
'brainwashing'	Daily Mail
'British born'	Daily Mail
'assert their identity through a sense of victimhood and grievance'	Times
'Home-grown'	
'turn in on itself'	Daily Mail
'ghetto'	Telegraph, Guardian, The Sun
'sensitive issues'	Telegraph
'ethnic group'	Telegraph
'grievance'	Guardian, Times
'paranoia'	Guardian
'biggest crisis'	Guardian
'shopping list of demands'	Guardian
'imported Imams'	The Sun
'victimhood'	Times
'siege mentality'	Times
'anger'	Times
'home grown'	Times

Appendix H

Content Analysis All Findings

Cluster Event: London Bombings (2005)

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>National Identity</i>
Guardian	`we' = 5 `us' = 3 `ours' = 5 `British/Britain/Briton' = 28 `UK' = 5
Times	`we' = 5 `us' = `ours' = 1 `British/Britain/Briton' = 24 `Britishness' = 2 `white' = 13 `race' = 6
Telegraph	`we' = 14 `us' = 3 `ours' = 6 `British/Britain/Briton' = 16 `Britishness' = 3 `white' = 5 `race' = 10
Daily Mail	`we' = 11 `us' = 2 `ours' = 11

	'British/Britain/Briton' = 15
	'white' = 9
The Sun	'we' = 3
	'us' = 2
	'ours' = 5
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 7

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>
Guardian	'Multiculturalism' = 3
	'Integrate' = 3
	'Community' = 14
	'culture' = 2
	'grievance' = 5
Times	'Multiculturalism' = 7
	'Integrate' = 2
	'Community' = 9
	'Values' = 3
	'culture' = 1
	'Parallel lives' = 1
	'melting pot' = 2
	'divided' = 2
	'race' = 6
Telegraph	'Multiculturalism' = 1
	'Integrate' = 1

	'Community' = 1 'Values' = 1 'culture' = 1 'acculturate' = 1 'society' = 4
Daily Mail	'Multiculturalism' = 2 'Integrate' = 1 'Community' = 4 'Values' = 2 'Segregate/d' = 1 'Parallel society' =
The Sun	'Multiculturalism' = 1 'Community' = 5 'integration' = 1 'ghetto' = 3

Newspaper	Immigrants
Guardian	'them' = 3 'they' = 4 'their' = 5 'Muslim/Muslims' = 23 'Islam' = 5
Times	'them' = 2 'they' = 14 'their' = 7

	'Muslim/Muslims' =	36
	'extremist/extremism' =	2
	'terrorist' =	12
	'young' =	6
	'Islam' =	2
	'immigration/immigrant' =	1
	'Asian' =	11
Telegraph	'them' =	4
	'their' =	7
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	3
	'young' =	2
	'Islam' =	1
	'immigration/immigrant' =	7
Daily Mail	'them' =	4
	'they' =	3
	'their' =	4
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	20
	'extremist/extremism' =	4
	'immigration/immigrant' =	1
The Sun	'them' =	1
	'they' =	8
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	14
	'Islamist' =	2
	'immigration/immigrant' =	1
	'Islamonazi' =	2
	'terrorism' =	5

	'extremist' =	2
	'young' =	6

Muhammad I (2005)

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>National Identity</i>
Berlingske	'we' = 12
	'us' = 5
	'ours' = 4
	'Danish/Denmark' = 24
	'freedom of speech' = 4
	'democracy' = 11
Jyllands-Posten	'we' = 29
	'us' = 3
	'ours' = 1
	'Danish/Denmark' = 55
	'freedom of speech' = 15
	'Christianity/Christian' = 10
Politiken	'we' = 12
	'us' = 3
	'ours' = 3
	'Danish/Denmark' = 8
	'freedom of speech' = 7

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>
Berlingske	'assimilation' =
	'integration' = 5

	Parallel society' = `community' = `society' = 10 `culture' = 4 `Values' = `self-censorship' = 3
Jyllands-Posten	`assimilation' = `integration' = 7 Parallel society' = 2 `community' = 5 `society' = 12 `culture' = 27 `Values' = 2 `multicultural' = 6
Politiken	`assimilation' = `integration' = Parallel society' = `community' = `culture' = 5 `Values' = 1 `culture war' = 1

Newspaper	Muslim Representation
Berlingske	'them' = 2 'they' = 1 'their' = 2 'Muslim' = 27 'Muslim living here' = 2 'Islam' = 15 'Islamist' = 5 'immigrant' = 10 'foreign' = 1 'angry' = 2
Jyllands-Posten	'them' = 7 'they' = 'their' = 14 'Muslim' = 32 'Islam' = 15 'immigrant' = 20 'foreign' = 10 'foreigner' = 3 'refugee' = 7 'angry' =
Politiken	'them' = 3 'they' = 1 'their' = 1 'Muslim' = 8 'Islam' = 6

	'immigrant' =	1
	'angry' =	

Sleepwalking (2005)

Newspaper	National Identity	
Daily Mail	'we' =	14
	'us' =	4
	'ours' =	6
	'British/Britain' =	31
	'Britishness' =	1
	'UK' =	
	'values' =	2
	'white' =	17
Guardian	'we' =	18
	'us' =	
	'ours' =	6
	'British/Britain' =	8
	'Britishness' =	
	'UK' =	1
	'values' =	3
	'government' =	11
Telegraph	'we' =	2
	'ours' =	4
	'British/Britain' =	4

	'Britishness' =	1
	'values' =	3

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>	
Daily Mail	'multiculturalism' =	15
	'integrate' =	6
	'communities' =	21
	'segregate' =	2
	'society' =	12
	'groups' =	2
	'culture' =	15
	'ghetto' =	24
Guardian	'multiculturalism' =	8
	'integrate' =	27
	'communities' =	16
	'segregate' =	3
	'society' =	4
	'groups' =	7
	'culture' =	3
	'assimilation' =	2
	'racist' =	19
Telegraph	'multiculturalism' =	2
	'integrate' =	1
	'communities' =	3
	'groups' =	1

	'culture' =	2
	'language' =	2
	'diversity' =	1

Newspaper	Muslim Representation	
Daily Mail	'them' =	7
	'they' =	18
	'their' =	26
	'Muslim' =	48
	'Islam' =	5
	'Asian' =	10
	'foreign' =	6
	'imported' =	6
Guardian	'them' =	6
	'they' =	12
	'their' =	
	'Muslim' =	7
	'Islam' =	
	'non-white' =	3
	'black' =	7
	'extremism' =	2
Telegraph	'their' =	3
	'Muslim' =	2
	'Islam' =	
	'ethnic' =	2

Jack Straw (2006)

Newspaper	National Identity
Guardian	'we' = 1
	'us' = 1
	'ours' = 1
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 3
Times	'we' = 6
	'us' = 0
	'ours' = 0
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 13
Telegraph	'we' = 11
	'us' = 1
	'ours' = 5
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 7
Daily Mail	'we' = 13
	'us' = 6
	'ours' = 2
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 10
The Sun	'we' = 9
	'us' = 5
	'ours' = 8
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 10
	'UK' = 1

Newspaper	Political Model
Guardian	'Multiculturalism' = 1
	'Integrate' = 1
	'Community' = 3
	'culture' = 4
	'but' = 11
Times	'Multiculturalism' = 0
	'Integrate' = 3
	'Community' = 9
	'culture' = 3
Telegraph	'Multiculturalism' = 7
	'Integrate' = 7
	'Community' = 6
	'culture' = 2
	'group' = 1
	'assimilation' = 2
Daily Mail	'Multiculturalism' = 7
	'Integrate' = 3
	'Community' = 15
	'ghetto' = 2
	'culture' = 4
	'ethnic' = 3
	'diversity/diverse' = 9

	'tolerance' =	2
The Sun	'Multiculturalism' =	1
	'Integrate' =	1
	'Community' =	6
	'culture' =	1
	'ghetto' =	1
	'alien' =	2
	'group' =	5

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Muslim Representation</i>	
Guardian	'them' =	0
	'they' =	0
	'their' =	1
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	17
	'Islam' =	0
	'Islamic' =	3
	'veil' =	22
	'women' =	7
	'issue' =	10
Times	'them' =	8
	'they' =	16
	'their' =	15
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	28
	'Islam' =	6

	'veil' =	33
	'women' =	30
Telegraph	'them' =	
	'they' =	6
	'their' =	6
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	15
	'Islam' =	6
	'veil' -	6
	'Islamist' =	1
	'exotic' =	2
Daily Mail	'them' =	0
	'they' =	1
	'their' =	5
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	6
	'Islamic' =	1
	'veil' =	6
	'immigration' =	3
The Sun	'them' =	5
	'they' =	5
	'their' =	7
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	16
	'Islam' =	1
	'veil' =	5

Muhammad II (2006)

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>National Identity</i>
Berlingske	<p>We = 15</p> <p>Us = 9</p> <p>Our = 13</p> <p>Denmark/Danish = 28</p> <p>Freedom of speech = 4</p> <p>Democracy = 5</p>
Ekstra Bladet	<p>We = 1</p> <p>Us =</p> <p>Our =</p> <p>Denmark/Danish = 36</p> <p>Freedom of speech = 7</p> <p>Democracy =</p>
Jyllands-Posten	<p>We = 34</p> <p>Us = 5</p> <p>Our = 5</p> <p>Denmark/Danish = 27</p> <p>Freedom of speech = 10</p> <p>Democracy = 5</p> <p>West = 11</p> <p>Christian = 5</p>
Politiken	<p>We = 16</p> <p>Us = 8</p> <p>Our = 5</p> <p>Denmark/Danish = 92</p>

	Freedom of speech =	48
	Democracy =	11
	White =	3
	West =	3

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>	
Berlingske	Assimilation =	
	Integrate =	13
	Parallel Society =	1
	Community =	
	Society =	4
	Culture =	1
	Values =	4
Ekstra Bladet	Assimilation =	
	Integrate =	4
	Parallel Society =	
	Community =	
	Society =	4
	Culture =	1
	Values =	
Jyllands-Posten	Assimilation =	
	Integrate =	6
	Parallel Society =	
	Community =	
	Society =	11
	Culture =	5

	Values = 4 Ghetto = 2 Culture clash = 5
Politiken	Assimilation = Integrate = 6 Parallel Society = Community = Society = 13 Culture = 5 Values = 1

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Muslim Representation</i>
Berlingske	Them = 10 They = 2 Their = 1 Muslim = 17 Islam = 2 Immigrant = 3 Foreign = 1
Ekstra Bladet	Them = 1 They = Their = 3 Muslim = 19 Islam = 4 Immigrant =

	Foreign =	
	Islamist =	1
Jyllands-Posten	Them =	5
	They =	
	Their =	10
	Muslim =	16
	Islam =	20
	Immigrant =	8
	Foreign =	
	Islamist =	1
Politiken	Them =	4
	They =	2
	Their =	11
	Muslim =	51
	Islam =	21
	Immigrant =	
	Foreign =	
	Ethnic =	18

Asmaa (2007)

Newspaper	National Identity
Politiken	'we' = 22
	'us' = 3
	'ours' = 1
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 30
	'freedom of speech' = 1
	'freedom' =
	'democracy' =
Berlingkse	'we' = 5
	'us' = 1
	'ours' = 1
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 6
	'freedom of speech' = 1
	'freedom' = 3
	'democracy' = 2
	'hand' = 3
'tradition' = 2	
Jyllands-Posten	'we' = 12
	'us' = 5
	'ours' = 4
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 22
	'freedom of speech' = 1
	'freedom' =
	'democracy' =

	'West' =	3
BT	'we' =	1
	'us' =	
	'ours' =	
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' =	4
	'freedom of speech' =	
	'freedom' =	
	'democracy' =	

Newspaper	Political Model
Politiken	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 1 'community' = 'society' = 'parallel society' = 'culture' = 9 'values' = 3
Berlingske	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 1 'community' = 'society' = 2 'parallel society' = 'culture' = 1 'values' = 2
Jyllands-Posten	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 1 'community' = 'society' = 7

	`parallel society' = `culture' = 5 `values' = 2 `multicultural' = 1
Ekstra Bladet	`integration/integrate/integrated' = `community' = `society' = `parallel society' = `culture' = `values' =
BT	`integration/integrate/integrated' = 1 `community' = `society' = 2 `parallel society' = `culture' = `values' =

Newspaper	Muslim Representation
Politiken	'them' = 6
	'they' = 6
	'their' = 5
	'Muslim/Muslims' = 13
	'Islam' = 2
	'Islamist' = 1
	'women' = 16
	'headscarf' = 39
	'immigrants' = 1
	'foreign' = 4
	'new' = 4
Berlingske	'them' = 1
	'they' =
	'their' =
	'Muslim/Muslims' = 2
	'Islam' = 3
	'Islamist' =
	'Islamism' = 2
	'women' = 4
	'headscarf' = 10
	'immigrants' = 3
	'fundamentalist' = 2
	'trust' = 2
Jyllands-Posten	'them' = 3
	'they' = 3

	'their' =	6
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	22
	'Islam' =	38
	'Islamist' =	7
	'women' =	22
	'headscarf' =	14
	'immigrants' =	8
	'fanatics' =	4
	'strength' (Islamic) =	10
	'totalitarian' =	11
BT	'them' =	
	'they' =	
	'their' =	
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	3
	'Islam' =	
	'Islamist' =	
	'women' =	
	'headscarf' =	3
	'immigrants' =	
	'burka' =	1

Burka Ban (2009/2010)

Newspapers	National Identity
Daily Mail	We = 5 Us = 4 Our = 0 Britain/British = 4 Freedom of speech = 0 Democracy = 0
The Sun	We = 3 Us = 1 Our = 2 Britain/British = 6 Freedom of speech = 0 Democracy = 0 Tolerant = 3
Telegraph	We = 2 Us = 2 Our = 1 Britain/British = 1 Freedom of speech = 0 Democracy = 0
Times	We = 0 Us = 0 Our = 0 Britain/British = 5

	Freedom of speech =	0
	Democracy =	0
	UK =	1

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>	
Daily Mail	Multiculturalism =	0
	Integrate =	0
	Community =	1
	Values =	0
	Culture =	1
The Sun	Multiculturalism =	0
	Integrate =	0
	Community =	0
	Values =	0
	Culture =	0
	Society =	3
Telegraph	Multiculturalism =	0
	Assimilation =	1
	Integrate =	1
	Community =	2
	Values =	0
	Culture =	2
	Society =	0
Times	Multiculturalism =	0
	Integrate =	0

	Community =	3
	Values =	0
	Culture =	1
	Society =	
	Ghetto =	1

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Muslim Representation</i>	
Daily Mail	Them =	3
	They =	22
	Their =	17
	Muslim =	15
	Islam =	2
	Immigrant =	1
	Burka =	21
	Veil =	13
	Women =	17
The Sun	Them =	3
	They =	12
	Their =	6
	Muslim =	5
	Islam =	2
	Immigrant =	0
	Migrants =	1
	Burka =	8
	Veil =	2
	Women =	9

Telegraph	Them = 2 They = 2 Their = 0 Muslim = 3 Islam = 0 Immigrant = 0 Burka = 4 Veil = 1 Women = 4
Times	Them = 1 They = 5 Their = 2 Muslim = 7 Islam = Immigrant = 1 Burka = 4 Veil = 4 Women = 6

Denmark

Newspaper	National Identity	
Berlingske	We =	2
	Us =	0
	Our =	0
	Denmark/Danish =	5
	Freedom of speech =	0
	Democracy =	0
Ekstra Bladet	We =	3
	Us =	0
	Our =	0
	Denmark/Danish =	5
	Freedom of speech =	0
	Democracy =	0
Jyllands-Posten	We =	17
	Us =	4
	Our =	3
	Denmark/Danish =	1
	Freedom of speech =	0
	Democracy =	0
	Equality =	4
	Freedom =	3
Politiken	We =	3
	Us =	1
	Our =	3
	Denmark/Danish =	2

	Freedom of speech =	0
	Democracy =	2

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>	
Berlingske	Assimilation =	0
	Integrate =	5
	Parallel Society =	0
	Community =	0
	Society =	3
	Culture =	2
	Values =	3
Ekstra Bladet	Assimilation =	0
	Integrate =	1
	Parallel Society =	0
	Community =	0
	Society =	0
	Culture =	0
	Values =	0
Jyllands-Posten	Assimilation =	0
	Integrate =	1
	Parallel Society =	0
	Community =	0
	Society =	3
	Culture =	2
	Values =	2
Politiken	Assimilation =	0

	Integrate =	3
	Parallel Society =	0
	Community =	0
	Society =	0
	Culture =	0
	Values =	3

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Muslim Representation</i>
Berlingske	Them = 2 They = 0 Their = 0 Muslim = 4 Islam = 0 Immigrant = 4 Foreign = 0 Burka = 6 Woman = 7
Ekstra Bladet	Them = 1 They = 0 Their = 0 Muslim = 0 Islam = 0 Immigrant = 1 Burka = 3 Women = 2
Jyllands-Posten	Them = 0

	They =	1
	Their =	2
	Muslim =	0
	Islam =	0
	Immigrant =	0
	Foreign =	0
	Burka =	11
	Women =	8
Politiken	Them =	2
	They =	1
	Their =	1
	Muslim =	4
	Islam =	4
	Islamist =	1
	Immigrant =	0
	Foreign =	0
	Burka =	6
	Women =	5

Lee Rigby (2013)

Newspaper	National Identity
Daily Mail	<p>We = 22</p> <p>Us = 5</p> <p>Our = 20</p> <p>Britain/British = 11</p> <p>UK = 2</p> <p>Freedom of speech = 0</p> <p>Democracy = 0</p>
Guardian	<p>We = 5</p> <p>Us = 1</p> <p>Our = 6</p> <p>Britain/British = 15</p> <p>Freedom of speech = 0</p> <p>Democracy = 0</p>
Telegraph	<p>We = 18</p> <p>Us = 0</p> <p>Our = 6</p> <p>Britain/British = 17</p> <p>Freedom of speech = 0</p> <p>Democracy = 0</p> <p>Country = 4</p>
The Sun	<p>We = 26</p> <p>Us = 3</p> <p>Our = 2</p> <p>Britain/British = 9</p>

	Freedom of speech =	0
	Democracy =	0
	Tolerance =	3
Times	We =	31
	Us =	8
	Our =	7
	Britain/British =	9
	Freedom of speech =	0
	Democracy =	0
	UK =	0
	Liberty =	7
	Freedom =	2

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>
Daily Mail	Multiculturalism = 0
	Integrate = 2
	Community = 1
	Values = 0
	Culture = 2
Guardian	Multiculturalism = 0
	Integrate = 1
	Community = 4
	Values = 0
	Culture = 1
	Clash = 1
Telegraph	Multiculturalism = 2

	Integrate = 1 Community = 9 Values = 0 Culture = 1 Society = 2 Group = 1
The Sun	Multiculturalism = 1 Integrate = 0 Community = 3 Values = 0 Culture = 0
Times	Multiculturalism = 2 Integrate = 0 Community = 5 Values = 0 Culture = 3

Newspaper	Muslim Representation
Daily Mail	Them = 0 They = 0 Their = 1 Muslim = 3 Islam = 4 Immigrant = 0

	Foreign =	2
	Ethnic minority =	1
	Islamist =	1
Guardian	Them =	1
	They =	1
	Their =	2
	Muslim =	13
	Islam =	2
	Immigrant =	0
	Foreign =	0
	Islamist =	2
Telegraph	Them =	2
	They =	0
	Their =	5
	Muslim =	9
	Islam =	2
	Immigrant =	2
	Foreign =	0
	Islamist =	4
The Sun	Them =	1
	They =	6
	Their =	4
	Muslim =	16
	Islam =	9
	Immigrant =	1
	Foreign =	0

	Islamist =	2
	Benefits =	2
Times	Them =	3
	They =	4
	Their =	1
	Muslim =	15
	Islam =	0
	Immigrant =	0
	Foreign =	0

Charlie Hebdo (2015)

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>National Identity</i>
Guardian	'we' = 9
	'our' = 1
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 3
	'UK' = 2
	'Europe/European' = 5
	'free' = 3
	'freedom of speech' = 2
Telegraph	'we' = 24
	'our' = 8
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 13
	'tolerance' = 4
	'freedoms/free' = 4
	'freedom of speech' = 1
Daily Mail	'we' = 30
	'us' = 11
	'our' = 18
	'British/Britain/Briton' = 11
	'freedom' = 6
	'values' = 5
	'tolerance' = 3

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>National Identity</i>
Politiken	'we' = 18
	'our' = 5
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 5
	'values' = 4
Berlingske	'we' = 24
	'us' = 6
	'our' = 8
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 8
	'freedom of speech' = 1
	'democracy' = 17
	'civil war' = 4
	'values' = 5
Jyllands-Posten	'we' = 14
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 4
	'West' = 2

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>
Guardian	'Multiculturalism' = 1
	'fear' = 4
Telegraph	'Integrate' = 1
	'Community' = 1
	'culture' = 1
	'assimilated' = 1
	'group' = 4

Daily Mail	'Multiculturalism' =	1
	'Community' =	1
	'culture' =	2
	'society' =	3

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Political Model</i>
Politiken	'culture' = 1
Berlingske	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 1 'culture' = 6
Jyllands-Posten	'culture war' = 1

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Muslim Representation</i>
Guardian	'them' = 1
	'they' = 3
	'Muslim/Muslims' = 4
	'minority/ies' = 3
Telegraph	'they' = 7
	'their' = 13
	'Muslim/Muslims' = 17
	'Islamic' = 3
	'Islamist' = 1
	'Islamism' = 1
Daily Mail	'them' = 7
	'they' = 15

	'their' =	12
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	14
	'Islam' =	4

Newspaper	Muslim Representation	
Politiken	'them' =	4
	'they' =	14
	'their' =	1
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	5
	'Islam' =	4
	'foreign' =	1
Berlingske	'them' =	3
	'they' =	3
	'their' =	1
	'Islamist' =	1
	'communists' =	1
	'descendants' =	1
	'immigrants' =	1
Jyllands-Posten	'them' =	5
	'their' =	4
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	22
	'Islam' =	39
	'Islamist' =	4
	'terror' =	15

Copenhagen (2015)

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>National Identity</i>
Politiken	'we' = 18
	'us' = 4
	'ours' = 2
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 23
	'freedom of speech' = 6
	'freedom' = 6
	'democracy' = 1
	'Jews/Jewish' = 8
	'Christian' = 2
	'identity' = 3
	'authorities' = 5
Berlingske	'we' = 37
	'us' = 4
	'ours' = 12
	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 10
	'freedom of speech' = 1
	'democracy' = 1
	'Jews' = 1
	'Christian' = 2
Jyllands-Posten	'we' = 12
	'us' = 3
	'ours' = 2

	'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 19 'freedom of speech' = 3 'freedom' = 6 'democracy' = 6 'expression' = 2
Ekstra Bladet	'we' = 3 'ours' = 1 'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 10 'freedom of speech' = 1 'Jews' = 8 'non believers' = 3
BT	'we' = 10 'us' = 1 'Danish/Dane/Denmark' = 10 'freedom of speech' = 1 'Jews' = 5 'non believers' = 1 'authorities' = 3

Newspaper	Political Model
Politiken	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 3 'community' = 1 'society' = 7 'parallel society' = 1 'polarised society' = 1 'two split worlds' = 1 'culture' = 1 'values' = 1
Berlingske	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 2 'community' = 3 'society' = 8 'parallel society' = 1 'culture' = 3 'values' = 7
Jyllands-Posten	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 5 'parallel society' = 2 'culture' = 3 'values' = 7 'politically correct' = 4
Ekstra Bladet	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 1 'community' = 1
BT	'integration/integrate/integrated' = 17 'society' = 4 'parallel society' = 2

	'culture' =	1
	'subculture' =	2
	'ghetto' =	4

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Muslim Representation</i>	
Politiken	'them' =	4
	'they' =	2
	'their' =	3
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	12
	'Islam' =	3
	'Islamist' =	1
Berlingske	'them' =	6
	'they' =	10
	'their' =	3
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	8
	'Islam' =	2
	'Islamist' =	1
	'Moderate Muslim' =	4
	'immigration/immigrant' =	3
	'non Western' =	2
	'descendants' =	4
	'new Danes' =	1
	'group' =	3
Jyllands-Posten	'them' =	4
	'they' =	2

	'their' =	3
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	7
	'Islam' =	7
	'Islamist' =	7
	'Islamism' =	1
	'immigration/immigrant' =	4
	'foreign' =	1
Ekstra Bladet	'them' =	1
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	1
	'Islam' =	1
	'Islamist' =	4
	'immigration/immigrant' =	2
BT	'them' =	21
	'they' =	8
	'their' =	18
	'Muslim/Muslims' =	4
	'Islam' =	5
	'immigration/immigrant' =	7

Appendix I

Summarised Articles in Cluster Events 2005 - 2015

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	12 th July	The Sun Author: Richard Littlejohn	The news that Tariq Ramadan will be entering the UK to give a conference with a wider discussion on authorities allowing hateful figures into the country.
2	13 th July	Daily Mail Author: Not cited	The article focuses on the revelation that the terrorist attacks in London were committed by British Muslims and how the UK must move forward.
3	14 th July	Guardian Author cited: Madeleine Bunting	The importance of viewing and treating Muslims as part of the UK and not enemies.
4	14 th July	Telegraph Author: Boris Johnson	Britishness and the need to reassert British values to combat terrorism in the UK.
5	14 th July	Times Author: Ben Macintyre	Journalist 'enters' one community which is classed as racially and religiously divided; focusing on interviews with community members on 'both sides'.
6	14 th July	Telegraph Author: Tom Leonard	Focusing on a teacher who tried to 'challenge' multiculturalism in the 1980s and 'warn' of the dangers of segregation.

7	15 th July	Guardian Author: David Goodhart	Focusing on the Muslim 'community' and the reasons behind the perceived failure of integration.
8	16 th July	Times Author: Kenan Malik	How multiculturalism has allowed the emergence of a Muslim victimhood and grievance that resulted in the terrorist attacks.
9	18 th July	Daily Mail Author: David Jones	Focusing on why the attackers committed the act of violence, via journalist 'entering' the community the attackers were from and speaking to locals.
10	20 th July	The Sun Author: Trevor Kavanagh	Focusing on young Muslims wishing to remove ghettos from society and liberate the Muslim community from immigrant imams.

2005 London Bombings Cluster Event Article Summaries

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	4 th October	Berlingske Author: Not cited	The need to protect freedom of speech from fundamentalists.
2	15 th October	Berlingske Author: Jesper Termansen	Demonstrations against Jyllands-Posten and why this shows justification for publishing the cartoons.
3	20 th October	Berlingske Author:	The need to view Muslims as individuals

		Peter Norsk	and to respect each other, to avoid future conflict.
4	21 st October	Politiken Author: Katrine Winkel	Theologian author outlines that there is a problem with Islam.
5	21 st October	Jyllands-Posten Author: Not cited	The 'growing' division between Muslims and Danes and how to overcome this.
6	22 nd October	Jyllands-Posten Author: Not cited	Article centres around comments of integration in relation to the cartoon crisis by city council candidate Rabih Azad-Ahmad representing the Radical Left party.
7	28 th October	Jyllands-Posten Author: Michael Pihl	The 'death' of the people caused by multiculturalism and political correctness.
8	29 th October	Politiken Author: Jacob Andersen	The author discusses the cartoons in relation to his own project where he hired a cartoonist to portray Muhammad and the overall debate

			of self-censorship in Denmark.
9	30 th October	Jyllands-Posten Author: Ralf Pittelkow	The need for Jyllands-Posten to publish the cartoons, justified by the debate between Muslims and Danes in Denmark.

2005 Muhammad Cartoon Crisis 2005 Beginning Cluster Event Article Summary

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	19 th September 2005	Guardian Author: Gary Younge	The history of integration citing America and the need for prejudice to be observed when discussing integration.
2	20 th September 2005	Daily Mail Author: Stephen Glover	Article focusing on multiculturalism and comments by pro-multiculturalist who have changed their opinion or 'turned their back' against multiculturalism. Discussing the history of diversity of people in the UK.
3	21 st September 2005	Guardian Author: Alison Benjamin	Ted Cante and how to implement better integration strategies into the UK.
4	23 rd September 2005	Daily Mail Author: Saira Khan	Discussing how the journalist made a success of herself and linking her Muslim background to the advancement for people living in the ghetto.
5	23 rd September 2005	Telegraph Author: Not cited	Integration and the importance of children learning Britishness.
6	24 th September 2005	Guardian Author: Not cited	How Britain can stop being a segregated society.
7	24 th September 2005	Daily Mail Author: Ann Leslie	The journalist 'enters' the ghetto with a focus on how different and dangerous the ghetto is.

2005 Sleepwalking Into Segregation Cluster Event Table Summary

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	7 th October	Daily Mail Author: No source	The need to focus on free speech in the UK to live in harmony.
2	7 th October	Guardian Author: Martin Kettle	Focusing on the 'overreaction' to Jack Straw's article on the veil, but highlighting the necessity to discuss veil wearing in Britain.
3	7 th October	Telegraph Author: Not cited	Article supporting comments made by Jack Straw and the opposing opinions from some Muslim leaders.
4	7 th October	Guardian Author: Not cited	Commentary on Jack Straw and the need to discuss the veil in British society.
5	9 th October	Times Author: Sara Khan	Biographical relation of the author's experience coming from an immigrant background and why the veil is bad for women and Muslim integration.
6	10 th October	Daily Mail Author: Tim Shipman	Focusing on comments made by a Professor on diversity being

			a threat to communities.
7	11 th October	The Sun Author: Martel Maxwell	Opinion on the need to assert British values above Muslim values.
8	11 th October	The Sun Author: David Blunkett	The need to accept rules within the UK and that the veil is 'alien' to non-Muslims.
9	11 th October	Times Author: Ruth Gledhill	Reporting on comments made by Salman Rushdie on the veil debate.
10	17 th October	The Sun Author: Jon Gaunt	Commentary on why Muslims should not be treated differently in the UK.
11	18 th October	Telegraph Author: Not cited	Reporting on comments made by the Prime Minister and the government's 'new' position of focusing on integration in relation to veil wearing.
12	20 th October	Telegraph Author: W.F Deedes	Commentary on the shift of focusing on integration and why it will not work in relation to Muslims in the UK.
13	21 st October	Daily Mail Author:	Focusing on the shift in the government approach from

		Not cited	multiculturalism to integration.
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2006 Jack Straw Veil Cluster Event Article Summary

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	2 nd February	Politiken Author: Michael Jarlner & Michael Seidelin	The cultural war between Denmark and Europe between the Arab world and freedom of speech.
2	4 th February	Ekstra Bladet Author: Not cited	How Denmark is portrayed in Arabic countries and the lack of freedom of speech in these countries.
3	4 th February	Jyllands-Posten Author: Orla Borg	Comments by Naser Khader on Imam's who should leave the country if they don't like the freedoms in Denmark.
4	5 th February	Ekstra Bladet Author: Annelise Pedersen & Kåre Quist	Background story about Imam Abu Laban and how he came to Denmark and his influence on the 'crisis'.
5	5 th February	Berlingske Author: Niels Lunde	Discussion on what will happen next in Denmark after the 'crisis' is over and the need for Muslims to integrate.
6	6 th February	Politiken Author: Bashy Quraishy	Freedom of speech, the dominant racist discourses in the Danish debate and the rights of ethnic minorities.
7	8 th February	Jyllands-Posten Author: Ibn Warraq	The European history of freedom of speech and the need to protect this freedom from Islamists.

8	9 th February	Berlingske Author: Line Holm Nielsen & Morten Henriksen	Comments by integration minister for Muslims to boycott Imam's who have travelled the Middle East to denounce Denmark and the 'split' this will cause in Denmark.
9	9 th February	Politiken Author: Sune Skadgård Thorsen	The hypocrisy of freedom of speech in Denmark being only for white people.
10	9 th February	Politiken Author: Olar Hergel	Interview with immigrants who want an 'apology' from Anders Fogh Rasmussen.
11	12 th February	Berlingske Author: Thomas Larsen	The turn of the Danish Social Liberal Party and increasing negative comments about Muslims and integration following Naser Khader speaking out about the 'crisis'.
12	12 th February	BT Author: Erik Meier Carlsen	The need to examine the negative debate and treatment of Muslims in Denmark as cause for the 'crisis'.
13	13 th February	Jyllands-Posten Author: Not cited	The need to not view there being a cultural war in Denmark but to focus on working with immigrants to ensure they integrate into Denmark.
14	13 th February	Jyllands-Posten Author: Søren Krarup	The Danish people being under control of Islam stopping freedom of speech.
15	19 th February	BT Author: Bo Christensen	Focusing on Naser Khader and his 'fight' for democracy from

			Muslims who oppose free speech.
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2006 Muhammad Cartoon Crisis Cluster Event Article Summary

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	14 th April	BT Author: Not cited	Commentary on that the consequences of electing Asmaa Abdol-Hamid will result in greater Muslim demands in parliament, which are not in line with the Danish society.
2	20 th April	Berlingske Author: Not cited	The importance of speaking freely but to consider that the hijab is not comparable with the swastika but an issue of integration.
3	21 st April	Jyllands-Posten Author: Nahid Riazi	Focusing on women's rights and why Asmaa Abdol-Hamid is not supportive of women but is an 'Islamic fanatic'.
4	21 st April	Politiken Author: Rasmus Emborg & Magnus Korning	Focusing on the hijab debate and the need for people entering Denmark to understand Danish culture

			and free debate.
5	22 nd April	Politiken Author: Kjeld Hybel	The history of women wearing headscarves in Danish culture and the discussion of hijab and Asmaa Abdol-Hamid.
6	24 th April	Jyllands-Posten Author: Søren Krarup	Commentary on how the story of the author – DPP MP Søren Krarup’s comments of the hijab being comparable to the swastika unfolded.
7	26 th April	Berlingske Author: Line Holm Nielsen & Christina Hilstrøm	Article focusing on MPs with Muslim background commenting on Asmaa Abdol-Hamid need to ‘tone’ down her religion attitude and appearance.
8	29 th April	Berlingske Author: Kenneth Kristensen	Whether it is possible to trust Asmaa Abdol-Hamid with Danish affairs because she does not conform to Danish standards in society.

2007 Asmaa Abdol Hamid Cluster Event Article Summary

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	19 th July 2010	The Sun Author: Trevor Kavanagh	Focusing on comments by Immigration Minister Damian Green that burka ban is 'un-British'
2	19 th July 2010	The Telegraph Author: Not cited	Commentary on the Burka ban in France and statements made by Immigration Minister Damian Green.
3	20 th July 2010	The Times Author: Ahmed Murad	Focusing on the burka being a status symbol in Asian Muslim communities
4	20 th July 2010	Daily Mail Author: Ysmin Alibhai- Brown	Discussion of comment made by Environment Secretary Caroline Spellman that the burka can be empowering, whilst discussing the burka ban and wider social issues.

2009/2010 Burka Ban Debate UK Articles

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	18 th August 2009	Berlingske Author: Not cited	Discussion of comments made by Conservative party leader Lene Espersen that the burka should be banned and arguments why the burka prohibits integration.
2	23 rd August 2009	Ekstra Bladet Author: Not cited	Commentary on Conservative Party leader Lene Espersen's appointing of Naser Khader as Immigration Minister and his burka ban and wider issues of young "immigrants" in Denmark.
3	25 th August 2009	Politiken Author: Naser Khader	Article by Naser Khader who has proposed the burka ban and his disappointment with Politiken editor Tøger Seldenfaden and the need to work on integration in Denmark.
4	27 th August 2009	Jyllands-Posten Author: Fatma Øktem	The proposed burka ban and why the burka is not Danish but equality is.

2009/2010 Burka Ban Debate Danish Articles

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	May 24 2013	Daily Telegraph: Author: John Yates	Focus on security and response to terrorism and the wider areas that will tackle terrorism.
2	May 24 2013	The Times Author: Pauline Neville-Jones	How UK security forces have worked to stop terrorist activities, but that it is the Muslim community which should fight extremism.
3	May 25 2013	Daily Mail Author: Simon Heffer	Discussing the Drummer Lee Rigby murder and the need to charge the killers with treason.
4	May 25 2013	Guardian: Author: not cited	Results from a poll on the murder of Lee Rigby and relations between Muslim and non-Muslims.
5	May 25 2013	Daily Telegraph: Author: not cited	Story about how terrorist security measures and government control have changed how the country handles terrorism.
6	May 25 2013	The Times: Author: Rachel Sylvester & Alice Thomson	Interview of Baroness O'Neil about general issues concerning Human Rights with commentary about terrorism and the Muslim community.
7	May 27 2013	Daily Mail Author: Peter McKay	The choice of BBC interviewing Abu Nusaybah after Drummer Lee Rigby's murder and the need to arrest 'hate preachers' such as Anjem Choudary.
8	May 27 2013	The Sun: Author: Trevor Kavanagh	The need for Muslims to speak up against terrorism and extremism and to teach their children that Britain is tolerant.
9	May 28 2013	Daily Telegraph Author: Philip Johnston	Questioning security and how to tackle terrorism in Britain.
10	May 28 2013	The Sun	Focusing on David Cameron not postponing his holiday

		Author: not cited	after the murder of Drummer Lee Rigby.
11	June 3 2013	Guardian: Author: Daniel Trilling	Challenging the far right and Muslim extremists on their discourse and rhetoric, with a focus on far right anti-Muslim and the need to allow anti-fascists to protest against them.
12	June 6 2013	The Sun: Author: Rod Liddle	Opinion on how to deal with 'hate preacher' Anjem Choudary and people with similar views in the aftermath of murder of Drummer Lee Rigby.

Murder Drummer Lee Rigby 2013 Cluster Event Article Summary

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	9 th January	Daily Mail Author: Max Hastings	Focusing on Charlie Hebdo but also including images and video of Kosher supermarket attack and why the liberal left is to blame.
2	10 th January	Berlingske Author: Brian Mikkelsen	Focusing on the need to integrate Muslims in Denmark and democracy in the West.
3	10 th January	Jyllands-Posten Author: Lasse Lavrsen & Martin Kaae	News of different experts commenting on the attack and that it is necessary to be critical of Islam as a religion and not pretend attackers are not Muslim.
4	14 th January	Telegraph Author: Allison Pearson	The rise of young Muslim men in Britain from "immigrant" communities who are susceptible to radical influence.
5	15 th January	Politiken Author: Mogens Camre	Commentary on when a terrorist attack will happen in Denmark and the measures the Danish government have put in place to tackle terrorism.
6	22 nd January	Guardian Author: Natalie Nougayrede	Why it is important to value freedom of speech and how self-censorship has caused the terrorist attacks.

2015 Charlie Hebdo Article Summary UK & DK

<i>Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	16 th February 2015	Politiken Author: Not cited	The shock of the terrorist attack in Copenhagen and the need to target angry young Muslims in the parallel society.
2	17 th February 2015	Ekstra Bladet Author: Not cited	Focusing on the attacker Omar El-Hussein's upbringing and how he turned to radicalisation.
3	17 th February 2015	Politiken Author: Birthe Rønn Hornbech	Freedom of speech and the right to print Muhammad cartoons.
4	17 th February 2015	Politiken Author: Not cited	The importance of Danish Jews to society.
5	18 th February 2015	Berlingske Author: Not cited	Debating whether the terrorist attacker Omar El-Hussein could have grown up to be non-violent and non-radicalised.
6	18 th February 2015	Jyllands-Posten Author: Not cited	Discussion of the current debate surrounding the terrorist attack and how it could happen in Denmark.
7	19 th February 2015	Jyllands-Posten Author: Jørgen Granum- Jensen	Reasons behind the terrorist attack, with a focus on political correctness, acts of violence and immigration from Middle Eastern countries.
8	20 th February 2015	Jyllands-Posten Author: Naser Khader	The naivety of Danish politicians and society has let radicalisation flourish and cause the terrorist attack.

9	20 th 2015	February	Berlingske Author: Ida Auken	Commentary about how to deal with extremism via asserting European values and the help from moderate Muslims.
10	21 st 2015	February	Berlingske Author: Pernille Vermund	High crime rate amongst young men with Palestinian background and the link between crime and radicalisation.
11	22 nd 2015	February	Ekstra Bladet Author: Marie Nørgaard	Outlining Omar El-Hussein's upbringing and the wider issue of ghettos in Denmark.
12	22 nd 2015	February	BT Author: Jens Ejsing	Focusing on young Muslim men who are angry and crime leading to radicalisation.
13	23 rd 2015	February	BT Author: Andreas Karker	Analysis of integration and quotes from several politicians who have been Integration Minister at one time in Danish politics

2015 Copenhagen Attack Cluster Event Article Summary