

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Tlemcen University - UABT

Faculty of Letters and Languages

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***Critical Discourse Analysis of Newspapers: Case Study of
Muslim Women Representation in British Newspapers***

Thesis submitted to the Department of English, Tlemcen University,
in candidacy for a 'Doctorat' Degree in English Language and Education

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Academic Year 2019

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution. I also certify that the present work contains no plagiarism and is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

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Dedication

To my dear parents

To my family and friends

AKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Zoubir Dendane, for his constant guidance, invaluable advice and his patience in the correction and completion of my work.

I wish to express my profound thanks to the members of the jury, Prof. Hafida HAMZAOU, Prof. Fewzia BEDJAOU, Dr. Ghania OUAHMICHE, Dr. Zohra LABED, and Dr. M. Nassim NEGADI who accepted to read this work and offer their valuable comments.

I also would like to address special thanks to my postgraduate teachers for their advice and support.

I am so grateful to Prof. Naima HAMLAOUI from Annaba University for her constant guidance and valuable remarks.

I am grateful to Prof. Dave BURNAP, Dr. Rod ROSENQUIST, and Dr. Sam REESE from Northampton University for their insightful comments and advice.

I also want to thank Dr. Florian SCHNEIDER from Leiden University who was very helpful since I started working on this thesis.

I would like to Thank Dr. Saliha Ben Chick, University of Paris for her valuable discussions and comments.

I would also particularly like to acknowledge my dearest brothers, especially Prof. Amor Bouferrouk and his wife Prof.Soraya Boutamin from Algiers University, and Dr.Abdessalam Bouferrouk ,University of Bristol for their continuous support and encouragement, and all my friends who supported me throughout the work.

Abstract

This study investigates the way Muslim women are represented in one of Britain's most circulated newspapers, *The Daily Telegraph*. Despite the enormous research on Islam and Muslims' representation in the Western and British media, little has been done on the issue of MW, though they constitute today one of the most heated debates in Britain and elsewhere. This research has a twofold objective: first, to reveal the main patterns *The Daily Telegraph* uses to represent Muslim women, and secondly to unveil the role that ideologies may play in this representation. The textual analyses are based on two corpora: the Muslim women Telegraph corpus that includes all articles mentioning Muslim women from 2010 to 2016, and the Muslim women in headlines corpus which is a sub-corpus built from the Muslim women Telegraph corpus and includes all articles that mention Muslim women in their headlines. The former corpus is analyzed through the corpus-based approach integrated with Transitivity analysis of Systemic Functional Grammar while the latter is analyzed drawing on Fairclough's Critical Language Study model. Thus, our research is based on an eclectic method that combines qualitative and quantitative approaches for text analysis. Research findings suggest that *The Daily Telegraph* representation of Muslim women is problematic. In terms of semantic macrostructures, MW are associated with controversial topics such as the veil and terrorism. The prevailing discursive patterns related to MW are those representing them as passive victims of their religion and culture, submissive and weak social subjects, and a threat to the British values. These discursive patterns are found to be a reflection of *The Daily Telegraph* liberal, Orientalist, and conservative ideologies.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Muslim women, transitivity, corpus linguistics, Daily Telegraph

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA: Conversational Analysis

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CL: Corpus Linguistics

DA: Discourse Analysis

DHA: Discourse Historical Approach

ISIS: The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria

MR: Members' Resources

MW: Muslim Women

MWTC: Muslim Women Telegraph Corpus

MWHC: Muslim Women Headline Corpus

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

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General Introduction

General introduction

Hardly anyone would deny the role the media play in today's life. Modern societies are built on individual freedom and social liberties. This is best reflected in the media in general and newspapers in particular. The right of journalists to discuss and report anything they think important is preserved by law and constitution especially in liberal democracies. This freedom has given newspapers a remarkable influence over individuals and communities which has led some to regard the press as the fourth power in addition to the judicial, executive and legislative power of the modern political systems. The success of newspapers in gaining such an influence and importance in societies is credited to their incredible use of the most vivid, complex and creative human capacity: language.

No doubt then that the language of the press is different from the one used in everyday life. It seems that journalists recognize the power of language not only to criticize and control unjust political or economical systems in order to spread democracy and freedom of speech but also to propagate the ideology of the powerful groups, to oppress some ethnic and religious minorities and even to create hate and antagonism between people and between nations in order to fulfill hidden and vicious objectives. A good example of such an impact is the 2015 "terrorist" attack led by French militants on *Charlie Hebdo* newspaper over some mocking stories and drawings about the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him). This incident has created antagonistic and hostile reactions from the West against the Muslim world and stirred a clash of civilizations between Islam and the West.

However, the relationship between journalism and society is not always in one direction; rather, it is bidirectional where society also influences newspaper discourse. Most researchers, among them Richardson (2008), argue that news manufacturing and sourcing is strongly related to the business, beliefs and agenda of the dominant groups. Thus newspaper discourse is likely to use specific textual and semiotic features to promote the views of the powerful group and disregard or play down that of minorities. In return, this can create social problems between the different social classes in a given society.

General introduction

The present study proposes the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze newspapers' discourse in relation to Muslim women in a Western society. The primary concern of CDA is in social problems; more precisely, it focuses on the relationships between discourse and social power. CDA tries to explain and describe how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by text and talks of dominant groups and institutions (Van Dijk 2003). The social issue this thesis aims to investigate is whether the British press reporting about Muslim women (MW) emphasizes specific stereotypical images. According to Abbas (2000), there is a widespread common feeling among British Muslims that Islam and Muslims are negatively stereotyped in news reports. Does this apply to MW as well?

Although the methods and approaches to analyze the language of the press are varied, CDA seems to be more appropriate to analyze and describe the textual features of journalistic discourse. It goes beyond the normative and evaluative analysis to interpret and explain the complex relationship between text, context and social events.

The issue of Muslim women has always been a disputable topic in the British media in general and newspapers in particular first, after the 9/11 event in USA and then the 7/7 attacks in Britain and reaching its climax in recent years. For various reasons, many newspapers use attractive headlines or provocative stories about Muslim women living in the West or any part of the world. Among the various British newspapers that deal with Muslim women issues is the *Daily Telegraph* (hereafter DT), usually referred to as *The Telegraph*. It is regarded among the most influential and quality broadsheets not only in Britain but also in many parts of the world. It is a daily morning UK English language newspaper, published in London by the Telegraph Media Group and it is known by its Right Conservative political and economical views. However, *The Telegraph* may not show the same features when it deals with issues related to Muslim women. While reading its articles and headlines that point to Muslim women, one cannot but feel that Muslim women practices represent a serious problem that must be dealt with within and outside the UK. Moreover, and although Muslim women have a long tradition in the

General introduction

British community, *The Telegraph* seems to regard them as *others* who may threaten the British multicultural values.

Along this line, this study uses CDA to investigate how Muslim women are represented discursively and socially in *The Telegraph* articles from 2010 till 2016. This period witnessed striking incidents related to Muslim women in many parts of the world such as the rise of Political Islam in some Arab countries after the Arab Spring Revolution in 2011 and the dispute it created over the role that would be played by women in such post-revolution countries, the kidnapping of Nigerian schoolgirls by the militants of Boko Haram, shouting of schoolgirl Malala Yusufezay by Taliban militants, the rise of what is called British Jihadi schoolgirls who joined the fight with the so-called Islamic State in Syria and Iraq in 2014, and many other Muslim women topics that have dominated the news reports in recent years.

Along what has been stated above, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How are Muslim women discursively represented in *The Telegraph*?
2. Does *The Telegraph* give opportunity to Muslim women to voice their issues?
3. Can CDA as a research method help dissect the relationships between *The Telegraph* ideological background and the discursive features of its texts

In order to test these research questions, we put forward the following hypotheses:

- 1 – Muslim women are misrepresented and mistreated linguistically in *The Telegraph*
2. Muslim women's voice is generally unheard in *The Telegraph* articles.
- 3- CDA is the appropriate research method to reveal the reciprocal relationships between text and its social and ideological background.

General introduction

Although the primary aim of this study is to reveal how Muslim women are represented in this particular British newspaper, there are other aims in this research work:

1- The study tries to elucidate how newspaper discourse dialectically influences the society and how it is influenced by it

2- To demonstrate how CDA with its different dimensions provides an effective research instrument to decipher the relationships between language and ideological/social backgrounds and social abuse.

3- -By uncovering the working systems of newspapers discourse of this particular British newspaper, the ultimate aim is to reduce the harm and prejudice produced by newspaper language on Muslim women in British society in particular and in the whole world in general.

4- To defend peacefully and academically Islam in general and Muslim women in particular as a venerable minority group facing growing anti-Muslim sentiments in the UK and the West.

The primary research tool of this study is CDA particularly, Fairclough's three dimensional approach (1989, 1995, 2015). Critical Language Study (CLS) is an approach to CDA developed by the British linguist and discourse analyst Norman Fairclough. It consists of three main steps of analysis: description, interpretation and explanation. In addition to Fairclough's model, we draw from Systemic Functional Grammar and its transitivity systems. The latter reveals how subjects are talked about, how they are regarded and what they have to do or not have to do. Finally, corpus linguistics is used to transform texts into corpus ready for analysis. Corpus linguistics is also useful for obtaining information about words co-occurrences and their collocations, which in turn enlightens the description step. Therefore, the research methods for this study are Fairclough's CLS model, Transitivity systems and corpus linguistics.

General introduction

This study deals with the most important aspect in media manufactory: language. Media in general and newspapers in particular provide a huge amount of data concerning their use of language while addressing various social, cultural, economic and educational issues. Media is a readily accessible platform to deal with many language features we want to study such as conversations, language of advertisement, persuasion and so on. The study of media reveals the ways in which it influences and shapes people's opinions and views through the way it presents people and issues.

The importance of this study lies in the fact that it tries to use newspaper data availability for text analysis to study how media discourse of the British newspapers linguistically depicts Muslim women. This study comes at a period where Muslim women are facing numerous challenges in the West concerning their faith, identity, their role in the family and society in general, their relations to terrorism and even their way of dressing. A number of British media outlets have regarded Muslim women as a *threat* to Western values in a way that symbolizes religious and cultural bigotry and extremism. The study will trace and investigate the origins of the DT stereotypes and typical images about Muslim women in Britain, how they contribute to weakening their social status and how such prejudice has stimulated Muslim women to react and resist newspaper stereotypes about them. This research takes a linguistic perspective in order to provide a humble contribution to the understanding of the existing tensions between Islam and the West, especially in what is relates to the issue of women. Moreover, this study tries to raise both EFL teachers and learner awareness about the importance of CDA and its potential in developing their critical thinking especially while dealing with authentic materials such as newspaper texts and.

The thesis is organized into five chapters each chapter deals with specific aspects of the study. Chapter 1 is an introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis as a theory and method. It starts by an overview of some definitions of (Critical) Discourse Analysis followed by a discussion of CDA development and history, its main principles, and its interests and agenda. Moreover, this chapter provides and account of the main approaches

General introduction

to CDA along with their main points of emphasis and their major works and figures. This chapter concludes with a review of the main critiques to CDA and its limitations.

Chapter 2 is set to discuss media discourse, its languages and its characteristics. It starts by pointing to the importance the media holds in our daily life. It then deals with some issues related to media texts consumptions and production. In addition, this chapter discusses the main approaches used to study media text and discourse. Finally, it reviews the literature about women, Islam, and Muslim women in the media.

Chapter 3 deals with research data and methods. It begins with a brief introduction to British journalism with some focus on the Daily Telegraph. This is followed by a detailed description of data collection procedures and the building of our research corpora mainly the Muslim women Telegraph corpus (MWTC). Also, this chapter describes the three research instruments: corpus linguistics, transitivity analysis and Fairclough's CDA three dimensional framework.

In Chapter 4 the practical part of the study is addressed. This chapter is set to analyze the MWTC from a corpus linguistic point of view, through the application of various corpus tools such as keyword analysis and concordance tool. This latter is integrated with transitivity analysis to reveal how MW are linguistically represented.

Chapter 5 applies Fairclough's three dimensional model to analyze the sub-corpus of Muslim women in headline corpus MWHC. The three steps of description, interpretation and explanation are carried out in order to reveal how the Daily Telegraph is implicitly implying its ideologies to strengthen certain MW stereotypical images.

CHAPTER ONE: Theoretical Foundation of CDA

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is set to provide a rigorous description of the theoretical background of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It starts by discussing some CDA's specialist definitions of the concept. Then, an account of CDA's main principles and agenda is taken into consideration. Next, we consider how CDA has been developed through drawing on various social and linguistic theories to become a strong multidisciplinary approach that is able to deal with the complexities of the social life. Also, we will discuss three of the main different approaches to CDA namely Fairclough's model, Van Dijk's social cognitive approach, and Wodak Historical model. Finally, a discussion of the main critics that point to CDA weaknesses is taken into consideration.

1.2 Definition of Discourse Analysis (DA)

In order to set a clear definition for CDA as an area of research, we are inclined to define its main branch, discourse analysis (DA). General linguistics provides two distinct but complementary views in the study of discourse: the structuralist or formal approach and the functionalist or communicative approach. Many DA specialists agree that the disparities between the formal approach and the functional approach to discourse stem first, from their point of view toward language in general and second from their perception of the term discourse in particular (Kress, 2012; Schifferin 2001; Widdowson, 2007).

The formal school of linguistics considers language as a mental human capacity. Language is stored in our brain and we only acquire it through the triggering of what Chomsky calls Linguistic Acquisition Device or what is usually known as LAD. This device allows us to acquire language in a rapid predictable order from day one of birth to the age of six. According to this school, the use of language implies the use of what is finite (grammar rules) in order to generate an infinite number of sentences. The core subject of formalists is grammar, more precisely how grammar is used in making meanings.

The formalist school considers the sentence as the basic unit of communication and thus, regards discourse as any stretch of language that goes beyond the sentence. Following this philosophy, Stubbs claims that discourse is “language above the sentence or above the clause” (as cited in Jaworski & Copland, 2006, p.1). In his article ‘*Discourse Analysis*’, Harris (1952), the first who wrote a book about discourse analysis in the fifties of the 20th century, considers discourse as a structural unit which is studied in analogy to the sentence. To better put it, discourse is the study of how sentences are structured to form texts.

On the other hand, functionalists regard language as a social phenomenon or social behavior. As one of the pioneers of this approach Halliday (1979), emphasizes that language has a social function. Hence, any language study must not be cut off from its social context. Following this view, Brown and Yule (1983) consider that “the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes and functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs” (p.1). Henceforth, grammar is no longer the only component that is taken into consideration in the study of discourse. Rather, the study of discourse covers also how people use their linguistic competence in order to fulfill a social aim including the role of participants, their social status, situation (formal or informal) and so on. In this sense the study of discourse is simply “the study of any aspect of language use” (Fassold as cited in Jowrski & Copland, 2006, p.1). Thus, DA goes beyond the simple description of the linguistic structures to investigate the aims and functions those structures are assigned to do in real life situations (Brown & Yule, 1983). As such, the term discourse refers to the way people use language in real life. Whether through writing or speaking, we usually use language to mean, to achieve something such as communicating thoughts and feelings, making relationships or dissolving them, or even making reference to language itself. In this case, the discourse analyst’s focus would be on “how meanings are socially constructed so that expressing them is effectively a kind of social practice” (Widdowson 2007, p.1). Hence, functionalists extend the formal

conception of discourse into a broader inquiry on how language is used in actual stances whereas grammar is just one part of the discourse analysis process beside context (linguistic and paralinguistic), situation and many other factors that play a key role in the study of language in use.

DA studies continued their development with the influence of the functional approach and the studies of meaning. In this respect, Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) comments that the 1970's (and later 1980's) attracted the interest of many scholars in various fields of the study of discourse which made DA a popular subject in many disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, literary scholarship and semiotics. However, the meaning of discourse differentiates from one field to another and has resulted in various definitions that bombarded the books of linguistics in this subject. In the *Discourse Reader*, Jowraski and Coupland (2006) set more than ten definitions to the term discourse from a multidisciplinary view, classified into three main categories: (a) anything beyond the sentence, (b) language use, and (c) a broader range of social practices. Yet, they later come back to emphasize that although there are a lot of differences among researchers about what DA is, "discourse is an inescapably important concept in understanding society and human responses to it, as well as understanding language itself." (2006 ,p.3).

In fact, recent studies in DA do not take into consideration the differences between formal and functional views. Rather, they distinguishes between general linguistics (with both approaches; formal and functional) and critical theories. When linguistic studies of DA focus on language in use, critical theories deal with social aspects related to power, racism and abuse where the term discourse " refers to a broad conglomeration of linguistic and non-linguistic social practices and ideological assumption that together construct power , abuse and racism" (Tannen, Hamilton, and Schifferin, 2015, p. 2). This new tendency in the study of discourse is what is has come to be called later Critical Discourse Analysis.

After this overview on what is meant by DA in general linguistics and the two different views of the term discourse, we move on to consider what CDA is, what are its origins, history and development and its main approaches and topics. The following section will cover these issues.

1.3 Definition of CDA

CDA is a recently established approach in linguistics. Some researchers like Wodak (2001) use the term Critical Linguistics (CL) to mean CDA and use the two terms interchangeably in their writings. Norman Fairclough(1989), one of the pioneers of CDA prefers to use the term Critical Language Study. Others like Van Dijk(2003), Van Leeuwen(2001), Meyer(2001), rather prefer to use the term CDA. Whatever term is used, most of the above researchers agree that CDA is primarily concerned with social problems. More specifically, CDA sheds light on the relationship between power and social inequality as mediated through language or discourse. Van Dijk (1993, p.352) defines CDA as follows:

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

CDA is therefore, chiefly interested in investigating and studying the very often hidden relationships between power and discourse in modern societies. This academic endeavor goes deep to analyze and describe the different forms of social power abuse and explain how dominant groups and institutions use their discourse as manifested in texts and talk to reproduce, legitimize and enact power and hegemony upon powerless social classes. CDA assumes that the following, as Paltridge (2016, 178) states: “the norms and values which underlie texts are often ‘out of sight’ rather than overtly stated”. Taking this

premise into consideration, CDA attempts to make visible the relationship between language and social values.

From Van Dijk's definition we understand that CDA projects have a goal-oriented agenda which focuses on disclosing the relationship between power abuse, social structure and social problems as all mediated or produced by language. This latter is considered itself as a social practice where people use it while bringing their beliefs, values and ideologies not only to convey their intended meanings or perceived thoughts but also to influence and dominate. CDA assumes that any communicative act is power-related in which people enact and negotiate power relations. On the other hand, Fairclough (1993, p.135) claims that power relations are often opaque and their opacity is another basic cause of dominance and control. He regards CDA as:

discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a basic factor in securing power and hegemony within societies.

Fairclough agrees with Van Dijk when he considers CDA as a sub-branch of DA that has specific objectives to achieve. CDA basic tenet is making implicit the complex opaque or hidden relationships between two main poles: (a) discursive practices, events and texts or to put it simply, semiosis systems (language, sign language, images and graphs) and their dialectic relationships of influence and determination with the broader cultural, social process and structures. CDA therefore, studies how ideology and power relation implicitly shape the texts and talks of individuals and institutions and how this obscurity plays a major role in creating and upholding power relations. In fact, the above definitions of Van Dijk and Fairclough contain the basic assumptions of CDA. These assumptions are classified in the section below describing CDA principles.

1.3. Principles of CDA

Some specialists have tried to set the main principles and aims of CDA, among them Van Dijk (1995) and Fairclough & Wodak (1997) who summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows (1997, p. 271):

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

These principles are more elaborated in the following notes:

1.3.1 CDA is socially- oriented

Critical studies main agenda are designed to tackle social problems like social injustice and inequality, racism, sexism, abuse and domination. CDA examines such problems and others not only to tell us about people being abused or undermined, but also to challenge, to condemn such practices and more interestingly, to provide practical solutions for such issues.

1.3.2 Power relations are discursive This principle assumes that CDA studies give much focus on power relations in societies. Almost in any society there exist forms of power relations between a powerful, dominant group(s) and a powerless marginalized group(s). These relationships are mediated through discourse i.e. powerful groups use discourse and language to produce and maintain, through their texts and talks, such unequal relationships between them and the other venerable social classes.

- 1.3.3 Discourse Constitutes society and culture:** It is clear that the importance of discourse goes beyond its potential to produce and maintain power relationships. In fact, discourse shapes societies and culture in general. CDA recognizes the potential of discourse in creating power in modern societies. It regards discourse as a tool of power. However, the working mechanism of discourse and power in society is often hidden and CDA work is to make it transparent and understandable for the public. Hence, it becomes clear that understanding discourse is a key in understanding social reality (Bloummaret, 2005)
- 1.3.4 Discourse does ideological work:** This assumption reflects that ideology is an important component in any CDA analysis. CDA regards ideology as a basic factor in creating and maintaining social and political power relations. It also investigates how ideology is mediated by language in the different social organizations (Wodak & Meyer 2001, p. 10). Moreover, it looks on how group members acquire, construct and change ideologies in a given society (Van Dijk, 1998, p.199).
- 1.3.5 Discourse is Historical:** CDA recognizes the historical dimension of discursive events and practices. While studying political, institutional or historical topics, CDA studies include a large amount of data and knowledge related to the history, the sources and the background of the field under investigation where discursive events are included (Wodak & Meyer p.65,2001).
- 1.3.6 The link between text and society is mediated:** This implies that the relationship between text and society is mediated through discourse. Fairclough (1989, p. 23) assumes that the only relation between language and society is an internal and dialectical one where linguistic phenomenon are partially social and social phenomenon are in return partially linguistic.
- 1.3.7 Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory:** CDA regards the study of discourse as not merely a descriptive one that only takes the study of discourse structures into consideration, but that goes further to provide an interpretation and

an explanation of the discursive events and practices under investigation. It tries to explain how such discursive events and practices are broadly related to the social structures and interactions (Van Dijk, 2002)

1.3.8 Discourse is a form of social action: This assumption reveals that language is primarily a social practice. Wodak and Chilton(2005) assumes that considering discourse as a type of social action means, in a way or another, that social action and language use are joint by a causal relationship, which in turn means that discourse constructs social reality.

This short analysis of CDA principles shows how unlike DA, CDA goes beyond the formal or linguistic description of texts and talks to investigate the role of social structures and processes in the creation and maintenances of power relations. CDA is therefore, critical in the sense that “it is quite explicitly directed at revealing how language is used for the exercise of socio-political control” (Widdowson, 2004 P. 89). Hence, the notion of “critical” is also critical in understanding CDA.

1.4 The Notion of “Critical”

According to Fairclough the term ‘critical’ has been largely taken for granted in much of modern CDA scholarship in spite of its potentiality to have quite contrasting understandings and meanings in different cultural and social contexts. The notion of “critical” is variably understood among CDA researchers. Some connect it with the “Frankfurt School”, others to “literary criticism”, Marx notion, and “critical applied linguistics” and so on (Locke 2004, Wodak & Meyer 2001). Generally speaking “critique” is often misunderstood as showing only the bad sides of social processes and interactions. In contrast, being “critical” is to perceive the social interactions with all their complexities and contradictions and making these complexities implicit and accessible to social members. Van Dijk (2008, p.vii) assumes that “there is an indirect relationship between social structures and discourse structures. He adds that if such links were casual

and hence explanatory and not just superficially correlational, all language users would, in the same social situation, say and write the same thing and in the same way”

In fact, criticality can be viewed from three main perspectives: critique as revelation, critical practice as self-reflection and critical practice as socially transformative. We will discuss each one separately following Loch (2004).

1.4.1 Critique as Revelation

Foucault was among the leading theorists who used the concept of “critique” to reveal the nature of systems of rules, principles and values as historically bases for ‘critique’ in his systematic and analytical research or what he terms “archeology”. Loch (2004) assumes that the project of Foucault was to trace back the sources, roots and progress of the knowledge and thinking that constructs human being as a matter or an object of scientific research (a discussion of Foucault’s contributions will be more detailed in chapter 3). In the other hand, CDA assumes that society is characterized by certain coercive, unequal and biased relationships that take the form of social norms and conventions. Such unjust power relations owe their strong existence and maintenance to their obscurity as hidden in everyday normal texts and talks that challenge and alter the thinking of others in favor of the powerful. Hence, the work of CDA is to reveal and make transparent the structural dominance and unjust power relations in societies as they are reproduced through the discourse of powerful individuals and institutions.

1.4.2 Critical Practice as Self- Reflexive

Also important the notion of critical is the researcher’s stance and attitudes towards his research project and data. For researcher to be truly “critical” is to be self-reflected. Self-reflection means taking an implicit political stance, respect a strict distance from research data, embed the collected data into the social stance, and stress the application of the research results into the studied field (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Riggins 1997 (qt in Tooley 1999) says that “most critical discourse analysts take an explicit political stance, identifying with those who lack the institutional levers to

produce counter-discourses” and their ultimate motivation appears to be the hope that their work will contribute to social emancipation.

1.4.3 Critical practice as Socially Transformative

The relationship between critical practice and social transformation comes from the view that discourse and ideology involve power relations. In fact, the power of discourse is firstly related to its subscription base and secondly to the social status of its subscribers. Hence, some discourses are more powerful than others. Subscribers to non-powerful discourses are therefore, powerless and marginalized. Before this situation, CDA analysts take the charge of challenging the power bases and competing discourses. Some CDA researchers like Van Dijk, (1993) relate critical practices and social transformation to the concept of dominance. The latter is broadly defined as the enactment of power by elites, institutions (like media organizations, newspapers and so on), or any other groups that leads to social injustice. Such an inequality includes, but not limited to political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequalities.

1.5 CDA Origins and its Development

As a theory and research method in language studies, Wodak (2001) stresses that CDA is relatively a new approach. However, its origins date back to the 1970’s and early 1980’s the period that witnessed the rise of Critical Linguistics. Since most discourse analysts and theorists assume that CDA is a trans-disciplinary paradigm (Van Dijk 2001, Wodak 2001) they also agree that CDA has many inspirational sources that contributed to its development and elaboration as a well established new school in discourse analysis. Critical Linguistics (CL), Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), structuralism and social theories and other DA forerunners are the main pillars that form CDA origins. In what follows, a discussion of each school will be held separately.

1.5.1 Critical Linguistics (CL)

The 1970 witnessed the rise of discourse and text analysis paradigms that pointed to the importance of language and its role in building power relations in societies as against the prevailing approaches of the time dominated by the formal school to linguistics which focused its analysis on speakers' linguistic competence while neglecting specific instances of language use. The new critical school of language studies has also rejected some premises of pragmatics and sociolinguistics and their focus on speakers' sociolinguistic competence yet; it regards sentences and components of sentences as basic units in any analysis. Much of the work done in sociolinguistics had limited attention to issues of social hierarchy and power. In fact, studying and investigating texts and their production, explanation and their relation to social power meant a new very different kind of interest, a new linguistic paradigm. Critical linguists such as Fowler and Kress (1982) and others aimed at showing how ideology manifests itself as a system of linguistic features. In this respect Fowler (1996, p. 3) quotes that critical linguistics in its essence is "an analysis designed to get at the ideology coded implicitly behind the overt propositions to examine it particularly in the context of social formation". Later on, the concept of ideology, as it will be seen in the next sections, has become a basic concept in CDA research studies.

1.5.2 Systemic Functional Grammar

The greater part of the work of the critical linguists we mentioned above depended on the Systemic Functional Linguistics of Michael Halliday(1985), whose approach, according to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), is still regarded as significant to CDA on the grounds that it offers clear and thorough etymological classifications for investigating the relations between discourse and its social aspects.

Martin and Wodak (2003) stress the convenience of systemic functional linguistics for CDA, proposing that CDA ought to apply functional linguistics principles efficiently to strengthen its descriptive analysis of texts. In the same vine, (Wodak 2001, p.8) argues

that "a comprehension of the fundamental cases of Halliday's linguistic use also, his way to deal with semantic investigation is basic for a legitimate comprehension of CDA"

1.5.3 CDA and Social Theories

Fairclough, Muldering and Wodak (2011) assume that CDA, in its different structures, has its scholarly starting points in 'Western Marxism'. In wide terms, Western Marxism puts a specific accentuation on the part of social measurements in replicating industrialist social relations. This fundamentally suggests an attention on meaning and ideology as key instruments in this procedure. Gramsci, Althusser and the Frankfurt School are the key Marxist figures and paradigms in the twenty-first century.

Gramsci's perception, the upkeep of contemporary power, lies on coercive constraints as well as on 'hegemony' has been especially persuasive in CDA. The accentuation on hegemony involves emphasis on ideology and on how the structures and practices of normal life routinely standardize capitalist social relations. On the other hand, Althusser's (1971) additions to the ideology theory had an important influence on the study of discourse by showing how ideologies are related to material practices embedded in social institutions (e.g. school teaching).

Foucault's work in discourse has attracted the attention of discourse analysts as it directs its critique to the structuralist account of ideology proposed by the Marxist school. Though it gives its primarily interest to the abstract sort of discourse and not to what is spoken or written, Foucault's work redefines the nature of discourse by giving this concept a new dimension which is seeing discourse as a *system of knowledge* in the human sciences like in medicine, economics, linguistics, etc. This system of knowledge informs the various social and governmental technologies that are responsible for creating and maintaining powerful social relations. France was again present with another key figure, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1991), in particular his work on the relationship between language, social position and symbolic value in the dynamics of power relations.

Fairclough *et al.* (2011) add that within linguistics and literary studies Mikhail Bakhtin's efforts (1986) have also been influential in discourse analysis. In addition to his work in developing a theory of genre, Bakhtin's attempt stresses the dialogical features of texts by introducing the idea of 'intertextuality', a term meaning that any text is a link in a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing on and transforming other texts. The term 'critical' can be particularly associated with the Frankfurt School of Philosophy. The Frankfurt School reexamines the foundations of Marxist thought. Kantian 'critique' entails the use of rational analysis to question the limits of human knowledge and understanding of, for example, the physical world. The Frankfurt School extends this to an analysis of cultural forms of various kinds, which are seen as central to the reproduction of capitalist social relations. According to Habermas (qt in Fairclough *et al.* 2011), a critical science has to be self-reflexive (reflecting on the interests that underlie it) and must also consider the historical context in which linguistic and social interactions take place.

1.5.4 CDA Further Development

Not until the 1990's that the term CDA has started to be used to mean the same thing for many researchers working in the same research arena. The story of CDA elaboration started by a formation of a research group in Amsterdam, followed by series of publications of new scientific journals, books and book reviews by some critical discourse analysts. New approaches and methods have appeared and CDA is now an established paradigm and a familiar and popular research method not only in language studies but also in many other fields of humanities especially politics, media, education and so on. Books and scientific journals such as Van Dijk's journal of *Language and Society* (1993), N. Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989), R. Wodak *Power and Ideology* (1989) and Van Dijk's (1984) early book about *Racism and Prejudice in Discourse* are considered as pioneering books in CDA. From the 1990's onwards, many things have changed, agenda, scholars involved, new journals have been launched, multiple overviews have been written and nowadays CDA is an established independent linguistic paradigm.

1.6 CDA Interests and Agenda

Basically, CDA regards language as a social phenomenon. In the previous section entitled ‘CDA principles’ we have discussed the main making pillars of any linguistic analysis that claims to be critical. Among those main principles, which are regarded also as CDA main research agenda; there exist power and language relationship, ideology and discourse, and the importance of knowledge in any social interaction. A byproduct of these mixing and complex relationships between the last various aspects constitute CDA analysts’ agenda. Thus, understanding the concepts of power, ideology and knowledge is a pivotal step before embarking any critical research endeavor.

1.6.1 Ideology

The concept of ideology is significantly important in CDA. It is a system of beliefs and thoughts that creates and retains unfair power relations. Wodak (2001) assumes that the primary interest of CDA in the notion of ideology is to unravel the way it is mediated by language in the various social practices.

1.6.1.1 Ideology’s Definition and its History

Historically speaking, ideology as an academic term appeared as early as the eighteenth century. It dates to the French revolution when it was coined by the philosopher Destutt de Tracy. According to Eagleton (1994) at that time, the term had been defined as the study or knowledge of ideas in its literal sense. Following the prevailing fashion and strong presence of science and reason in the Enlightenment era, ideology was considered as a science, similar to any other empirical science, though its subjects matter was abstract ideas and thoughts.

It is worth mentioning that from its beginning, which goes back to the Enlightenment epoch and stretches to the modern date, the term ideology went through different orientations acquiring, sometimes, paradoxical explanation and definitions of its meaning. For reasons of time and space we will focus only on the meaning of ideology in

modern date avoiding the irrelevant account of the diachronic life of this fuzzy, ambiguous and hard- to catch term. In his essay *Ideology: an analytical definition*, Gerring (1997 p.11) discusses more than ten contemporary definitions of the term ideology. He notices that this variety of meanings and significations of the word ideology is credited to its flexibility. For instance, Rejai (1991) defines political ideology as:

an emotion-laden, myth-saturated, action-related system of beliefs and values about people and society, legitimacy and authority that is acquired to a large extent as a matter of faith and habit. The myths and values of ideology are communicated through symbols in a simplified, economical, and efficient manner. Ideological beliefs are more or less coherent, more or less articulate, and more or less open to new evidence and information. Ideologies have a high” potential for mass mobilization, manipulation, and control; in that sense, they are mobilized belief systems.

1.6.1.2 Dimensions of Ideology

Rejai (1991) claims that ideology in the social and political realm takes five main dimensions. These orientations can be set as it follows:

- Cognitive dimension which includes systems of knowledge and beliefs.
- Affective dimension that contains emotions and feelings.
- Valuation: the normative forms of ideologies.
- Planning: ideologies as action –related systems.
- The social base of ideology as a main source of supporting groups and collectivities.

Rejai continues to explain the above dimensions in a clear and coherent manner that makes it easy for unfamiliar reader to grasp the various orientations the term ideology takes.

- **Cognitive Dimension:** As far as the cognitive dimension is concerned, he claims that ideology has a specific perception to the social and political reality. The main elements by which ideology conceptualizes the world are knowledge and beliefs. The former is usually a consistent system of thought which adheres

to the notions and norms of logic or science. Hence, knowledge is something we can check or verify in reality. On the other hand, beliefs are merely accepted and followed perceptions not on a scientific or logical ground but on the basis of socialization, repetition and habits. Consequently, ideologies contain falsehoods, delusion, misjudgments or simply they involve myths. Rajai gives a good example on how myth takes its way to our ideology by mentioning the Nazi ideology and its illusive and distortive myth of the super Germanic race and the super and heroic leader.

- **Effective Dimension:** As far as the effective dimension is concerned, ideology is said to be an ‘emotion-laden’ concept. Practically, this means that at the heart of any ideology, there lies an emotional message and content. Political ideologies play on the tone of emotions and feelings in order to attract the maximum followers and adherers. In fact, ideologies dwell on both the rational and the emotional and what really makes one ideology different from the other is based on how each one equals the effect and the importance between rationality and emotionality.
- **Evaluation:** To continue with Rajai(1991) and his framework for ideology and its dimensions, we arrive at the evaluative feature of ideologies. Any ideology is said to be judgmental. There are two main ways through which ideologies set normative and evaluative perceptions about reality. Firstly, they negatively play down and challenge the social and political relationships, and the institutions and organizations of the existing political and economical systems. Secondly, they positively elaborate and polish a group of norms and values that work as the alternative to, the usually corrupt and distortive existing system.
- **Action- Related System:** Rajai claims that ideologies are not merely set of ideas, norms and values but also they envision certain goals and objectives in order to put those norms and values into practice. Thus, ideology has programs to achieve and goals to attain. Usually, the action program of an ideology is to

challenge and alter the status quo by criticizing and denouncing its system and practices or toward maintaining and supporting the existing ruling systems.

- **Social–Base Dimension:** Rejai (1991) believes that the main important factor for an ideology to be an ideology is its social base. For this reason, ideologies are said to be related to social, political and economical groups and communities, social classes, collectivities and even whole nations. An ideology has to be rigorously and simply explained to the mass so that it can be easily grasped and readily arrive to its aims and objectives.

As we have mentioned, ideology is a complex system of thoughts and beliefs, emotions and facts, with distortive and progressive aims and an important dynamic instrument with a power to mobilize the mass and to alter the status quo.

However, talking about ideology without including the Marxists' view and their discussion of the notion is absolutely an incomplete work. Marxism as a school of thought is among the most important philosophical doctrines that dealt with the notion of ideology. Consequently, we are inclined to examine its views concerning this blurred and vague concept.

1.6.1.2 Ideology in Marxism

The genesis of Marx's thoughts and conceptions of ideology are found in his well known book *The German ideology*. Fairclough & Graham (2010) assume that this book, written in collaboration with Karl Marx friend's Frederick Engels, contains much of Marx's ideas about social logic, materialism and abstraction and his original and contentious ideas about the potential and productive activity of what he calls human socio-historical transitivity.

Eagleton (1994) asserts that the term ideology in Marxism has acquired a totally different meaning from the traditional one that considered the concept as a mere sociology of ideas. The Marxist approach to ideology tries to make implicit how our ideas and thoughts are strictly bound to reality and its material conditions. Marxism has taken

the responsibility to explain this view from a different and original perspective. Eagleton (1994) stresses that a Marxist reference to an idea as an ideological one goes beyond regarding it as false or deceptive, to maintain a strong belief that this 'ideological' idea has a more interesting mystifying function and deceptive role in the social life of a given community.

It is important to mention that Marxism holds two different and contentious views for the term ideology. On the one hand, ideology is politically and socially powerful as it fulfills certain functions and roles in societies and on the other hand, it is just illusions; false ideas come from deceptive and illogical perception of reality. Later Marxists revealed what seems contradictory in these two views. According to Eagleton (1994), they regard ideas as weapons as power in hand for those who are embarked in struggles. Following this view, "ideology is a form of thought generated or skewed out or shaped by the exigencies of power; but if it is therefore, traced through with significant tensions and inconsistencies, it also represents an attempt to mask the very conflicts from which it springs either by denying that they exist or by asserting their unimportance or inevitability (Eagleton, 1994, P.4). Hence, ideologies are sets of discursive strategies for displacing, recasting, or spuriously accounting for realities, which prove embarrassing to a ruling power; and in doing so they contribute to that power's self-legitimation." (Eagleton, 1994, p.8).

Later on, Gramsci, a Marxist philosopher, developed the term ideology and its relationship to social power and coined a new term which is 'hegemony'. According to him (qt in Van Dijk, 1998), instead of imposing dominant ideologies by a ruling class, hegemony works through the management of the mind of the citizens, for example by persuasively constructing a consensus about the social order.

All in all, Marxism regards ideological ideas as deceptive, false and illogical. Thus, they are dangerous on individuals and communities. Moreover, ideologies are disastrous

for social life as they use discursive strategies to hide the real struggle and to legitimate the existing unequal power relations by making them natural, inevitable and fatal.

1.6.1.3 Ideology, Media, and Discourse

Discourse plays a vital role in the expression and reproduction of ideologies. Van Dijk (2000) assumes that there are various areas to discover in the relationship between discourse and ideology. Such fields include but are not limited to how ideologies influence discourse structures, from intonation, syntax and images to the many aspects of meaning such as topics, coherence, presupposition, metaphors and argumentation. Nevertheless, the relation between discourse and ideology is not in one direction. Rather, language use and discourse also influence how we acquire, learn or even change ideologies.

In order to establish a proper understanding and explanation of ideologies and their relations to social practices and discourse, Van Dijk (2000) stresses the primordial consideration of ideologies' mental and cognitive dimensions. In this respect Van Dijk claims that ideologies are a system of beliefs that underlie our perception of ourselves and of the world around us. Ideologies are abstract and organized schematically in our minds. They are beliefs, knowledge, memories, common perceptions about who we are (in-group membership) and who others are (out-group membership). It is a distinction between 'US' and 'THEM'. Hence, a racist ideology for instance applies such views, knowledge and beliefs about the 'other' in concrete situation, thus in concrete discourse.

Nevertheless, the relation between ideology and discourse is not direct. There must be another element that mediates this interface. According to Van Dijk (2000), this element is a cognitive one. It is called mental models. One of the basic features of mental models is that they represent personal, subjective and probably biased information about events and things we encountered in our daily life. We use our mental models in order to interpret a discourse or to construct an opinion about a social event. Hence, as stated by

Van Dijk (2000, p21), the interface between discourse and ideology takes the form of ‘mental models’:

If affected by ideologically-based opinions, we’ll say that such models are ideologically ‘biased’: they represent or construct events from the perspective of one (or more) ideological group. Such mental models are not only important for the representation of our personal experiences. They are also the basis of the production and comprehension of action and discourse.

As far as the question of ideology and media discourse is concerned, we believe that they are strongly bound. In this respect, Fourie (2008) asserts that media is not only a site for communicating information and manipulating societies, but also a basic instrument for the creation and maintenance of ideologies. Croteau and Hoyens (2003) stress that there has been much research that has shed light on how the media are a strong source for producing an ideological vision of the world. They claim that the general findings of such research can be grouped in the following:

a) the media are the best sites to strengthen and spread the views of the powerful groups and reinforce their interests and profits,

b) the news media are the mirror that not only reflects the social and cultural values, attitudes and norms of a given community, but also confirms the basic pillars and the social order it is built on.

The wide-spread view of ideologies in social sciences is that of being a negative concept that tries to reinforce false beliefs and opinions at the expense of knowledge and truth. The struggle is always between “our knowledge” and “their ideologies”. However, there are some researchers and specialists in CDA who reject such monolithic view of ideology. Van Dijk (2003) is one of those CDA theorists and practitioners who proclaim a different view. According to him, ideology is not always negative; rather, there are some positive aspects on the other side of the coin. Van Dijk believes that as there are racist, sexist and fundamental ideologies there are other challenging, anti-ideologies that are in constant struggle fighting such dominating powerful ideologies. For instance, feminist

ideologies, anti-racist ideologies and others are not only there to reject racist and sexist ideologies, but also to spread and preserve their views and provide an alternative to the dominated ideologies.

1.6.2 Power, Discourse, and Social Practice

In this section, we try to answer the following questions: investigate the role of power in societies, provide a definition of the term power, and investigate the relationship between power, discourse and social practice. How is power analyzed in discourse? What is the relationship between power and language or discourse? Is Media discourse a platform to exercise power and inequality?

Power is a central term in critical discourse studies. Very often, it is the negative power that takes greater interest in discourse studies, more precisely, the negative use of power in discourse and what it results in domination and oppression. Hence, CDA assumes that there is a strong relationship between power abuse and language use or discourse. This is what has led some CDA researchers such as Bloommart (2005) to stress that critical discourse studies should provide an analysis of the effects of power, the outcomes of power and abusive practices, how power can affect individuals and communities? And how such an impact happens? Before answering these and other questions, we have to answer firstly, the following important questions: what is the relationship between language and power? Is language powerful in itself? How is language used to exercise and maintain power relations?

Wodak (2001) assumes that language has no power in itself. It only becomes powerful after powerful people make use of it. She continues stressing that this is the reason why critical discourse studies opt to stand by and support the perception of those who are oppressed and investigate the language and analyze the discourse of those who control and dominate power relations and who are also responsible for social injustice. Following Wodak's view, we assert that even if someone has powerful control of

language as they can manipulate it and use it eloquently we cannot assume they are powerful unless they have access to what Van Dijk calls social power.

Van Dijk defines and summarizes social power in what he terms control. He assumes that powerful social groups have different situations where ordinary people are ‘targets’ of their texts and talks. For example, powerless people are targets of their bosses, teachers, or any other authority such as police officers, or judges who simply control them by telling them what to believe or what to do.

Van Dijk claims that any powerful group or social organization acquires their power from their exclusive access and control over different types of public discourses. For instance, teachers gain their power through the control of educational discourse, medical doctors through health care discourse and journalists through controlling media discourse. He continues his arguments by asserting that the more access to public discourses institutions, individuals or social groups have the more powerful they become.

As far as the relationship between power and discourse is concerned, Fairclough (1989) identifies two major types that bound up power and discourse which are ‘*power in discourse*’ and ‘*power behind discourse*’. The main concern of ‘power in discourse’ is to see discourse as a platform where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted. He adds that power in discourse deals with how powerful participants “control” and “constrain” the contribution and participation of non powerful participants. A good example of this is what it appears in face- to face interaction in classroom discourse where teachers are supposed to be the powerful participants and students are the non-powerful ones.

Following Fairclough’s arguments, teachers exercise their power in classroom interaction by controlling and constraining the student’s contributions. This control takes three levels: control and constrain the content (what is said or done in class), control the social relations students or both participants enter into in discourse and finally constrain the subjects or subjects positions participants occupy.

Concerning the aspect of power *behind discourse*, Fairclough (1989) sheds light on how orders of discourse are themselves constituted and formed by relations of power. He claims that in this type of discourse/ power relationship, the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power. Fairclough (1989) finds a very good instance of such a relation between power and language in the topic of language standardization. For example, he believes that the standardization of English language pronunciation has been influenced by the interest of a merchant class which grew in the South east of England in late feudal system. They succeeded to define their way of speaking as the way of pronouncing English. This has lasted evident till modern England since not until few decades ago that non-standardized accents were allowed to present national TV programs in UK which meant that people from other regional dialects were in a weak situation in taking job positions because job interviews were held uniquely in Middle class London accent.

1.6.2.1 Media Discourse and the Hidden Power

Following Fairclough's (1989) typology of power relation to discourse, media discourse is considered as another kind of *power in discourse*, however there seems to be some focal points of difference between media discourse and face-to-face discourse. Media discourse is by nature a one-sided discourse in which the text's producers and their audiences are strictly separated. Moreover, and because of such an interruption, text's producers in media discourse never know exactly to whom they are writing for. Hence, it is hard or even impossible for them to adapt or tailor their contribution according to specific audience in contrary to face-to face discourse where participant are able to change and negotiate their contribution. These two basic distinctions between media discourse and face-to-face discourse has lead Fairclough to consider media discourse as a unique instance of what he terms *power in discourse*. To overcome this sharp division between text producers and interpreters, media texts and among them newspaper articles and news items, try to write with a kind of an 'interpreter in mind'. They address an *ideal subject* be it a reader or listener or viewer. Fairclough (1989) assumes that "media

discourse has built into it a subject position for an ideal subject; an actual listener or reader has to negotiate a relationship with an ideal subject” (p. 49).

The question to be asked now is how media discourse exercises power. Fairclough (1989) answers this question by stressing that producers (journalists or editors) enact power over consumers in that the latter have a sole unique access to the producing rights which make them able to define and control many things such as what to include or exclude from the news items, how events are represented and organized in the text items and even the subject position of their audience. On this point, Fairclough (1989) agrees with Van Dijk and Wodak that access to discourse is the main source to exercise power in societies. Though we agree on this, we think that even language itself can be a source to exercise power. Newspapers and media institutions are aware of this. There is no doubt that because media institutions give much importance to its employees’ control of language, the most eloquent speakers or stylish writers are likely to be accepted for job placements.

1.7 Approaches to CDA

In a previous section entitled “CDA principles” we have tried to discuss the general principles that govern the working system of CDA. In fact, we have drawn from various writings of a number of researchers in this field who agree on many things regarding CDA but who also have different perspective and different views concerning some issues and topics CDA addresses. Such differences have led some researchers to draw their own path and elaborate their own version of how CDA should work in the social and psychological academia. Thus, numerous approaches have risen and developed since 1990 the year of the first symposium held between CDA pioneers. Among these approaches we have Fairclough’s Critical Study of Language model (1989, 1995), Van Dijk Socio-cognitive Approach (1993) and Wodak’s Discourse Historical Approach (2001).

1.7.1 Fairclough's Critical Language Study Model

Norman Fairclough is considered as one of the prolific and pioneering figures who helped in the elaboration and development of CDA as a theory and method. Since his first and key book *language and power* (1989), Fairclough continues to be an active and productive CD analyst who plays a role in the spreading and illuminating the field of the critical study of language. This is best reflected in the various and many publications he has made since his first publication aforementioned. In this section we are going to discuss Fairclough's perception of CDA, his definition of discourse, the evolvement of his approach as well as other issues related to his model.

Fairclough (2009) defines discourse as a concept of three interlocking senses: a) "the language associated with a particular field or practice (e.g., media discourse), b) discourse as a "way of constructing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective a good example of that is the new-liberal discourse of globalization", and c) "a meaning-making as an element of the social process" (p.162). He assumes that this intertwining definition can be confusing for many researchers. In order to eliminate such confusion, Fairclough recapitulates this perplexing definition in what he terms "semiosis". He regards semiosis as an element of the social process, which is dialectically related to others -hence, a dialectical relational approach. He assumes that the relations between elements are dialectical in the sense of being different but not discreet i.e. not fully separate. In other words, we might say that each "internalizes" the other without being reducible to them (2009, p. 163). Semiosis, according to Fairclough (2001), is not limited to spoken or written language; rather it goes beyond traditional binary of texts and talks to investigate other forms of meaning such as visual images and body language. Furthermore, CDA focuses not just upon semiosis as such, but also on the relation between semiotic and other social elements. The nature of this relationship, Fairclough (2009) argues, varies from one institution to another, and according to time and place, and it needs to be established through analysis.

Waugh, Catalano, Al Masaeed, Hong Do, and Reniger (2016) assert that Fairclough invested a lot of efforts in reading and evaluating prominent social theories such as Foucault's postmodern theory as well as Marx and Gramsci 's ideas of power and hegemony. These theories and concepts are clearly reflected in his approach where he calls for CDA to be in a permanent dialogue with such academic arenas. Such a dialogue, he claims, should be "trans-disciplinary" and not only interdisciplinary, i.e., "each should be open to the theoretical logics of others, open to internalizing them in a way that can transform the relations between them" (Fairclough, 2001). Thus, his trans-disciplinary approach clearly draws on three main areas of knowledge to elaborate: economic analysis, a theory of the state, and CDA (Waugh *et al.* 2016).

Following the radical changes that are taking place in modern societies, Fairclough (1989) redefines the objective of CDA as "to develop ways of analyzing language which addresses its involvement in the working of contemporary capitalist societies". CDA analysts, therefore, have to show the hidden relation between semiotic and social structures and how this relationship help in creating and maintaining contemporary social problems such as racism, inequality, prejudice and many other issues.

Fairclough has shown some progress and changes in his approach since his first publication *language and power* 1989. This is best reflected in the different naming he gave to his approach. First, he termed his approach as the Critical Study of Language (1989, 1995), and then Dialectical –Relational Approach (2001, 2009). From now on, we will stick to the recent naming and will use Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA). He assumes that his approach is not out of critique and there are some limitations he admits. Such limitations include his strong focus on de-politicization and little emphasis to politicization; something he clears by backing this bias to his involvement in the left – wing politics of the 1970's. He also believes that adding a cognitive orientation to his approach can be of great success (Waugh *et al.*, 2016). Further details of Fairclough approach will be discussed in the methodology chapter where more lights are shed on his model in the practical side of his approach.

1.7.2 Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach

Van Dijk is regarded as one of the prominent founding fathers of CDA as a theory and method in discourse and language studies. Unlike Fairclough (2009) who delimits CDA in a dialectical relational approach that goes forth and back between language or semiosis and social practice, Van Dijk introduces a third partite that of social cognition.

As the name of his approach suggests, Waugh *et al.* (2016) argue that Van Dijk model stresses the importance of the study of cognition and not only that of society in the critical analysis of discourse, communication and interaction. Van Dijk (2009, p. 64) introduces his approach and sets out the relationships between its elements stating the following:

I am also interested in the study of mental representation and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies, and other beliefs shared by social groups. At the same time such an approach examines the ways in which such cognitive phenomena are related to the structure of discourse, verbal interaction, communicative events, and situations, as well as social structures such as those of inequality and social injustice.

From this definition, we can say that Van Dijk emphasizes three main areas that form the pillars which hold his model. These are: a) the mental representations, b) discourse process of language users and c) the various assumptions such knowledge and beliefs shared in a given social group. This is best summarized in his triangle model of discourse-cognition and society (Van Dijk, 2001). In the previous section, we have seen with Fairclough (1989, 2001) how the relationship between discourse and society is in a binary dialectical dialogue. Van Dijk (2009) on the other hand introduces a third element he claims it mediates the relationship between discourse and society. This new element is social cognition. So, what is social cognition and what is its function in the analysis of discourse?

Social cognition is a central concept in Van Dijk approach. It “entails the system of mental strategies and structures shared by group members, and in particular those

involved in the understanding, production or representation of social objects, such as situations, interactions, groups and institutions (Van Dijk, 1993, p.110). According to him, cognition provides this “missing link” and can show how societal structures influence discourse structures and how these are then instituted, legitimated, confirmed or challenged by texts and talks (2009). The socially shared perceptions constitute the link between the social system and the individual cognitive system. Moreover, they are shared among members of the same social group (Waugh *et al.*, 2016).

Broadly speaking, Van Dijk (2001) asserts that discourse can be defined as any communicative event that includes but not limited to conversational interactions, written texts, talks and images or generally, any other semiotic dimension that has a signification or meaning. In this respect Van Dijk’s view is in harmony with Fairclough’s definition of discourse as any semiotic aspect in social life that is set to transmit or produce meanings and where language is just one, but very important, element. This simply means that language is not the sole instrument to create meaning, rather there are other elements that are available for people to communicate such as images, face work, typographical layouts and so on.

As far as society is concerned, Van Dijk (2001) assumes that it includes two main dimensions: first is the local and microstructures of situated face-to-face interactions. Second are the global, societal, and political structures. Such macrostructures can be defined in terms of groups, and groups-relations (dominance and inequality), movements, institutions, organizations, social processes, political systems as well as the various abstract properties shared in a given culture or society. Van Dijk is distinguished in his way of dealing with the concept of ideology. He has provided a new perspective to study this fussy concept. He again stresses the socio-cognitive orientation the study of ideology should take. Thus he rejects the traditional studies of this term. He insists that ideology should be studied from a multidisciplinary perspective.

Van Dijk (2001) argues that since ideology is a kind of ideas or belief systems, it is important for any theory of ideology to account for a cognitive component that is able to explain how such belief systems take their way to influence our social life. A good path to follow for CDA analysts is to rely on the research done in modern cognitive sciences.

Another important aspect in the socio-cognitive model of Van Dijk is the role of context. This latter has attracted little of interest among CDA researchers and theorists. Van Dijk (1999) assumes that although the role of context has drawn linguists' and discourse analysts' interest, they have failed to elaborate explicit theories that explain the text – context relationship. This relationship has been studied in the simple terms of co-variation instead of analyzing the ways and the potentials of contextual influence” (p.123)

The concept of power has also drawn a considerable amount of attention in Van Dijk's model. He focuses on analyzing the ways by which power abuse is enacted and reproduced through the hidden ways of ideologies. Van Dijk reintroduces some of his previous research on cognition that indicate that power is in the hand of those who control the various dimensions of discourse such as topics, style, settings and so on (Waugh et al. 2016).

Although Van Dijk model is widely spread among researchers, he claims no way to be the best method to analyze texts and talk to unveil the ways power abuse and hegemony depict our modern societies. There exist other approaches that provide a different orientation to the study of discourse. Among those approaches is Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach.

1.7.3 Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

Ruth Wodak is one of the prolific pioneering figures in the field of CDA. Similar to Van Dijk and Fairclough, Wodak (2001) assumes that CDA must be a multidisciplinary endeavor where the analysis of the linguistic features is just one part of the whole image. She calls for other theories and methods to be applied in a complex way to respond to the

complexities of modern life in neo-liberal societies and the spread of globalized ideas. Wodak (2009, p. 90) states that her DHA:

It considers *intertextual* and *interdiscursive* relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourse as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization and institutions, and situational frames. While focusing on all these relationships, we explore how discourses, genres and texts change in relation to sociopolitical change.

According to Wodak (2009), intertextuality signifies the ability of speakers or writers to connect their texts to other texts in both past and present. This ability is realized through various techniques: by referring to a topic or a main actor, by making a reference to the same incident or event or even by bringing the main arguments of one text to the other. The process of interdiscursivity entails linking one discourse to other discourses. Very often, discourses are mixed and opened to others discourses. Wodak (2009) argues that a discourse about a given topic includes other discourses or other sub-topics. For instance, in a discourse about education many discourses can be created at any point. Such a discourse might include discourse about policy making, economy, social organization and so on. According to Wodak & Reisigl (2009, pp. 95-96) the main characteristics of the DHA can be summarized as it follows:

- DHA is an interdisciplinary approach.
- It is problem oriented.
- Various theories and methods can be combined.
- The research moves recursively between theory and data.
- The historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses.
- The publication of results and their communication to the public are important.

Probably, the most distinctive and important element in DHA is the inclusion of an ethnographic approach that is called the inside perspective. This introduction of this specific element aims at examining the actual ways that reflect the racial abuses and discriminations being acted on the minorities and immigrants in modern liberal societies.

This is established through the elaboration of focus group where relevant issues are tackled.

In her approach, Wodak (2001, 2009) integrates the concept of history in fascinating way. She includes and makes use of a large amount of knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social field under investigation where the discursive events are embedded. Moreover, the historical dimension of discourse action is analyzed. This is realized by revealing the way by which specific genres of discourses are diachronically changed. Nevertheless, the use of historical knowledge and background information is not merely a matter of gathering facts and information as such. Rather, social theories are integrated in order to explain the so-called context (context of events under analysis).

1.8 Critics to CD

One of the most common critics that have been directed to CDA is its openness to various social theories. The multitude of CDA theoretical basis is considered by many as a point of weakness rather than a point of strength. Breez (2011) assumes that CDA adherence to theories such as post-structuralism, post-modernism, Frankfurt Scholl, Marxism and neo-Marxism by no doubt jeopardize CDA endeavor. The aforementioned schools of thought are sharply different or even sometimes contradictory. They have different views towards many aspects and concepts of CDA such as the notion of discourse, ideology, social struggle and so on. Such contradictory perceptions threaten CDA studies in their consistency, coherence and applicability. Moreover, CDA theorists do not show why such theories have been chosen instead of others. Even Fairclough (1995) asserts that, although his approach is influenced by his engagement in left-wing politics during the 1970's, CDA can be enlightened on the basis of right-wing politics too.

Another point of dispute between CDA theorists and their counterparts is CDA bias and its clear support for the (marginalized and oppressed) group against the (powerful oppressing) groups. In this respect, Van Dijk (2001) states clearly that "CDA is bias and proud of it" assuming that taking the side of the oppressed does not undermine

CDA studies. It is absolutely fair and human for academic research to be held in order to fight oppression and inequality but CDA analysts have been criticized because they take things for granted and use their research data in way that support their claims without considering the other side of the topic. Thus, CDA analysts fight prevailing ideologies by implanting their own making CDA an ideological practice. After analyzing some examples taken from some CDA analysts' practitioners, especially Fairclough, Widdowson (2008) argues that these analyses were unsystematic and unprincipled. The analyzed linguistic features were chosen randomly without any principle. Moreover, he adds that if we choose the ignored linguistic elements we might have different results. Thus, Widdowson (2004) suggests that other theories and approaches must be included in order to make the study more objective and hence, scientific. Corpus-based approach to linguistics would be beneficial.

CDA has been also criticized for its little use of history in the interpretation of social events. Bloommaret (2005) claims that CDA suffers great absence of a sense of history. He argues that this lack of attention to the historical context is absence due to two main reasons: a) a focus on the linguistic analysis and its focus on the here-and now communication b) a focus on contemporary development in one's own society which forces people to see the present fast social changes and development as historical events. He believes that a synchronic focus on events and practices cannot alone unveil how power and ideology serve to spread hegemony and inequality. CDA analysts should include a detailed analysis of the historical ways by which power regimes came into power.

However, such criticism does not undermine the importance of CDA and its great potential in dissecting the hidden and transparent relationship between language, power, ideology and social practice. Moreover, some CDA theorists have stand against such critics and clarify many things concerning the various points of dispute between CDA analysts and their opponents. In his reply to Widdowson's critics especially to the point where CDA has been accused of being ideological, biased and politically influenced,

Fairclough (1996) asserts that Widdowson's understanding of ideology is inappropriate and inconsistent with how CDA regards ideology. CDA does not consider ideology as political ideologies that have explicit commitment to particular political positions as Widdowson believes. Rather, CDA, and most of social sciences, rejects reducing ideology to political ideology. Ideologies according to Fairclough "are assumptions which are built into practices (especially for CDA practice of discourse) which sustain relations of dominations, usually in a coherent way" (1996, p. 52).

Moreover, Fairclough (1996) adds that all scientific and social sciences are ideological and not only CDA even Widdowson's work in discourse pragmatics is ideological. In addition to that, Van Dijk's (2003) work on ideology answers Widdowson's critics that we must distinguish between positive and negative ideologies. Not all ideologies are negative. There are positive ideologies. It is these latter that CDA tries to spread and maintain along its academic and political commitment.

As far as the claim that CDA's openness to various social theories makes it vulnerable, CDA theorists reject these claims and stress that CDA's multidisciplinary nature is its point of strength. Because social practices and social actions are complex and involve in problematical relationships, it is difficult for any discipline (linguistics, social sciences) to study such complex topics without collaborating with other disciplines. Moreover, CDA does not limit or determine the theories that should be used in its analysis. Rather, many CDA theorists especially Van Dijk (2001) call for the use of any social or linguistic theory that could reveal deeper insights and improve the research validity, critical stance, and credibility.

To sum up we see that CDA is incomplete and imperfect like all other scientific research. It has points of strength as well as weaknesses. It is open to critique, amendments and change. Collaborations and insights from other disciplines are also welcomed and integrated making CDA free from any rigid theoretical basis. However, its aim is always to fight social problems, inequality and spread human pacification through academic research.

1.9 Conclusion

CDA is a multidisciplinary theory and research method. It has been developed to face the social unequal powerful relationships that exist in many modern liberal capitalist societies. Through drawing on linguistic, social, cognitive and history theories, CDA is able to provide a thorough understanding to the dialectical links that exist between semiosis, social struggle, ideologies, and powerful relationships. So, the main agenda of CDA is to reveal how powerful ideologies are implicitly produced and maintained in the daily discourse of individuals and institutions. Although there are different approaches to CDA such as Van Dijk socio-cognitive approach and Fairclough Critical Language study model, all of them stress the role of power and ideology in the social system of communities. CDA specialists answer the critics of “ideological work” and “vulnerable openness” by maintaining that all the academic works in the social sciences are ideological and that CDA openness to other social theories strengthens its analytical stance.

CHAPTER TWO: Media Discourse

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is set to discuss media discourse. It starts by pointing to the importance of the media in societies. Then, it deals with the main approaches that are used to study media discourse such as content analysis, conversational analysis and corpus linguistics is held. Next, it discusses some important issues related to the media such as the economy and politics of the media is maintained. This chapter also provides an extensive discussion of Islam, Muslims, and women in the media. It tends to examine the previous research that dealt with the aforementioned topics in order to reveal how the media, especially in the West, tend to represent Islam, Muslims and women in general.

2.2 Importance of the Media

Qahtan(2016) claims that the media can be defined as channels for communicating written, visual and audible messages to an audience of consumers. Such messages are meant to not only inform, entertain or direct a specific audience but also to communicate the institutional propaganda, thoughts, and facts. In this respect, Herman and Chomsky (1988, p.1) agree to state that

The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society in a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda.

The media contribute to how we get to perceive the world around us such as family, friends, and the school. Media, especially TV and newspapers, have a great impact on our way of viewing the external world. Several writers such as Wimmer and Dominick (2005) have mentioned that under certain conditions the media can be socialization agencies in shaping the attitudes of young people. Moreover, the media shapes its importance and power by being influential in people's lives and for being an

instrument for social, economical and political changes. In this respect, Richardson (2007 p.13) says that:

Journalism has social effects: through its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people's opinions [...] or, if not shape your opinions on a particular matter, it can at the very least influence what you have opinions on; in sum, it can help shape social reality by shaping our views of social reality.

The influence of the media and their importance has drawn the attention of scholars and researchers in the social and cultural field since long time ago especially in the 1950's and 1960s. Marxism is one of the famous schools of thought that have been outspokenly critical of media's role in capitalized societies. According to Curren, Gurvitch, and Woollacot (1982) Marxists think that media are no more than ideologically-based institutions that play a fundamental role in perpetuating class domination. Usually, the various media platforms are owned by those who occupy powerful positions in the social system. They use media sites to spread their norms and values and to legitimate their power and dominance.

Determined by the studies and critics of Marxist scholars and adherers, the subject of media has continued to attract researchers from many other fields. Media studies have become a popular subject in social and cultural studies, in linguistics and discourse analysis, and in many other disciplines. Moreover, some scholars such as Wodak and Busch (2004) think that the study of media has to be dissected and compared in many countries worldwide. They argue that "the influence of the media on the production and reproduction of beliefs, opinions, stereotypes and ideologies has to be thoroughly investigated" (Wodak and Bush, 2004, p.200). This wide academic interest in the media brought about a complex mosaic picture where various social and cultural theories are collaborating to give media studies a new orientation. Different methods and approaches have been used to study and theorize media influence.

2.3 Approaches to Media Studies

There are several approaches to study media texts. Some of them apply linguistic strategies while others use social approaches. Researchers opt for approaches and methods that serve their research questions. Among the various approaches used to analyze media texts are the following: Conversational analysis, content analysis, corpus linguistics, and (critical) discourse analysis.

2.3.1 Conversational Analysis

O'keeffe (2006) asserts that Conversational Analysis (CA) is regarded as the most influential methodology in the study of media interaction. It is an approach that has texts features created and developed out of linguistics arena. The sociologist and ethno-methodologist Harold Garfinkel is one of those influential pioneers who helped in developing CA to investigate and explain social members' interaction and meaning making.

CA is widely used by researchers to analyze audio and video recordings along with a carefully produced transcription to reveal the ordinary and current practices used by speakers to organize large arrays of social actions that constitute everyday living such as questions and answers, offers, compliments, and so on.

Beach (2008) assumes that careful attention is given in CA to show how co-participants fashion their turns in talks and how during face- to face interactions make available distinct bodily orientations such as gazing, gestures and facial expressions as a helping guide to improve understanding.

After proving its power in analyzing institutional interactions and casual conversation mainly due to the influential research and studies that were done by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (qt in O'keeffe,2006), CA drew the attention of researchers who are interested in the media and their working systems. They were keen to find basic

patterns in media interaction especially that of radio phone calls and television interaction.

O’Keeffe (2006) asserts that the research in this field has been successful in unveiling the working systems of radio phone calls especially the basic features of opening and closing phone calls. Television talks shows, and chat shows have also taken a considerable part of interest among CA specialists. They investigated their turn taking system in order to identify institutional, conversational, and confrontational sequences in such popular television programs (Gomez 2000, qt in O’Keeffe, 2006).

Interviewing political personae is also among favorable agenda of television programs. Hence, it has attracted the attention of researchers due to its importance for governments and communities. Radio and television political interviews are good opportunities for politicians to address the people about social, economical and political issues. According to Gomez (2003) applying CA methods and techniques in media research has shown that political interviews are much more information-based unlike chat shows and talks shows that can fluctuate between information and entertainment.

2.3.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis is regarded as a popular research method in mass-communication studies. It focuses on surveying and measuring the manifestation of something relaying on a representative sample of some mass-mediated texts from popular media art forms such as newspaper or magazines articles or comic strips. Topics of study may include social and cultural phenomena such as violence, negative representation of women and many other things.

Krippendorff (2004, p.xvii) asserts that "content analysis examines data printed matter ,images, or sounds -texts-in order to understand what they mean to people ,what they enable or prevent, and what the information conveyed by them does". Content analysis is therefore, a practical research instrument that reveals how people pattern what they write, produce or make movies about. It asserts that what the analysis found in such

materials such as behavioral patterns, attitudes, and values are in fact mirroring and influencing the behaviors, attitudes, and values of those who create it.

According to O'Keeffe (2006), content analysis is an inexpensive method of generating knowledge about people and their behaviors. The use of printed or online materials is readily available for researchers. Collecting data from newspaper articles or magazines for the purpose of analyzing them does not cost much money since most of printed media are available in libraries or in electronic form in online storage. Moreover, content analysis is a method that makes possible the use of current materials by paving the way for researchers to tackle very recent topics.

However, being inexpensive and liable for dealing with very recent data does not make content analysis approach unquestionable. It certainly has some shortcomings. Among such pitfalls there is always a problem with sampling. Researchers are always faced with questions like how representative is the material in one study relative to all the materials that could be studied. This problem makes research generalization rather challenging for researchers. To overcome this problem, content analysis usually studies only a sizeable amount of material. For instance, if we are doing a research on newspaper articles, we only, need to study one type of articles such as editorials or opinion columns.

All in all, content analysis remains a popular research technique in media studies. It is an inexpensive method that allows researchers to get an easy access to their topics as they are both in electronic and in printed formast. It has problems with data sampling but it gets around of them by limiting the research study to a sizeable amount of material.

2.3.3Corpus Linguistics

What is most striking about corpus linguistics (CL hereafter) is the fact that it studies no specific aspect about language. When sociolinguistics deals with the social aspects of language, psycholinguistics studies the relationship between language and psychology; CL has no kind of such relationships. Rather, it focuses on certain methods and procedures, to study language. Bennet (2010 p.2) defines CL as follows:

It is a research method that approaches the study of language use through corpora (singular of corpus). A corpus is a large, principled collection of naturally occurring examples of language stored electronically. In short, corpus linguistics serves to answer two fundamental questions: a) what particular patterns are associated with lexical or grammatical features? And b) How do these patterns differ within varieties and registers?

With some new procedures such as concordance and collocation analysis, CL has been used in many areas of linguistics. In fact, CL is likely to redefine and refine quite some number of language theories through its ability to re-orientate our entire approach to the study of language.

In the field of media studies, there has been a growing interest in using CL as a research method to quantitatively and qualitatively study many features of media texts. O'keeffe (2006) asserts that corpus linguistics is a promising research method that has a great potential in improving our understanding of media discourse especially if it used along with other approaches such as CA, discourse analysis, and pragmatics.

As mentioned above, CL has attracted the attention of media specialists and it has been used in many research works. For instance, O'keeffe and Breen (2001) embarked on a study about the use of lexico-grammatical markers. They tried to compare their use in the newspaper coverage of a child sexual abuse case between a religious and a non-religious Irish newspaper taking into account 700 newspaper articles.

O'keeffe (2002) has also used CL to analyze the discourse properties of an Irish in-radio phone calls program. Yet, this time, CL was integrated with other approaches such as DA and pragmatics. The study's aim was to reveal similar and different patterns between vocatives, radio conversations, and casual conversations.

CL entails the use of corpus-based software that facilitates the analytical functions that seek to apply such as keywords, concordances and collocations. Moreover, for the development of computer assisted tools for data analysis, CL makes it possible to analyze

large data. The corpus –based approach is best used when combined with other research methods especially DA, pragmatics and content analysis.

2.3.4(Critical) Discourse Analysis

Historically speaking, media discourse became a popular subject in discourse analysis in the second half of the 1970s. Discourse approaches to media reject the premises introduced by the popular method of content analysis. The new critical approach firmly assumes that media is a major cultural and ideological force. In this sense media is redefined by CDA specialists as a cultural institution “standing in a major dominant position with respect to the way in which social relations and political problems were defined and the production and transformation of popular ideologies to the audience are addressed” Van Dijk (1985, p. 118)

Following Van Dijk (1985) critique of content analysis as a widely spread method to analyze media texts and talks, we do agree with him that media studies need to go beyond what content analysis provides. A subtle and an efficient approach to media studies has to peer at all the dimensions media texts may take from surface properties of presentation, layout of graphical display, to analyzing the syntactic structures, lexical styles and the pragmatics of speech acts performed.

Critical discourse analysis to media studies provides various topics and aspects to be advocated. It calls for a rigorous study of the relationships between media discourse and its practices on one hand, and the prevailing ideologies that are central to modern date Western policies related to their economy, politics and social issues on the other hand. The aim of the critical study of media discourse is not only set to unveil the relationship between ideologies, power and discourse. Rather, Van Dijk (1995) stresses that CDA has to be able to formulate anti-powerful ideologies which can be supportive to the counter-power necessary to face the dominant powers against ethnic minorities, multiculturalism and democracy. Hence, CDA analysis has to provide an alternative to its media critique.

To sum up, we believe that CDA approaches to media studies start from the premises that media discourse is not neutral. It regards it as an influential social institution that is responsible for creating and reproducing powerful ideologies that serve the dominant groups in communities. For this reason media studies have to opt for the critical approaches in order to formulate a strong and deep analysis of the various aspects of media texts and talks.

2.4 Other Considerations to Media Studies

There are some important issues related to the media that researchers should consider in their studies. Among these issues are the politics of the media, its economy, access to the media, and some issues related to its texts production and consumption. These media aspects are important in understanding the mechanism by which the media work.

2.4.1 The Politics of the Media

Fairclough (1995) assumes that media are in constant tension between the pressure of presenting an unbiased neutral coverage of political, economical, and educational issues and the need to enlarge and spread their presence through the entertainment services available to them especially in the era of the intensified competence in the services market. The media outlets that used to be the source of breaking news and are said to be information-based have thought over their news policies through giving much space to entertaining news and advertisement.

Hebermas (qtd in Fairclough, 1995) believes that media as an efficient political public sphere for educational and political debate is going to fade away. The “commercialization” of media institutions has led to a reshape of media policies towards more opened horizons to entertainment news. He refers to these new changes in media policies by what he calls “refueledization” of the mediatized public sphere. Consequently, the role of audiences has been redefined also. They are no longer mere participants who are addressed as citizens. Rather, they become spectators who are dealt with as

consumers. News reports are regarded as commodities that are put for sale to public consumers.

It is evident that states and governments are keen and aware of the role and power of the media in modern societies. For them the media are a double-edged sword. They have the power to destroy governments' strategies and programs yet, they can also, if controlled and dominated, be the governments source voice that polishes their policies and smashes that of their opponents. In the modern complex framework of social, economical, and cultural forces it becomes important to investigate and understand the role the media play in such new and complex situations.

Fairclough (1995) believes that governments and politicians intentions in controlling the media and their production cannot be denied. As mentioned in the previous section, states are aware of media powerful influence over its followers. Fairclough (1995) provides a good example of such an influence by pointing to the role the US TV coverage of the Vietnam War in shaping the public opinion against the war and thus, forcing the American forces withdrawal. This and other instances of media impact on political and economical issues have led some states to be in an antagonistic situation with some powerful media outlets henceforth, performing a kind of censorship on those big and influential media institutions.

On the contrary, Van Dijk (1993) assumes that the situation is totally different when ethnic conflicts and racism are concerned. He thinks that the media in such situations seem to reject violence and discrimination against minorities and oppressed ethnic groups following the official ideology of tolerance advocated by the constitution of the United Nations. However, when it comes to reality media is less positive. He argues that "it has frequently documented that ethnicism and racism are exacerbated by at least some of the media as well as the political and social elites that control them or have preferential access to them" (1995, p. 28). It seems that the media work in a hidden way when considering such problems. There is a deep contradiction between what the media

advocate and what they implicitly pass for the public consumers. In this respect, Fairclough (1995) suggests that the media representations are said to function ideologically. They have a hand in the recreation of dominant social relations.

To sum up, we can say that the media today are in constant vacillation between their commitment to enlighten the public about political, economical and educational issues and their needs to respond to the rapid growth in the market services sector. It is assumed by many researchers such as Van Dijk (2003) and Fairclough (2005) that media plays a role in creating and spreading dominant powerful ideologies in spite of their occasional antagonism with states and governments. The media are not always neutral. Rather, they can be controlled and influenced by the powerful elite groups or those who have preferential access to them.

2.4.2 The Economy of the Media

Money and funding systems play a central role in modern day social and cultural institutions. The media is one of those prolific organizations of manufacturing cultural commodities and it is no exception. TV show talks, newspaper coverage of political and social issues, and radio programs all need to be funded. Thus, they need financial resources and material supports to perfectly realize their work. Fairclough (1995, p.35) stresses that “the intensely competitive commercial environment that the media operate in at present time shapes media practices and texts”.

Herman and Chomsky (1989) go in the same direction to assert that ownership and the profit orientation of media firms and advertisements have a strong hand in defining the news production process. Media institutions rely on dollars coming from advertisers or state resources to fund their work. However, the state and private investors are not paying money just for the sake of supporting the democratic function of media outlets. They do so just to maximize their profits and to strengthen their political views and social projects and use the discourse of media as an instrument to reproduce their own ideologies.

Similarly, Fairclough (1995) argues that the press and the other broadcasting corporations are in fact profit-making organizations. They are commercial institutions who sell their audiences to advertisers. He goes farther to suggest that media outputs are indeed cultural commodities produced and consumed in a cultural manufactory that aims to make profits in market industry. Hence, media institutions are likely to be opened and affected by commercial pressure. The impact of market pressure can be traced in both content and communicative styles. Media institutions give considerable importance to the choice of topics i.e. what should be covered and what should not be reported as well as the ways in which the covered topics are dealt with. Communicative styles might also include using more dramatic language or representation of certain events. For instance, the way topics that deal with “our” victims versus “their” terrorists in many Western newspaper articles.

The influence of market and ownership is not merely on the micro levels of language as Fairclough suggested. Rather, ownership and funding resources of media institutions also influence the macro level of media organizations. Klaehn (2002) suggests that the media can dramatically draw the audience attention to some topics and stories while diverting it away, intentionally, from some others. They decide upon the “worthy” and “unworthy” news and stories.

The big influence of media owners and funders in shaping its discourse has led many researchers and critiques to reject the naïve premise that media have the role of working towards an empowered democracy. Among those critiques is what Herman and Chomsky (1989) observe as a disparity between what media claim to be and what they practice in reality. They claim that there are five main factors which are inherent in modern media structures. They are called “the five filters”. These filters are: ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and anti-communism. These five factors are what ensure that media outlets are in service of the elite’s interests and not strengthening the presence of democracy in societies.

2.4.3 Access to the Media

Access to the media is another important aspect we need to consider while studying media discourse. Van Dijk (2013) argues that studying the power of media discourse goes beyond the identification of the controlling system of the mental models to consider the effects of media conditions. Such conditions include identifying who actually controls media discourse. Access to the media is a central aspect in media control. Van Dijk (1985) assumes that it is primordial for media researchers to define which social groups have access to the media and the potential impact of such access on shaping media discourse in general.

Fairclough (1995) argues that people from different social backgrounds and social classes do not have an equal access to the media. Ordinary people can write, speak, or broadcast only in limited instances. This is because of the fact that "media output is under professional and institutional control" (Fairclough 1995, p.49). Hence, for the purpose of achieving much credibility and reliability, media coverage of news reports is usually accompanied with the analysis and comments of experts and professionals from the field being reported. They interview political scientists to discuss political problems, medical researchers to debate health issues, sports analysts to talk about sports latest topics and so on. So, we assume that those professionals or "elite" groups have a strong effect in shaping media discourse about their preferred topics.

On his part, Van Dijk (1995) discusses the question of how the elites actually influence the media. He argues that the elites are the most quoted sources in news reports. They serve as reliable sources. Consequently, they have a great impact on public opinions and ideologies. However, Van Dijk believes that there exists a mutual influence between the media and the different groups. He argues that "media elites need other elites as sources, actors, and topics, whereas other elites, especially political elites, need the media as a means to legitimize and reproduce their power" (Van Dijk, 1995, p.33). Consequently, the media is not totally free and independent. Rather, much of their

discourse is controlled and shaped by powerful elites.

Nevertheless, what Van Dijk (2013) and Fairclough (1995) assumed about access to the media might be partially in odds with new developments in the media especially after the advent of new social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and others. These new media sites have definitely redefined the role of ordinary people in making the news. Moreover, less powerful social classes are no longer in need to write letters to editors to report their stories and problems. The new social media sites give them daily access to report and tell their own stories, to voice their needs and issues to the external world. A good example of this is the role social media played in overthrowing dictators in many parts of the Arab world. Despite the rigid and tough control those regimes used to enact over TV, radios, and newspapers to legitimize their power and control over their population, they seem to fall behind the rapid changes that have taken place in media development. People have used those social sites to challenge and contradict what traditional and state media say about them. They have succeeded in providing the alternative to those stereotypical images drawn about them by the media outlets supported by the dictatorship systems.

To sum up, we think that access to the media remains an important dimension of media control. The role of the elites is evident in shaping media discourse. They are used as a source of credibility and reliability. Knowing who has access to the media helps in understanding who controls them and how profits can be achieved from such control.

2.4.4 Practices of Media Text Production and Consumption

Understanding how news is produced in media organizations and how is it consumed by the mass audience is critical in understanding the working systems of media institutions. This section tries to deal with these two important processes, though briefly, to scrutinize the various aspects that affect them, and show how both news production and consumption are important in defining news discourse.

Fairclough (1995) assumes that the media have specific patterns for their processes for the collection and transformation of news materials into edited and finished texts ready for consumption. In fact, the process of media texts production is not that simple. Rather, it is a complex system that involves a various staff and materials. The first draft of a news item, as written by the journalist who reports the events as he/she heard or saw it, might in fact take different changes and adaptations by the news editor, the news sub-editor, or the editor who decides upon the final version the text or news item has to take (Silverstone, qtd in Fairclough 1995). In similar fashion, Van Dijk (1989) claims that “the news media do not passively describe or report news events in the world, but actively reconstruct them mostly on many types of source discourses. Corporate interests, news values, institutional routines, professional ideologies and news schema formats play an important role in this transformation”.

Another interesting aspect in news production is considering which sources are used by journalists and media organization to get information. The process of gathering the news can be a problematic issue. Tuchman (1975) coined the expression “the news net” to describe the methods used by news institutions to organize their news gathering using reporters, freelancers, and wire services such as the Associated Press and Reuters to create a news blanket that will cover all potential news. According to Fairclough (1995), one of the striking features of news gathering is the huge reliance of journalists on a very limited set of officials or legitimized sources to collect their news. Such sources include government and local government sources, the police, employers' organizations and trade unions or scientific and technical experts from universities.

This immense reliance on elite groups on news sourcing such as those mentioned above raises the question of who is going to speak for the minority groups. How less powerful social classes are going to be represented and how are they going to secure access to the news media in order to democratically voice their presence and interests. These two questions lead us to another important one: are the media really guaranteeing a fair and equal representation of all social classes. To put it in another way, are the media a

tool to reinforce democracy in liberal societies or merely an instrument in the hands of the powerful elites who tailor their discourse to match their interests. If we know that most of the media outlets in the West are owned by most powerful groups such as The Australian Billionaire Rupert Murdoch who owns many media corporations such as News Corporation, Fox News, and 21st Century Fox and The Independent which is sold to the Russian oligarch Alexander Lebedev in 2010, the answer of the above question would be negative. Herman & Chomsky (1989) assert that the growing dominance of the media conglomerates that control various types of media (motion picture studios, TV networks, cable channels, magazines and book publishing houses) makes the wide-spread belief that media has a democratic function a myth that diverges from the actual practice of media. In similar vein, Van Dijk (1988) argues that research has shown that less powerful groups receive less attention and lower relevance and are likely to be deleted and neglected in the news production process.

As far as media text consumption is concerned, Fairclough (1995) set the main settings where media texts and talks are likely to be a subject of consumption. He tries to categorize media consumption into two main contexts: in the contexts of the family and the private. He argues that studies on such situations are central in assessing the reception and effects of TV and other media programs.

Unlike mass communication studies on media consumption where the focus is on the effects of such consumption on audiences, CDA specialists (Fairclough 1995, Van Dijk 1988) disagree with this perspective and argue that the meaning that could be generated by audiences are variable and distinctive and so are their effects. In this respect, Fairclough argues that “any discussion of the meanings of TV programs needs to take account of the variability of the meanings that may be attributed to it by different categories of audience members” (1995, p.49).

Similarly, Van Dijk (1988) argues that CDA analysts go beyond the examination of news effects to rigorously scrutinize its conditions, interpretation and representation.

He assumes the process of transforming knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes are rather ambiguous and complex. For this reason, news understanding requires a cognitive analysis that is more complex than what has been suggested by mass communication research. In his socio-cognitive model, Van Dijk (1988, 1993, and 2003) presents an approach that explains how readers approach and understands news reports and media texts. First of all, Van Dijk (1988) stresses that it is primordial to know the various steps that are involved in news comprehension which are: perception and attention, reading, decoding and interpretation, representation in episodic memory, the formation and adaptation of situation models, and finally, the uses and changes of general social knowledge and beliefs (frames, scripts, attitudes and ideologies). All these cognitive processes take part in our understanding and interpretation of media texts and talks, and journalists are aware of such processes and they take them into consideration while writing their reports or broadcasting their news.

After several studies on the behaviors and conducts of media consumers, Van Dijk (1988) comes to the conclusion that text's consumers remember best what they already know, i.e. that information that recall ancient models or what can be fitted into such models. Equally important is the fact that negative and emotional incidents are likely to be retrieved especially if they piece together with existing stereotypical prejudiced beliefs schemata such as the widespread belief of Muslims involvement in terror attacks. Islam and Muslims have been a popular topic in the Western media especially after 9/11 events.

2.5 Islam, Women, and the Media

In this section, we are going to investigate previous research that dealt with Muslims and Muslim women representation in the Western media. We examine some research dissertations, scientific articles and research papers dealing with the topic of Islam and Muslim women that applied different methods and got different results in order to contextualize our research work. We are going to analyze these works from their research questions point of view, aims and research methods in order to highlight their

points of strengths and weaknesses. The aim of such an analysis is to enrich our research background and produce research worth of being part of the comprehensive literature that deals with Muslims in general and Muslim women in particular.

2.5 .1 Islam and Muslims in the Western Media

So much research has been done on the issue of Muslims and Muslim women representation in the western media. The events of 9/11 and the aftermaths of the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003 respectively by the US forces are considered a landmark in the new history of the relationships between Islam and the West. Since that date, Islam is put under the lights of Western media and soon it became the new enemy of Western and global values sometimes as an extremist violent religion that pushes its followers to “terrorism” and violence and other times as a symbol of intolerance, dictatorship and misogyny.

Following a chronological order, we are going to shed light, though briefly, on some but not all the studies that have been undertaken after 11/99 and that dealt with the issue of Islam and Muslim women.

The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media has been a topic of considerable discussion and contentious debate since the start of the second millennium AD. In his article *Images of Islam* Abbas (2000) studied the visual images of Muslims in the British newspapers. He argues that visual images related to Muslims and Islam are filled with hate, prejudice and islamophobia against Muslims. He goes further to claim that these “demonized images about Islam is a mere struggle between Islam and Christianity since their first contact Then as now, it made little difference to the popular perception of Christianity's only rival” (ibid, p.64) international media after 9/11 attacks as a popular and controversial issue people of the West are keen and so interested in reading about it. The amount of articles and news items allocated to Islam and Muslims in the US and UK has risen considerably as a byproduct of the 9/11 incident. The academic arena was not an exception

In her book Reporting Islam: Media Representation of British Muslims, Pool (2002) contextualizes her research on the aftermath of 9/11 and the new world order being constructed by the great powers in the world. She assumes that media have been given the role of constructing this idea in the consciousness of the mass. Since Islam is now clearly a salient issue, how should it be reported in this rising era? Should media deal with Islam applying the same frame work (oriental perspective)? It appears to be a positive development in the consciousness of the Western mind to be suddenly interested in Islam, but if the knowledge that is generated works only to maintain an Orientalist perspective, then it will be a lost opportunity.

Pool (2002) has examined a week's coverage on British Muslims from Wednesday 25 September to Tuesday 6 October 2001 in both the Guardian and the Times. She studied the report of international situation which is better known in media jargon as foreign news coverage. The study takes on the war in Afghanistan where Osama Bin Laden is the man of focus and much light is given to explore his personality. However, Pool claims that all what it has been written about the master mind of 9/11 attacks does not tell us much about his personality but rather speculates about the cultural-political context in which the coverage was formulated.

Pool (2000) argues that religion, Islam in this case, is used in the news coverage in two contradictory ways: on the one hand, Bin Laden and his followers are seen as fanatics manipulating Islam to push the ignorant mass into violent actions to achieve political gains. Yet, on the other hand, the ongoing reference to “Muslim and Islamic terrorists” leads to the vision of attackers as malicious consequences of a strong effect of a fanatical strain of Islam. Consequently, the associated negative behavior is perceived to stem out of something inherent in Islam itself labeling any Muslim a suspected terrorist. For example, one reads the following: “Muslims have to look at why their religion breeds so many violent militant strain” (Guardian, October 2001).

Poole comes to the conclusion that both in the ideas of political actors involved and in the coverage analyzed here that there are attempts to maintain the structure of normatively reinforcing older certainties. An Orientalist discourse is continually transformed in order to fit the developing circumstances. Although the current situation may not seem to be about Islam as a religion, the meanings and values associated to it in news items of the coverage are reproduced to demonize the enemy even when the signifier Islam remains unused. She confirms that the desire and process of knowing about the 'other' results in his demonization, and as a result he is elevated in a mythical status.

The major event of 9/11 continues to inspire studies about Islam and Muslims even outside the US and UK. In their attempts to uncover the most frequently propagated images about Muslims and Islam in Victoria, Australia, Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005) undertook a study on the representation of Islam in the Age and Herald Sun newspapers.

This study examines how Muslims and Islam are represented in the Australian print news media in the period from 9/11/2001 till the end of December 2004. It tries to explore the kind of language used to depict Muslims in the news stories of both the Age and Herald Sun newspapers and how those two media outlets respond to the major events in the world. Also, the Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005) try to examine the extent to which the coverage of the two newspapers about Muslims and Islam was Islamophobic.

This report is a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods used to explore four main themes related to Islam and Muslims in the Australian community. These themes are terrorism, race, gender, and the direct links between international and domestic events Muslims are involved in. This attempt is made to discover how media contributes to the reproduction of negative stereotypes about Muslims.

Akbarzadeh & Smith (2005) assumes that their research findings revealed mixed pictures. The research echoes how the journalists in the two newspapers are familiar with Islam and Muslims tradition as well as with their profession. In fact, the two print news

media have published news stories that depict Australian Muslims as “others”. Such news stories are melted with some hidden underlying racial abuses towards Muslims that reinforce stereotypical images and push the Muslims into the margins of the Australian society.

Akbarzadeh & Smith (2005) believe that editorial choice of words and how news are constructed are not the only factors behind the reproduction of the distortive images of Islam and Muslims in the two newspapers rather, the content of such news stories also has a pivotal impact on the overall impression left behind after reading news stories that point to Islam and Muslims.

However, this study comes back to assert an important research findings that not all Islam and Muslims' media coverage is negative. Akbarzadeh & Smith (2005) argue that there was some efforts made by some journalists to shed a positive light on Australian Muslims. Such positive news stories tend to depict the ordinary life of Muslim families who are in constant efforts to destroy the wall of fear that separates them from their fellow citizens in the Australian society.

Although the study comes to the conclusion that the *Age and Herald Sun* newspapers coverage of Muslims is not Islamophobic, there remain some problems related to their way of presenting Muslims and Islam. These problems reflect an extent of discriminatio towards Muslims and their religion in the whole Australian community and not only in media and journalism.

Another interesting study about the British media and their representation of Islam and Muslims is done by Ameli (2007) about the ideology of demonization in the representation of Muslims in the various types of media outlets. He argues that his research is a re-examination of the negative representation of Muslims and Islam in the Western media but this time through the lens of three different media genres: television news, mainstream cinema, and canonical and popular literature. Ameli (2007) asserts that his report does not only reveal how Islam and Muslims are portrayed in a specific frame

of reference but also to examine media's ability to alter such reference. Through the examination of “representation” process in such media outlets, he aims to highlight media's potential of influencing the public views and their understanding of social facts and realities.

Ameli's report (2007) follows a sociological approach based on surveys and interviews and followed by a content analysis of different news programs of BBC news, Newsnight, and Chanel4. The study reports on the production and news coverage of events that followed the 7/7 Attacks in London. Ameli's study reveals that the intertwining of historical narratives, majority political language and representation of the Muslim/ other Oriental all form a part of a discourse that creates strong power relations where the majority is not only strong and present through a numerical supremacy, but rather it is intellectually and morally superior than the demonized minority different 'other. Also, he finds that what the public (Muslim and non-Muslim) understand about Islam and Muslims in general and British Muslims in Particular is deeply related to Muslims 'representation not only in the media but also in the entire social system of the West.

Islam in the media continues to draw the attention of researchers in many fields, especially in the social sciences. Following the narratives about Islam and Muslims in the U.S print news media that Islam is a threat to the Western cultures, Joseph and D'harlingue (2012) conducted a study on the representation of Islam in Wall Street Journal to examine whether this newspaper continues to reinforce negative images about Islam or it is an exception.

Joseph and D'halinguer (2012) study is an attempt to examine how Islam and Muslims are constructed through the representational framework of a leading U.S newspaper. This investigation tries to analyze Op-Ed commentaries published in the period of 2000 and 2007 about Islam and Muslims which are written by independent writers who presumably do not represent the view or ideology of the newspaper owners.

The investigation has found that there is a convergence of patterns in the Wall Street Journal's commentaries published between January 2000 and July 2007. Joseph and D'Harlingue (2012) assert that "the commentaries from a cohesive constellation of thematic, which collectively essentialize and disparage Islam, Muslims and Arabs and Muslim Americans". Although the intent of the editors has not been investigated, the researchers claim that a close reading of the investigated commentaries reflect a resemblance of an editorial point of view.

Joseph and D'Harlingue (2012) come to the conclusion that their study reveals that the Wall Street Journal uses a symbolic direction to reproduce subjectivities, imaginaries, knowledge, antagonism, affinities and identities which construct the Muslim and Islam as probable targets of disciplinary actions and violence even the Muslim citizens of the United States.

2.5.2 Women in News Discourse

In this section, we try to investigate the presence of women in the news media. We shed light on the way women are represented, reported and described in media reports. Papers included are from those most powerful and democratic countries in the world including France, UK, Italy and Australia. We will see if women are equally represented and reported similar to their men counterparts in the media of the well-established democracies in the world. The representation of women in news discourse has drawn a considerable attention among researchers and specialists in gender studies and media discourse. How are women and their activities and practices reported in the news media? Are women reported negatively or positively?

Caldas-Coulthard (1993) claims that media give less space for women to voice their presence in societies and marginalize their contributions, thus placing media in the defensive as one of those social institutions that encode bias and reinforce the reproduction of social disparities between men and women. In her research on the representation of women in the British broadsheets such as the Guardian, the Independent,

the Telegraph and the Times, Caldas-Coulthard (1993) found that women are represented, described, and reported differently from their male counterparts. She (1993, p. 20) asserts that:

Quality newspapers see women as a minority group that is marginalized by being denied the role of speakers... Women are far from being in powerful positions. The striking disparities between the two genders make clear a disparity which most people do not reflect upon.

By considering women as a social minority group, the British quality newspapers denied the right of women to be active participants in the social and cultural life of the British society. This denial is in fact a reflection of the weak position women occupy in the social strata and the existence of a huge gender gap between men and women in Britain. Instead of doing their role of promoting equality and democracy and battling sexism, the British quality newspapers seem to add insult to injury. They seem to reinforce and reproduce gender inequality in their news discourse.

Former Canadian Prime minister Kim Campbell (1993) blamed her party's loss directly on the media. She quoted "New politics, old media ... when you are not a traditional politician, they do not know what to make of you " (qtd in Gidengil & Everitt, p.210,2003). Campbell's quote indicates that the Canadian media seem to fall behind the rapid growth and changes in the social and political life in Canada. Women are no longer filing the bottom of the political pyramid. Rather, they challenge the status quo and are neck and neck with their male counterparts to occupy higher political status. Campbell's speech has drawn the attention of media to consider female politicians and their activities. Gidengil and Everitt (2003) carried out a study on the way the speeches of the political female leaders are reported in the news reports of TV coverage of 1993 and 1997 Canadian elections. The study has shown that political female speeches were reported in a more negative way with more aggressive language than their male counterparts.

Gidengil & Everitt (2003) come to the conclusion that being new to the domain of politics and leadership, women's speeches and actions are likely to attract more analysis

and interpretation. Their contentious performance has also drawn an excessive attention. They claim that “the traditional news frames, in short, results in sex-differentiated coverage, and this hurts, not helps women's chances of electoral success (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003).

In Australia, a country that is associated with Western norms and values, ex-Prime Minister Julia Gillard made parliamentary speech in 2012 where she accused her political opponent of sexism and misogyny. In an attempt to report media reactions to such outspoken critics and accusations made by the female Prime Minister, Donaghue (2015) analyzed the media reactions to Gillard’s misogyny speech. Inspired by critical discourse analysis approaches, Donaghue (2015) examined how the issues of sexism, and the motives for and consequences of making allegations of sexism were discursively constructed. Donaghue (2015) comes to the conclusion that there were two striking portraits of Gillard’s speech. In one, basically in the international level, Gillard’s speech was praised as appropriate; inspiring and an important step to tackle the issue of sexism and misogyny in the world. In the other view, representing Australian national news media, Gillard is presented as "conniving, weak and unscrupulous" by her dishonest accusation of her political detractors of sexism and misogyny is no more than a failed attempt to achieve base political aims. The Australian news coverage opaquely accused Gillard of playing the gender card to hide her political failure.

Moreover, considering the status of women in other European countries is also important. Italy is one of those pioneering democracies in Europe. In a research that investigated the linguistic sexism in the news coverage of women ministers in four Italian governments, Sensales, G., Areni, A., & Dal Secco, A. (2016) try to shed light on how media exploit language to reinforce stereotypical feminine representation of women politicians. This report follows a social-psychological perspective to demonstrate how Italian newspapers news coverage represents women politicians.

Sansales *et al.* (2016) study shows how Italian newspapers are not performing their leading role in battling sexism and promoting changes in societies. On the contrary, this study demonstrates how Italian newspapers over utilize sexism language in their reports especially in the headlines to decline women politicians the chances to be supported and reinforce the chances of their male opponents. According to them, such linguistic sexism employed by newspaper's discourse in their coverage of women politicians activities “proves functional to eclipse women's active contribution to maintain their secondary role and reproduce their lower status, and to preserve politics as essentially alien to the female universe” (Sansales et al, p.460,2016).

From Italy to its neighbor France, the status of women in the media does not seem to be much different. Vrain (2015) conducted a research on the representation of women in the French media. In an article published in *Le Monde* newspaper about the presence of women in the French media, she observed that the presence of women falls down 20% of the people cited or in those who appear in pictures. The study considered four main French newspapers: *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Parisien* and *Libération*. Vrain (2015 p.66) stresses that “we can say that the presentation of women in the articles that favorite ideas and the speech of individuals has never been seen in the French media”.

As far as sexism against women politician is concerned, Vrain (2015) claims that the examples of such sexism by journalists are unlimited and the topics addressed are recurrent. The dressing code and the private life of women politicians occupied most of the articles written about French women politicians. Instead of focusing on women's contributions and achievements in the political and social level, news coverage about women politicians seem to address other trivial issues such as the private life and coding dress of women.

Finally, we closed this section about women in the news media by pointing to the status of women in the Arab and Muslim media. In her PhD thesis EI Biadi(2001) investigated the language of Moroccan newspaper to discover whether men and women

are presented differently. Drawing on systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), El Biadi (2001) aims at scrutinizing the linguistic dynamics incorporated by Moroccan popular newspapers in their representation of both genders.

Through a quantitative and qualitative analysis, El Biadi (2001) study has shown that the newspapers under investigation have an unequal representation of men and women at all levels of experiential, interpersonal and textual functions presented by SFG. El Biadi (2001p.360) asserts that:

The linguistic examination of the newspaper texts brings to light that ideologies to gender are reproduced and consolidated in the linguistic structure of the Moroccan newspapers. They are by this, consolidated and perpetuated as the norms around which gender identities should be built in Moroccan popular culture.

To sum up, we believe that women, in both Western and Third World, almost receive similar negative representation in the media. This latter seem to constitute a strong cultural institution for the production and reproduction of unequal social relationships between men and women. Research on media representation of women has shown that the most highly- regarded democratic and free countries that claim equality between genders are the ones where sexism and misogyny are so frequent and reinforced by the media.

2.5.3 Muslim Women in the Media

We continue with research that deals with Islam in the West and this time the topic is about Muslim women. Fahmy (2004) undertook study on images of Afghan women as taken by the Associated Press (AP). This study is a content analysis of the depiction of Afghan women during Taliban's rule and after its fall. Fahmy's research can be considered as a 'reality check' study. She argues that early anecdotal evidence claims that soon the Taliban are overthrown from the power, Afghan women will be absolutely liberated and reclaim their status in the Afghan society. Accordingly, Western media would report new images of them. Fahmy's study will show, through an analysis of images taken by AP, the extent by which Western speculations towards Afghan Women were true.

Fahmy (2004) suggests that her analysis produced a kind of mixed findings. Unlike the overoptimistic speculation of Western media that Afghan women will take off their burqa celebrating the overthrow of Taliban across Afghanistan, a content analysis of photographs taken by AP has shown that the majority of women after the fall of the Taliban regime were still depicted as wearing their burqa. She concludes that such speculations demonstrate how less simplistic is the vision of Afghan women liberation in the West.

The most intriguing finding in this research is the overwhelming images of Afghan women without veil or burqa being published in Western media such as photographs of women laughing while taking off their burqa, despite the fact that only less than one percent of photographs analyzed in AP portray women's hair or faces. Fahmy (2004, p.15) claims that “we now know that photographs of Afghan women without the veil were only glimpses of an uncommon social reality in Afghanistan”. So why do Western media outlets draw on such minority coverage and select to portray an unrealistic image of Afghan women?

Fahmy answers this question by drawing on Lang and Lang's conclusions (1952) that Western media may want to create an exaggerated impression through the selection of images of women taking off their veils. Thus supporting the military actions taking place against Taliban in the mission of liberating Afghan women and help them throw off the shackles of that tyrant regime.

Moreover, she goes on to argue her research findings that the idea of women's liberation according to Western ideals in American media, though most of the images taken still depicting women covered up, go hand in hand with Pulmutter's (1998) conclusions. This latter assumes that American news media oversimplify and decontextualize foreign affairs news to the American public by finding symbols that match with Western ideals about appropriate social policies.

Another study that deals with Muslim women and their representation in the Western media is Falah's (2005) research on the visual representation of Muslim/Arab women in some U.S daily newspapers. He attempted to examine the process by which images and knowledge about Muslims/Arab women are being produced in some U.S print media. He argues that his aim is not to show how negative and bias is the representation of Muslim women in the Western media since this has been already proven by previous research; rather the aim is to uncover how such negative meaning are attached to Muslim women and how newspapers produce and reproduce them.

Falah's (2005) report is an analysis of images dealing with Muslim/Arab women published by some U.S newspapers between two disastrous incidents: September, 11, 2001 attacks and the Iraq invasion in March, 2003. The newspapers in question are: the Columbus Dispatch, Chicago Tribune, the Plain Dealer, and the Los Angeles Times. Falah (2005) takes on four key areas of coverage: the aftermath of 9/11 attacks, U.S military intervention in Afghanistan, the lead up to the war on Iraq, and the ongoing Palestine Intifada.

This study assumes that images of Muslim/Arab women published in U.S newspapers echo two paradoxical motifs. First, women are seen as passive victims and second, they are portrayed as active political agents. Each of the two motifs underlay a number of subtexts. The latter, are not set to evoke neither the sympathy nor the empathy of the viewer, but to create a kind of self-righteousness or to trigger a kind of moral disgust among the readers.

Falah's study is a systematic survey set to show how newspapers use images and captions to communicate specific political ideas. Through a careful selection of photographs and captions, editors follow particular ways to depict the geopolitical realities that lead the reader or the viewer to construct the "other" in narrow terms. Falah asserts that "what we see within images of current events in Palestine, Iraq and

Afghanistan is that the geopolitics of the Middle East are being viewed and interpreted through a specifically gendered lens” (ibid p.30)

To sum up, Falah's report comes to the conclusion that images selected by editors are not solely there to report on the political turmoil in the Middle East and Afghanistan rather, they are set to convey the positive impacts of the liberating mission of the U.S. armed forces. Even if some newspapers show a kind of skepticism towards the U.S. military intervention in the Middle East and Afghanistan, it seems that editorial decision makers and government policies are equally liable to see Muslim communities through backward and dysfunctional lenses.

The studies about Muslims and Muslim women in the Western media continue to draw the attention of scholars and researchers with an important dissertation realized by Eltantawy(2007). She undertook a research on U.S. media representation of Muslim/Arab women always post to 9/11 attacks with the aim of deepening the understanding of women presence and representation in relation to religion, society politics and the economy.

Eltantawy's report is in fact an attempt to present and examine the various stereotypes used by Western reporters to report on Muslim/Arab women their appearance, status, roles, obligations and many other issues. Moreover, the analysis entails an examination of an overt element of texts to expose overt words, phrases, and descriptions used in reference to Arab/ Muslim women. Also, covert meanings embedded in the articles are tackled based on details such as sources/experts, opinion relied on, story focus organization, and presence or lack of opinions taken from Arab/Muslim women.

Eltantawy (2007) finds that her study reflects distorted portrayals of Muslim/Arab women. She argues that the main focus of Western reporters continued to be on Muslim women's hijab and their appearance. This later is very often regarded as a sign of backwardness and oppression. These findings echo how the Western media are still caught up by the Muslim veil.

In addition to that, this study comes to the conclusion that for many times newspapers' coverage of Muslim/Arab women exaggerates exceptional problems in the Arab world and presents them as if they are dominant features of the region. Issues like female genital mutilation, forced marriages, and honor crimes are the main preferred topics in Western media. Yet Eltantawy argues that the coverage usually lacks proper context and thus strengthens the frame of the victimized and helpless Muslim/Arab women.

2.5.3.1 Muslim Women Issues

It has become a widespread belief that Muslim women have specific issues related to them. The problems they face and the challenges they encounter are different to those of their fellows in the West or in other parts of the world. However, this does not mean necessarily that the situation and the problems of Muslim women are the worst. Instances from many Muslim majority countries have shown that a lot of Muslim women have succeeded to get powerful status and to have influence on their societies. Muslim female writers such as Assia Djabar, Ahlem Moustaganmi, and Fatima Mernissi, politicians such as Benazir Bhutto and Megawati Sukarnoputri are just examples to cite. Yet, there are some such as Al-Ali (2002) who thinks that what women are facing everywhere in the world from issues such as poverty, illiteracy, political oppression and patriarchy which are the worst enemies of women around the globe. Although we agree to a certain extent with the above claim that Muslim women suffer similar problems like other women in any part of the world, we think that there are some specific issue that only discusses in relation to Muslim women.

After the 9/11attacks, the perception of Islam and Muslims has taken even a more delicate perception in the west. As minority groups in the Western societies, questions have been raised about Muslim's faith, their practices and their perception of western life and how such parameters influence them to take violent actions. Muslim women related issues such as the hijab or the dressing code, the role of women in terrorism, education

and political and social oppression have been widely scrutinized by the Western thought. The Muslim women issue that dominates the discussion of MW is their Hijab.

- **The Muslim Women's Hijab**

The linguistic definition of the word *hijab* refers to two aspects: the piece of cloth and to the religious code of women dress. The Oxford Online Dictionary defines the word "hijab" as a head covering worn in public by some Muslim women; or it refers to the religious code which governs the wearing of the hijab itself.

However, the "hijab" for Muslim women might mean a different thing for many Muslim women around the Muslim world. Al Ali (2002) provides various Muslim women's concepts of the veil. Some women wear it for the sake of being taken seriously, not harassed and show some autonomy. Others would see it differently. They think that wearing hijab is self-defeating and put women in vulnerable position as dependent on men. Few would regard hijab as a physical barrier to separate women from unrelated men in her home. Such views stem from the fact that wearing the hijab is not an agreed upon subject in Muslim majority countries. Some even think that hijab is an obstacle towards women liberation and progress. Yet, the topic of the hijab has been studied totally from a different perspective in Western societies. Researchers identify two different periods for the perception of the Muslim women veil.

The first view is an archaic vision influenced by the orientalist perspectives about the Muslim and Arab world. An exotic image of a world of dictators, belly dancers and rich petro-monarchies has dominated the conscience of the West for centuries. Along with these Orientalist perspectives, the Muslim women's veil received severe critique from the west as a symbol of "Subjugation in a large patriarchic structure" (Aziz , Shar, Oxford Islamic Studies). The West perception of the veil and their critique created a kind of tolerance and pity, especially by feminist activists, toward Muslim women as being

oppressed and forcedly pushed by their husbands or parents to cover their hair and bodies. However, this view has dramatically changed after the 9/11 attacks.

In 2004, the BBC World news website published an article suggesting that “The Islamic headscarf has become one of the most hotly disputed items of clothing in Europe”. The issue of the hijab has continued to draw the West attention but not in the same way. Suddenly, the feminist’s defending approach has disappeared paving the way for the new rhetoric of protecting ourselves from enemies (Muslim terrorists) within our borders. Muslims in general and Muslim women wearing hijab witnessed difficult times. In the street, in the work place and in public places veiled women have been targets to racial and violent acts. Moreover, the situation has been worsening in many parts of the Western democratic countries. In 2004, the French government issued a law that forbids wearing the hijab in public schools. Other countries, such as Germany and Belgium, wanted to join the French decision and ban the wearing of hijab and burqa. Recently, the burkini ban in the French beaches has brought the problem of Muslim women dress into light once more. Yet, the situation is not similar in all parts of Europe. In England for instance, Muslim women have no problem in wearing their Islamic dress or practicing their religion because there is yet no law that forbids wearing the veil in public spaces.

All in all, we think the issue of Muslim women dress, their hijab, veil or burqa, or whatever they call it, is the topic that receives much debate and discussion about Muslim women living in the West. From a symbol of oppression that reflects patriarchic structure of the Muslim world to a symbol of bigotry, religious extremism and terrorism, Muslim women hijab is still a matter of dispute both in the West and in the Arab world.

2.5.3.2 Muslim Women in Orientalism

According to Thomas (2016), the term Orientalism denotes the study and analysis of the cultural practices in the East. It has no single fixed meaning as it has gone through different phases in its history. In earlier discourse, it had a wider scope and was seen in a

positive light. It was associated with the considerable efforts made by Western scholars in studying Turkish, Arabic, Indic, Hebrew, Chinese and Persian cultures.

However, the term has been a subject of a much heated debate after the introduction of Said's radical and original book *Orientalism* (1978). According to Said (qt in Sugirtharajah, 2012), *Orientalism* goes beyond the analysis of Eastern tradition and cultures to a more hidden and suspicious purpose. It is about exercising the Western power and prejudice over the Orient by the systematic representation, codification and classification of the knowledge about Eastern cultures and traditions. Said has blatantly accused and criticized the Western representation of Islamic and Arabic culture as deviant and precarious.

According to Sugirtharajah (2012), *Orientalism* is an epistemological institution that produced a huge amount of knowledge about the Muslim Arab world that bears little resemblance to reality. Orientalists' first motive to introduce the exotic Arab world to the West stems from their presumed superiority over the Eastern people and that they are able to talk about their cultural practices better than the natives of the East themselves. Sugirtharajah (2012) stresses that this Orientalist view is also influenced by a dichotomous perspective that represents the West as active, rational, masculine, and progressive and the 'other' or the East as mysterious, passive, effeminate, irrational, historical and decadent. Moreover, Yegenoglu (1998, p.2) argues that "the discursive constitution of Otherness is achieved simultaneously through sexual as well as cultural modes of differentiation". Hence, we argue that the topic of Muslim and Arab women played a central role in the elaboration of the Orientalists' prejudiced images about the Muslim and Arab world.

Zine (2006) argues that the war on terror recreates the existing Orientalist views and discourses about Muslim women in a creative way. He states that the post-9/11 attacks coverage of Muslims and Muslim women depicts "Muslims as dangerous foreigners, terrorists, and threat to public safety and render Muslim women as victims of

their anachronistic faith, lacking agency and voice”. Hence, the role of Orientalist views in shaping the Muslim women images are still evident and consists of an instrumental source of information and conceptions about Muslims in general and Muslim women in particular for the media and the other social and cultural institutions in the West.

2.6 Conclusion

The media occupy an instrumental role in the life of societies. In addition to their role in spreading news and information through its various communication schemes, the media also play a role in shaping people’s views and beliefs about many social topics and phenomena. There are various methods of studying media discourse; among them is the widespread approach of conversational analysis and the new elaborated methods of critical discourse analysis. Issues related to the access of the media, its economic and political orientations are also pivotal in understanding media discourse. Finally, previous research on the images and representation of Islam, women and Muslims has shown that they are negatively represented in the Western media.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methods and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the various research tools used to answer the research questions of the study. The procedure of data collections and data analysis are described rigorously. The research tools used in this study are corpus linguistics (CL), Transitivity Analysis and CDA. Also, it tries to give a historical overview of the British national press in general and the Daily Telegraph in particular.

Journalism in Britain is an inveterate cultural practice that dates back to the 16th century. There are two different types of press: tabloids and broadsheets. Each has its specific characteristics and its readers and followers. The *Daily Telegraph*, the subject of our analysis, is said to be one of the most influential broadsheets in Britain. The articles that deal with Muslim women in the Daily Telegraph and which form the data of this research were collected by using some online platforms. Also, the data were organized in different files to facilitate its analysis.

The tools for data analysis include Transitivity Analysis from Halliday's Functional Grammar, CL and CDA. Each one of these analytical methods is described in detail along its various procedures and techniques. Also, we will explain how and why these methods are chosen and how they will serve to answer our research questions.

3.2 British National Press

This section is set to introduce briefly the British national press. The aim is to familiarize ourselves as well as the readers of our study with some terms, distinctive features, statistics and other issues related to the various types of British press. The history of the British press goes back to the 16th century. Newspapers in Britain witnessed noticeable changes and developments reflecting and reporting on the various remarkable incidents that took place in the British history. The popularity of newspapers in the life of the British people is mirrored in the availability of newspapers at both national and local levels. There exist a number of local papers that entertain and report solely on local issues such as *The Evening Post* in Bristol and *The Echo* in Cardiff. On the other hand, national

newspapers include *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Independent*. Therefore, it is clear that the national/local distinction is one of the various parameters by which British national newspapers are categorized.

In addition to the local/national criterion, the British press enjoys a range of different types. First, British Newspapers are distinguished in terms of their frequency, i.e., the newspaper appears daily, on Sunday, or on a weekly basis. Second, they are categorized according to their political stance, i.e., some newspapers are supportive of the left-wing political stance; others are rightists while some others are regarded as centrists or independent. Finally, according to Baker (2013), British newspapers are labeled in terms of style (broadsheets, tabloids or middle market).

Tabloids are considered as popular press. Their audience is usually that of the working class. In terms of style, tabloids have a bold layout (they use bold colored typeface), shorter articles written in simple language and very often large and dramatic images are included. As far as topics are concerned, tabloids focus on gossip stories that deal with celebrities. On the other hand, broadsheets are regarded as serious or quality press. They target high educated social classes. They use plain layout (with limited use or no use of colors), longer in-depth articles written in sophisticated language with headlines that highlight serious or shocking hard news.

As far as our study is concerned, we have been keen on the tabloid/broadsheet distinction. A decision is made that tabloids are excluded from the study because of their popular language and their tendency to exaggerate in reporting stories without any in-depth analysis. Hence, a preliminary choice falls on studying how British quality press with their serious reporting, unbiased representation and quality analysis, tend to represent Muslim women.

However, British broadsheets hold different political and ideological affiliations. For instance, while *The Guardian* is regarded as a left-wing socialist newspaper, *The Telegraph* is said to be a right-wing conservative media outlet. Hence, both papers stand

on the opposite extremes which results in somewhat two different ways of reporting news and representing social actors and events. Consequently, drawing conclusions from such a study might be questionable because we assume that the political and ideological affiliation of newspapers affects their way of representing social events and social objects.

Moreover, studying all British broadsheets ends up with gathering a huge amount of data and dealing with a lot of variables; this means that the study would take a longer time and space more than what it is allocated for. For these reasons we have decided to work only on one broadsheet newspaper; the *Daily Telegraph*, which was in fact not chosen randomly. The choice is made according to some personal as well as practical reasons.

As a regular reader of the British newspapers in general and the Telegraph in particular I feel a kind of skepticism, unease, bias or even sometimes irritation when these newspapers report stories about Muslims in general and Muslim women in particular. I wanted to clarify such skepticism and put the unpleasant conclusions under scientific scrutiny to unveil whether what I feel is empathy towards anything Islamic or it is rather a real hidden reality that has to be unveiled. A good step towards realizing such a personal objective is using my knowledge of the English language and linguistics to analyze how Muslim women are reported about in *The Telegraph*.

Moreover, the Telegraph is chosen for its adherence to the right-wing political spectrum and it is likely to hold and support the political, social and economic views of the Conservative Party, the first political power in UK at the time we conducted our data (starting in 2010). Led by the conservative, eloquent and influential David Cameron, the Conservative Party has overthrown the Labors in the 2010 parliamentary elections to come into power since then. Since the majority of the British voted for the conservatives and the Telegraph is the voice of this party we assume that this newspaper reflects the views and perceptions of most of the British people especially when it comes to religion and minorities.

Finally, the *Telegraph* is chosen because of its popularity and wide readership or circulation. According to the National Readership Survey (2010), the *Telegraph* is the most circulated and most read broadsheet in the UK with about 631,280 copies distributed and about 1,680,000 estimated readers. Table 3.1 shows the top rated quality newspapers in terms of readership and circulation.

Table 3.1 Readership and Circulation Estimates 2010

Newspaper	Circulation	Readership
Telegraph	631, 280	1,680,000
Times	448,463	1,565, 000
Guardian	264, 819	1,103,000
Independent	175,002	532,000

According to Baker, Gabrielatos and Mcennry (2013), British newspapers are in furious competition for readers because they do not receive government funding. The same thing could be said about readers who do not buy newspapers or even read them if they do not represent their views and interests. So, we believe that as newspapers influence and shape readers' attitude and opinions, readers also have their share in building newspapers' orientations and reflect their perceptions. Baker *et al.* (2013) assume that a good example of that is the remarkable decrease of *The Sun's* readership after it stood against the invasion of Iraq in 2003. It is safe to say that research in the media and their linguistic representation of things is fertile and multi-faceted. Although tabloids popular newspapers are excluded from this study in spite of their large circulation and readership, we still believe that a study that includes such kind of press would reveal interesting results. Moreover, we believe that a comparative study between how different quality press newspapers represent Muslim women would also reveal fascinating findings. After we discussed the rationale behind the choice of quality press over popular

one, and why the Telegraph is chosen over other quality papers, we believe it is equally important to briefly introduce to our readers the newspaper under scrutiny.

3.2.1 About the Telegraph

The *Daily Telegraph*, or simply the *Telegraph* as it is commonly referred to, is a British national daily broadsheet newspaper published in London, UK by the *Telegraph* Media Group with a wide circulation within the UK as well as beyond its offshore. The paper was first created by Arthur B. Sleigh as the *Daily Telegraph* and Courier in 1855. Described as one of “the world’s greatest titles” (BBC, 2016), the Telegraph is widely acknowledged as a national “newspaper of record” thanks to its high quality coverage of news reports and stories from around the globe. Moreover, the paper enjoys a good international reputation and has been classified for many years among the most circulated English newspapers. The *Telegraph* has two versions: the first one appears daily and it is called the *Daily Telegraph* while the other appears weekly and it is called the *Sunday Telegraph*. The two papers have different editors and staff.

As far as its political affiliation is concerned, *The Telegraph* never hesitated to show its support to the Conservative Party. The strong links that exist between the Telegraph editors and the Conservative leaders in addition to the paper’s right wing stance resulted in the Telegraph commonly called as the ‘Torygraph’. This kind of political and ideological relationship between the Tories and the Telegraph is one of the reasons for choosing this paper as our fieldwork. The aim is to reveal not only how the newspaper depicts Muslim women but also how the government sees them since we believe *The Telegraph* reflects most of the Conservative government views.

No doubt that the remarkable online presence of *The Telegraph* since 1998 has a strong impact for its international reputation. *Telegraph.co.uk* is the online version of the newspaper. It uses banner title *The Telegraph* that report from the Daily Telegraph print edition as well as the weekly edition of Sunday Telegraph. The website also includes web-based content such as breaking news, features, picture galleries, video and audio

recordings, and blogs. The paper is also present in most of the social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn. The Telegraph website was named by the Association of Online Publishers (AOP) UK consumer website of the year in 2007 and the Digital publisher of the year in 2009.

As far as the present study is concerned, the ability to analyze the paper edition of *The Telegraph* is beyond our reach. It would take much time, efforts and costs to gather the papers' archive of five years and look for articles that point to Muslim women. Hence, we prefer to work on the electronic version of the Telegraph for its feasibility and practicality. *The Telegraph* website contains a search space that allows readers and researchers to browse and search within the archive of the newspaper since its first appearance online. Therefore, we will use the term *The Telegraph* to refer to the electronic version of the newspaper from where we collected our data.

To sum up, we believe that the British press has a strong presence in the life of the British people. As already mentioned, British papers are issued in two main types: broadsheets and tabloids. Each newspaper embraces a political and economical stance. *The Telegraph* is the most read and most circulated quality newspaper in Britain with a strong international reputation as well.

3.2.2 Online Journalism

By the beginning of the 21st century the online industry started to spread in many areas such as technology, health, education and the media. Such fields were so keen of the great influence of the internet and its great potentials in reaching new markets in capitalist knowledge-based societies. According to Baker *et al.* (2013), statistics have shown a remarkable decline of traditional newspapers' influence. Sales have decreased critically in the period between 2000 and 2009. For instance, *The Sun*, the best selling newspaper, has sold only 2,899,310 copies in December 2008 compared to up to 3,500,000 in 2000. This decline, as Baker *et al.* (2013) argue, is caused by the new digitalized world of Television channels and web-based social media that succeeded in giving readers what they get from

newspapers in addition to other things that cannot be delivered by traditional papers such as blogs, breaking news and so on. For this reason, newspapers' owners have decided to join the internet and conquer the World Wide Web.

Consequently, although some might argue that the traditional newspapers continue their decline toward full disappearance, their presence in web-based electronic format has rather widened their influence in both national and international scales. All national and local British newspapers nowadays have got their own websites. Thanks to the internet, I had my first contact with British press in general and *The Telegraph* in particular. Hence, we believe that thanks to the internet newspapers maintain their importance and influence through their varied representation of social events and social actors.

3.3 Data Collection

As far as data collection is concerned, we have relied on *The Telegraph* online website www.telegraph.co.uk in collecting the articles that deal with Muslim women issues. As mentioned in the previous section, online journalism is taking over the print newspaper industry. It enables newspapers to reach new markets across the globe and meet the need of more and more consumers which would expand and raise the papers' investments and benefits and expand their influence.

Although most of the online newspapers allow for an open access into their content, the case was not the same for the *Telegraph* which charges 60£ for an annual access to the content it provides. I have contacted the newspapers' office and told them about my study and the difficulty I get in paying the charges. The answer was negative. There was no other solution but to purchase an access. This incident would give us a small picture about the *Daily Telegraph* economical strategies.

The researcher used the Lexis Nexis database in order to access to the Telegraph archive and collected the data of the study. Lexis Library is an international database of case law and legislation. It also includes some full-text journals, newspaper articles from major UK newspapers and has a good coverage of company and market reports. All what

researchers need to do is to type a search term and choose the field to obtain the appropriate results. The Lexis Library includes the archive of all British newspapers collected in different format and ready to be used and explored.

As mentioned above, the online newspaper database, Lexis Library, was used to collect Telegraph articles that point to the phrase “Muslim women”. The following search terms were used to query the daily, weekly and online versions of the Telegraph held in the archive between 1 January 2010 and 31 December 2016: *Muslim women OR Arab women OR Muslim woman OR Arab woman*. The search term has to appear anywhere in the article which means that any article where one of the search terms appears at least once is included, even if the article is not about Muslim women. As the search terms indicate, the articles are too specific to Muslim women although we believe that the used search terms would not have captured articles that deal with some issues related to Muslim women, in particular terms such as veil, *hijab*, *niqab*, or some that point to some personalities or events. Such terms were not included in order not to orientate the data towards any specific topics. So, the data will speak for themselves and topics that will be investigated will be chosen objectively.

As for the period of coverage, we have chosen to collect articles that appeared between 2010 and 2016. There are two main reasons for this choice. First, there are many studies that were conducted to investigate how Muslims are reported in the media in general and the press in particular before 2010. We want our research to be a continuation of such studies that deal with Muslims in general and Muslim women in particular. We will investigate the issue and check whether our research results are similar to previous studies in the literature or there are some changes or developments in the ways Muslim women are represented. Second, the topic of Muslim women has been a popular subject in the media since the 2010 Arab Spring Revolution and the rise of Islamist Parties and their controversial views about women, the rise of ISIS and its relationship with the so-called “Jihadi school girls”. In addition, this relates to the heated debates about Muslim women veiling in many parts of Europe such as the 2010 French law that called for a ban of face-

covering in public spaces as well as the Belgium and Switzerland campaigns toward a ban of the *hijab* in their territories. Moreover, in 2014 author and activist Shelina Janmohamed wrote for the *Telegraph* a provocative article entitled as “*Muslim women bodies, the hottest property in 2014*” where she revealed that the topic of Muslim women has dominated the news in Britain but unfortunately for the wrong reasons as it has reduced the issues of Muslim women to their dress and veiling. Hence, we believe that the issue of Muslim women in this period (2010-2016) has been a fertile topic for the press and it is worth a scientific investigation to reveal how and why Muslim women are depicted the way they are.

3.3.1 Rationale of the Study

There are three main motives behind the choice of this study. First, despite the overwhelming research conducted on the issues of Islam and Muslims in the late 15 years (Richardson, 2004; Baker, 2012; Baker *et al*, 2013), especially post 9/11 attacks, little has been done to investigate the heated and controversial topic of Muslim women. Therefore, this study tries to shed light on the issue of Muslim women as one of the prominent topics in the British media that receives little interest from academics and researchers. Second, this study uses CDA, a research approach that is directed to investigate social problems to unveil unequal powerful and ideological relationships in societies in order to fight and demolish cultural, social and religious prejudices. Hence, we aim at revealing the prejudice Muslim women are facing because of the assumed *Telegraph* misrepresentation of them and their issues. Finally, this study tries to incorporate corpus linguistics in CDA analysis in order to reduce research bias and highlight the potentials of corpus linguistics and its practicality while combined with CDA. Although corpus linguistics has been used widely in media analysis and discourse studies, it has not attracted critical discourse analysts’ attention and few have applied it in their studies (Baker, 2012; Baker *et al*, 2013).

3.3.2 Research Questions

The issue of Muslim women has always been a disputable topic in the British newspapers. Muslim women's practices came to light after the 9/11 attacks and reached climax in recent years. Among the various British newspapers that deal with Muslim women issues is the Daily Telegraph, regarded among the most influential, serious and unbiased broadsheets not only in Britain but also in many parts of the world. However, this newspaper does not reflect the same qualities while dealing with Muslim women issues. While reading its articles that deal with Muslim women, one cannot but feel that these issues are dealt with in a problematic way. Having said that, this study will answer the following research question:

1. How are Muslim women discursively represented in *The Telegraph*?

This question is set to investigate the language use and linguistic techniques in the *Telegraph* and features that portray Muslim women. Through the use of textual analysis, we will attempt to check the extent to which biased or unbiased language is used and stereotypical presentations and religious prejudice in addressing Muslim women issues. This is done through an investigation of the key topics used to address Muslim women, the way they are represented in those topics, and why those topics have been chosen instead of others.

In order to answer these questions we will apply a qualitative and quantitative textual analysis informed by the use two approaches: the descriptive quantitative analysis of corpus linguistics and the qualitative analysis of Transitivity systems of Functional Grammar.

- Does The Telegraph give opportunity to Muslim women to voice their issues?

This question is set to investigate the space that is given to Muslim women to talk about their issues and voice their needs from their own point of view.

- Can CDA as a research method help dissect the relationship between *The Telegraph* ideological background and the discursive features of its texts?

This question tries to highlight the practicality of CDA in unveiling the hidden and implicit ideologies of newspaper articles. This question will be answered by using Fairclough's (2015) three dimensional model of *description*, *interpretation*, and *explanation* to reveal how *The Telegraph* ideological background influences the way the newspapers represent Muslim women.

3.4 Research Methods

This section is discusses the research methods used to answer the research questions. It underscores the rationale behind the choice of every method and shows how these methods are set to inform one another in a complex research design. Following a pragmatic research approach based on mixing qualitative and quantitative research methods, we claim that mixing corpus linguistics with critical discourse analysis will answer the research question and yield the desirable results.

3.4.1 Corpus Linguistics

This section is set to describe corpus linguistics (CL) as one of the research methods used in this study. It takes into consideration the definition of CL and its role in discourse studies. Also, it attempts to describe the corpus tools used in this research such as keyword tool, concordance tool and collocation.

3.4.1.1 Definition of Corpus Linguistics (CL)

Generally speaking, CL is a methodology of studying language that entails investigating naturally occurring linguistic data on the basis of text corpora (written or spoken). O'Keeffe and Adolphs (2008) argue that the studies in CL have witnessed a fast growth thanks to computers' looming potentiality in storing and processing large amount of data to the extent that many linguists associate CL with "searching through screen after screen of concordance lines and wordlists generated by computers' software, in an attempt to make sense of a phenomenon in big texts or big collection of smaller texts"

(O’Keeffe and McCarthy 2010 p.3). Hence, the computerized machine is a *sin qua non* for doing CL studies.

Nesselhauf (2005) highlights the importance of computers in CL and argues that although the term *corpus* can be used to refer to any systematic collection of text, the use of the term has been narrowed down to refer solely to the systematic collection of text that have been computerized, i.e., used computers for text collection, coding and analyzing processes.

To sum up, CL is a research method used to study naturally-occurring language data. It is based on the principle of systematically collecting spoken or written text for the purpose of studying various language phenomena. Compulsory for CL analysis is the computer which is used to collect code and analyze data.

3.4.1.2 Using Corpora in Discourse Studies

It is widely accepted among linguists that CL is not a theory of language, rather it is a research method that is better used in combination with other methods (see 3.5 for more details). Hence, we have decided to use CL as one of the research methods to study the representation of MW in *The Telegraph* not only for its feasibility in answering some of the research questions, but also as an informative step towards the critical analysis of articles that deal with Muslim women.

Baker (2006) summarizes the benefits of incorporating CL in discourse studies in four main advantages which are: reducing research bias, the incremental effect of discourse, resistant and changing discourse, and triangulation. The present study follows Baker’s ideas with some limits. He uses CL along CDA for two main reasons: reduce research bias and triangulation.

- **Reduce research bias:** Baker (2006) is keen that research bias is something no one can overcome or avoid to the extent he argues about “reducing” and not “eliminating” research bias. He asserts that bias may show up in many different

forms such as conscious bias, subconscious bias and cognitive biases. Since it is almost impossible for researchers to be fully objective about their research, there are two main solutions to reduce such bias: either they explicitly acknowledge their position in the research and their personal views, or use other research methods that rely on statistics and mathematical and logical measures. In qualitative research studies in the field of language, CL has a great benefit in reducing research bias. For instance, a researcher may select data that only reflect his/her preconceived ideas and ideologies to be set for analysis like while dealing with newspaper articles; one may just select articles that hold negative or positive views and support their hypotheses. CL can help us automatically and mathematically select topics of analysis.

- **Triangulation:** Triangulation has become a widely accepted research technique. Baker (2006) asserts that post-structuralists are more inclined to apply an eclectic approach that combines quantitative and qualitative methods. Those methods are combined together to reinforce and inform each other.

Studies that combine CDA and CL have been widespread among researchers in recent years. Baker, McEnry and Gabrielatos (2013, p.261) argue that “approaches that combine together qualitative and quantitative methods are more fruitful when carrying out CDA”. Other studies that used CL in their CDA analysis include Fairclough’ (2000) study about New Labor, Piper (2000), Orpin (2005), Baker and McEnry(2005) and others.

One of the outspoken critiques to CDA is its bias and subjectivity. As it is evident in the literature of CDA pioneers, CDA is “biased and proud of it” Van Dijk (2009, p. 120). However, there has been an ongoing debate on how to reduce such bias by incorporating quantitative methods for text analysis such as the use of CL statistical tools in order to inform the critical analysis of texts.

In the same vein, the current study about Muslim women’s representation in *The Telegraph* carries out a corpus linguistic analysis in order to attain two objectives: first, as

the next section demonstrates, the corpus tool of keyword analysis helps identify key topics in a given corpus using some statistical measures. Hence, it allows us to objectively select the topics that form the discursive and linguistic analysis. Second, it is related to the first objective. It is about using corpus analysis as a first-hand analysis that is going to inform the large in-depth critical analysis and gives it a quantitative perspective.

To sum up, the rationale behind using CL in discourse studies is to reduce research bias and achieve triangulation. Although the use of CL along CDA studies is a relatively new research orientation and the benefits of such paradigm have proved to be fruitful.

3.4.1.3 Corpus Tools

This section is a brief introduction to the basic tools CL provides for texts analysis. These tools include wordlist tool, keyword analysis, concordance tool and collocation analysis. Each of these tools is going to be introduced separately in the following sections. Also, we will set the benefits and drawbacks of each tool, their importance in texts analysis and their relevance to the analysis of *The Telegraph* articles about MW.

- **Wordlist:** This is a basic tool in CL. It is set to make a list of the words used in a corpus and classifies them in terms of their rank and frequency or sometimes in an alphabetical order. Both functional and lexical items are considered in the analysis. The wordlist tool tells us the exact number of words used in a given corpus. Also, wordlist classifies words as types and tokens. For instance, if a corpus is made of 1000 words, it is supposed to have 1000 token, a lot of words could be repeated and then we will have only 500 different words or types.

Using the wordlist tool allows researchers to form a basic idea about their corpus size, lexical items used in it and shows the words that have the most frequency occurrence. Analyzing the most frequent lexical items in a given texts or corpus would tell us about texts' producer orientation and perception of the topic dealt with. For instance, analyzing the most frequent words in Trump's speech about immigration would tell us about his perception of this topic and reveals whether he positively or negatively

conceptualize immigrants because words are not neutral concepts; rather, they are politically and ideologically loaded.

As far as the present study of MW representation in *The Telegraph* is concerned, a wordlist tool is used to make a general description of the MWTC. It is used to provide information about the corpus size, the number of its types and tokens, the top frequent words, the top frequent lexical items and to measure the MWTC type/ token ratio.

However, analyzing top ten frequent words in a given corpus would not tell much about it. Further analysis of lexical items is required. For this purpose, CL introduces another tool that would help researchers go deep into understanding the use of lexis in a given corpus. This tool is called keyword analysis.

- **Keyword Analysis** : Křen, Cvrček, & Čapka, (2016) define keywords as “words which appear in a text or a corpus that are statistically more frequent than would be expected by chance when compared to a corpus which is larger or of equal size”

As mentioned above, wordlist tool is able to generate a list of all words used in a corpus along their frequency of occurrence. Such frequency however, is not a direct indicator of the most important topics, themes or events in a corpus. Rather, keywords are indicators of the prominent themes in a given corpus.

Describing the specificities of a given text or a corpus is very often done through comparing this text with another reference corpus. So, building another corpus is compulsory for processing keyword analysis. The rationale behind keyword analysis is that if a “word or a part of speech occurs more frequently in the text being analyzed in comparison with a reference corpus, this is often an indicator of some interesting aspects of the style or content of the text being analyzed” (Seale and Charteris-Black 2010, p. 3). Hence, keyword analysis reveals “aboutness” and text style.

It is worth mentioning that the most frequent words in a corpus are not necessarily its key words, otherwise, function words such as the definite article “the” or pronouns are

always key words in any keyword analysis because they are the most frequent words in most corpora. Keyness is therefore measured on the basis of its statistical significance of its frequency. Philip (2011) asserts that words included in a keyword list are those that show an unusually high frequency or unusually low frequency in comparison with the frequency that would be expected on the basis of the word list from the reference corpus.

- **Reference corpus:** A reference corpus is essentially compiled in order to statistically compare the word list of target corpus with a word list from the reference corpus. Usually, the reference corpus is larger or the same size as the target corpus. As far as genre is concerned, corpus linguists prefer that the two corpora better be from same genre. However, it is possible to compare small sized corpora with larger general corpora such as the Brown or Lob corpus. Everything depends on the research questions researchers want to investigate.

Mare (2014) asserts that newspapers are semiotic institutions where social realities and subjects are rewritten. One of the basic ways to report social events and realities is through lexical choices. Words are not neutral linguistic elements; rather, they may entail ideological and social beliefs. Choosing sets of words and phrases instead of others to represent an event or subject may influence, negatively or positively, the way we perceive that event or subject.

As far as the present study of MW representation in *The Telegraph* is concerned, we believe that applying keyword analysis would reveal interesting results on how MW are discursively represented in *The Telegraph*. Keywords are marked words and they are more liable to be related to, and associated with the themes of the MW articles. Keyword analysis will reveal the salient topics that are addressed by *The Telegraph* when dealing with Muslim women issues. Keywords are therefore “an extremely rapid and useful way of directing researchers to elements in texts which are unusually frequent (or infrequent), helping to remove researcher bias and paving the way for more complex analyses of linguistic phenomena” Baker (2004, p.7).

However, before embarking on the keyword analysis process, it is important for the researcher to draw some standards for his/her keyword analysis. Very often, keyword analysis process creates thousands of words which make it impossible for the researcher to consider such huge number qualitatively. Therefore, setting a threshold for counting keywords is a compulsory step. In the current study about MW representation in *The Telegraph*, the researcher uses AntConc (3.4.4w) software to generate keyword list. This freeware provides various options for sorting keywords such as sorting only the top 1000 words, top 400, top100, or top 200 words. It is up to the researcher to choose. After checking the output of various spans, the researcher decides to work on the 200 top keywords span because it generated a manageable keyword list grouped into meaningful key topics.

Although keyword analysis is very important in identifying key topics in a given text or corpus, it cannot tell us about the general discourse being used in that text or corpus. Further analysis is required where those keywords are rigorously investigated in contexts. Hence, after a keyword list has been created from the MWTC and the themes and topics are identified, we will further investigate those keywords and topics in context. A good step to do so is to carry out a concordance analysis of those keywords.

- **Concordance:** Generally speaking, concordance is making statements about words in terms of their relationships with other words. It is set to consider how a word collocates with other words in a given corpus. Concordance allows researchers to study the use of words in context in order to make statements about the overall discourse by revealing the various semantic relationships that exist between words.

The concordance tool is used in the present research in order to make a further analysis of the keyword terms generated through the keyword analysis process. Concordance analysis is able to show how words are used in context. Using Antconc (4.3), keywords are displayed in their linguistic context. What are the words that

keywords prefer to align with? What are the words that collocate with the various keywords generated? Answering such questions and others would reveal important features of *The Telegraph* discourse about MW. Scots (2017) defines concord as a set of examples of a given word or phrase, showing the context. A concordance of *give* might look like this:

... could not **give** me the time ...
... Rosemary, **give** me another ...
... would not **give** much for that ...

The various lines that concordance shows can be examined and manipulated in different ways. Software packages sort out concordance lines either in an alphabetical order, or as they occur in the text. It is up to the researchers to choose the way that suits him/her. Also, Concordance software packages such as AntCon (4.3) provides other options such as defining the number of words that appear in left or right of the search terms for instance, the second word to the right, third word to the left and third word to the right. Each of the specified word is sorted in different color. Thus, it makes the analysis process easier and practical for researchers.

The cluster function is another element of the concordance tool. This component shows us which terms are grouped or clustered together in fixed or semi-fixed patterns. Hence, as Vessey (2013) notes, it reveals phraseologies and multi-word phrases that work as a single semantic unit.

The concordance tool is used in the present study in order to examine first, how the noun phrase ‘Muslim women’, the basic query term to build MWTC, appears in the context and what are the words that enjoys its company. Second, the researcher applies a concordance analysis of the key topics that are generated after a keyword analysis process.

To sum-up, concordance is a corpus linguistic tools that is used to search and display specific words in context. It displays the various words; both in left and right, a

key word like to align with. Such word concordance is important as it gives features about the discourse of a specific topic.

- **Collocation:** Another important tool in CL is collocation. It is a combination of words in a language that occurs very often and more frequently than would take place due to chance only. For instance, the verb *do* collocates with homework and not the verb *make*. This collocation does not happen by chance; rather, native speakers tend to use one word instead of another to the extent of using one instead of another is considered as wrong.

Baker (2006) stresses that “collocation a way of understanding meaning and association between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from a small-scale analysis of a single text” (p.96). The context where words occur is vital in understanding their meaning. A dictionary definition would not tell much about a word as most of the time context is excluded. So, one can tell that a word meaning is better defined from the context in which it occurs.

In fact, the relationship between words and the meanings that are created from their combination is of great interest to CL. There are various theories that discuss the relationships between words that co-occur with one another. Among them is Hoey’s theory of Lexical Priming. According to Pace-Sigge (2013) Hoey suggests that repeat-use reinforces an idea of an occurrence pattern that seems natural. This ‘repeat occurrence’ acts to prime one’s mind to make automatic connections , for instance, seeing the color yellow calls in the mind a banana because of the strong association between banana and the color yellow. Vessy (2013) asserts that the strength of a relationship between words as defined by frequency of collocation, leads languages users to become “primed” to use words in a specific combination to express meaning. Hence, revealing the various collocates of a word or an expression in a given corpus would tell us the way both language producer and consumers consider that word or expression.

In the same vein, Baker, Gabrielatos, and McEnnery (2012) used collocation as part of their corpus assisted study about the representation of Muslims in the British press. Among the various results they got is that the word *Muslim* as an adjective co-occurs with nouns like *extremist, fanatic and terrorist*. This led them to suggest that the topics indexed by the use of ‘Muslim’ as an adjective are those of violence and conflicts. Hence, such collocation reflects a negative connotation about Muslims and contributes in their negative representation.

Since the AntConc software generate very long list of collocates, setting a cut-off point is necessary step in order to maintain a comprehensible analysis and create a list of words that are liable for a qualitative analysis. For this purpose, a five-time minimum frequency collocates is chosen. This means that for a word to be counted collocate with the node or query word; it has to appear with it at least five times in the corpus. This cut-off point is used for any collocation analysis that is done in the MWTC. The cut-off point is made following Sinclair’s (qt in el hujain, 2012) suggestion that significant collocates tend to occur in a five range dispersion.

As far as the present research is concerned, collocation analysis is used in order to display and identify the various words that collocate with the noun phrases *Muslim women* and *Arab women*, the two basic terms the MWTC is built on. Studying collocation of the search terms of the MWTC is likely to contribute in the understanding of *The Telegraph* discourse about MW and revealing its basic discursive features that are used toward a global representation of MW.

3.4.1.4 Corpus Software Packages

Fortunately, computer specialists and corpus analysts have developed software and online sites to facilitate the realization of the corpus tools such as keywords, collocation and concordance; something would be notoriously difficult and time consuming if it is done manually. The market of corpus software is rich and varied. From WordSmith, Wmatrix, Nvivo, AntConc and others, the researcher is free to choose and decide what

perfectly suits the analytical purposes. Some of these software are free others are purchased with relatively average prices. We have chosen to use the AntConc software because it is free, readily downloadable on a PC, it can be used off line and we have some familiarity with this version (3.4.4w).

- **AntConc (3.4.4w)**

Developed by Laurence Anthony at Waseda University, Japan, AntConc is a free corpus analysis toolkit. Describing his software, Anthony (2005, p. 279) says:

It includes a strong concordancer, word and keyword frequency generator, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis and a word distribution plot. It is distributed as single executable file that can be simply copied into the user's computer and launched without any installation.

Since AntConc provides most of the corpus tools and it is relatively easy and free, we have solely relied on it as the main CL toolkit.

To sum up, CL is a research method that provides various tools to investigate real language use. The central analytical tools in CL are wordlist, keyword analysis, collocation and concordance analysis. Each of these tools has a specific function. CL is used in the current study as an assisting method to CDA. The use of CL with CDA is said to reduce research bias and yield the desirable results.

However, although CL is so practical in making general quantitative descriptions of corpora, it cannot reveal so much about the discourse of the corpus being studied. For this reason, CL is used as an assisting tool for other approaches and methods such as (critical) discourse analysis, conversational analysis and other methods. Concerning the current study, CL methods is accompanied with Systemic grammar, mainly Transitivity analysis, in order to reveal the discursive characteristics of the MWTC.

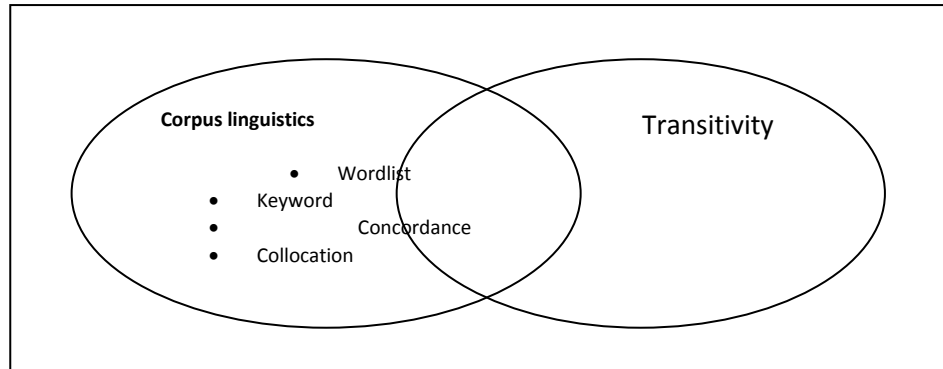


Figure 3.1 Corpus tools and Transitivity processes

The next section discusses Systemic Functional Grammar in general and transitivity analysis in more detail.

3.4.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

It is widely assumed that SFL represents a second revolution in the field of language studies and linguistics after that of Chomsky in the 1950's. Halliday (1979), the father of this new theory, redefined the nature of language from its being a mental/cognitive phenomenon built on systems of rules and structural conventions to a social phenomenon or a social practice that plays or fulfils different functions. Language is then a system of options rather than a system of rules.

3.4.2.1 Choice and Meaning

Halliday (1994) defines language as “a network of systems, or interrelated sets of options for making meaning” (p. 30). Meaning is instrumental in SFL. The pioneers of this latter have devised a set of grammatical operations to show how meaning is created in a social context. Bloor (2004, p. 8) defines grammar under the umbrella of SFL as the study of how meanings are built up through the use of words and other grammatical sources such as singular or plural, negative or positive, and other linguistic forms such as tone and emphasis”. In other words, we construct meaning through the use of various grammatical elements and linguistic features chosen as their appropriateness to the social and linguistic context to transmit the desirable intention. Consequently, choice is a basic

notion in functional grammar (Kress, 1976). Choice is what is meant by systems in Halliday's definition. It is then a critical concept for understanding the theory of functional grammar.

3.4.2.2 Language Functions

Another crucial aspect in SFL is language functions. They constitute the semantic part of SFL. According to Halliday (1993), language has three main meta- functions: (i) *Interpersonal* in which language works to create and sustain social relationships between individuals in a society, (ii) *Ideational* function where language is used to transfer ideas and thoughts to social members, and (iii) *Textual* function where language functions as a texture to organize one's discourse to make it as appropriate as possible to the situation where it issued. Although these components seem to be independent and separate, they function simultaneously and are present in any language use. When combined with the lexico-grammatical component of language, each of these functions is further subdivided. Ideational function is subdivided into two other functions which are experiential and logical. Interpersonal generates two elements: mood and residue and textual function brings about two parts which are theme and rheme.

Experiential is expressed through the Transitivity system. This latter makes option from three different components: the process, the participant and the circumstances. Halliday further subdivides the system of process into various types which are: material, mental, behavioral, verbal, relational, existential, opposition and modification.

The interpersonal function addresses the social relationship between individuals. It presupposes a speaker and a listener and their exchange in the clause level. Basically in any exchange there are two roles to be assigned; that of giving and that of demanding. When analyzing a clause from an interpersonal point of view, it will be split into two parts which are 'mood' and 'residue'. When the former introduces the syntactic part of the exchange and it consists of two parts: the subject or the nominal group, and 'finite'

which is the verbal part. The latter further includes three main elements that of ‘predicator’, ‘complement’ and ‘adjunct’.

The textual function is considered as the tool that realizes the above functions. ‘Theme’ and ‘rheme’ are the two parts of clause when analyzed from a textual point of view. Theme is where the message starts and rheme is where the message is being developed.

3.4.2.3 Rank

Ranking is another significant notion in SFL. Unlike traditional grammar which is organized by immediate constituents, SFG is organized through a ranking system. In a hierarchical system, ranking orders the grammatical components according to their constituent relations. The highest rank consists of a rank immediately below it; the following part consists also of another unit below it and so on until we come to the smallest unit that cannot be subdivided. Thus, “each rank is the locus of structural configuration, the place where structures from different components are mapped on to each other” Halliday, (1993, p. 129). The ranking system of English is organized as follows: clause-group-word-morpheme. The clause is the highest rank and morpheme is the lowest one.

3.4.2.4 Context and Situation

In SFL, meaning is created as a consequence of the interaction between language and the social situation where it is used. SFL introduces situation as a semiotic structure, a meaning potential that contributes to the making of the social system. There are three main components that constitute the context of situation of a text: (i) the social action or ‘field’ (what is going on); (ii) the role structure or ‘tenor’ (the social role of participants in the exchange) and (iii) the symbolic organization or ‘mode’ (the role attributed to the text in a particular situation). Each of these components is related to the semantic functions of language stated above. Field determines the choice of experiential meanings, the tenor defines the selection of interpersonal meanings and mode determines the options of

textual meanings. Thus for instance, the selection of choice in experiential meaning (in transitivity, in quality, time and so on) is defined by the nature of action the participants are engaged in (Halliday, 1993).

3.4.2.5 Transitivity Systems

One of the basic components of the ideational function is the experiential function. This latter main concern is to reveal how our experiences are construed in language. In response to the numerous and diversified human experiences, language, according to functional grammar, provides its users with a set of various processes and participants' roles so that they will be able to reflect upon any experience they meet from both the external and internal world. The experiential function of language fulfils its role on the rank of the clause in the system of transitivity.

The central aim of studying grammar in relation to discourse is to show "who is doing what to whom" in any discursive situation. In fact, Transitivity in functional grammar goes beyond the notion of transitivity in formal grammar where the verb is categorized as transitive or intransitive. Transitivity in SFG is about how language users experience the world and how grammar as a basic component of language responds to the various ways of experiencing the world

Halliday and Mattheissen (2004) assume that at the beginning stages of their lives (approximately in the third or the fourth month) human beings develop the potential of experiencing the world in two different ways; inner and outer experiences: between what we experience as taking place "out there" in the real world and what we experience as taking place inside our consciousness such as perception, imagination and emotion. Thus, it can be said that there exist two different worlds; an internal or inner world and an external or outer world. The paradigm form of the "outer experience" is that of actions and events. People are out there doing things or make them happen, or things just happen. The prototypical form of the inner experience, Halliday and Mattheissen (2004) believe that it is hard to catch. Yet, inner experiences part of them is usually a reaction to the

external world, either recording it or reflecting on it, and partly a separate awareness of our state of being.

The English grammar draws a clear line between the two worlds: at the level of the clause, the inner world is expressed grammatically different from the outer world. *Mental* process clause is the clause set to express our inner world, whereas *material* process clause is the clause used to express our outer, external experience.

The third aspect of experience that exist in addition to the distinctive inner and outer experience, is that it deals with how language users attempt to relate one experience to another such as when one says “ this is the same as that” or “ this is the kind of that”. The third grammatical process that reflects these patterns is that of indentifying and classifying and it is called *relational* process clauses.

Material, mental and *relational* clauses are the three main processes in the English transitivity system. Yet, these are not the only process types that exist in language. There are other types which are found in border lines between the three main processes mentioned above. Thus, sharing some features of each and acquiring characteristics of their own. The processes that exist on the borderline between *mental* and *material* processes are called *behavioral* processes, processes that reflect the external manifestation of what is going on inside us or the action and events that take place as a result of the process of consciousness (e. g. people are crying) and physical status (e.g. she is sleeping). The category that takes place in the borderline of *mental* and *relational* is the process known as *verbal* process. The *verbal* processes are symbolic relationships shaped in our consciousness and realized in the form of language such as *saying* and *meaning*.

On the borderline between the *relational* and *material* processes there is the process concerned of existence. *Existential processes* are process by which all kinds of phenomenon are said to exist or “to be” or to happen. Now the circle is closed and there are six types of processes: mental processes, material processes, relational process, verbal

processes, existential processes, and behavioral process. Each of the bellow type is further explained as follows:

- **Existential Clauses**

Although existential clauses are not very frequent in discourse, this kind of process types serves to introduce central participants in the placement (setting, orientation) in the opening of a story. They are used to talk about something that exists or happens. Existential clauses typically use the verb ‘to be’. In addition to that, existential clauses are used to introduce phenomena into a material stream of narration and in guide book texts. They are used to introduce places or features of interest that may be encountered in walking and driving tours; e.g., “There is a big platform next to the theater”.

The function of the word *there* in such clauses is neither a participant nor a circumstance. It has no representation feature in the transitivity structure of the clause. Yet, it serves to indicate the feature of existence as it is also needed interpersonally as a subject. The object or event that is said to exist is called *existent*. An ‘existent’ can be any kind of phenomenon, such as a thing, person, object, institution or abstraction, action, or event (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

Here is an example of an existential clause analysis:

There was	a cat
Existential process	Existent

- **Verbal processes**

The verbal clauses are those clauses of saying as in “What did she say?” She said “It’s raining here”. The pronoun *she* is the participant and it functions as a *sayer*, the addressee to whom the message is directed is called *receiver* and the message being addressed is called *verbiage*. These kinds of clauses are very common in numerous kinds

of discourse. They are used in making narratives by making it possible for speakers and writers to create dialogic passages. When conversations are used to build narrative passages in discourse, verbal clauses are used to develop dialogues on the pattern of ‘X’ said then ‘Y’ said along with quoting what each one said. Very often, the verb ‘say’ is the verb that serves as the process in the verbal clause process. Yet, there are other verbs too that are used to fulfill the same function namely ‘tell’ and ‘talk’. There are also some common verbs in dialogues such as ‘reply’ and ‘counter’.

Verbal process clauses are very common in news reports. This kind of processes help reporters attribute information to sources such as officials, experts and eye witnesses. The following are examples of a verbal process clause:

I	said	I am free
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Verbiage

The notice	tells	you	to press the green button
Sayer	Process: Verbal	Receiver	Verbiage

As shown in the above examples, the participant in the verbal process is not necessary an animate or a person. It could also be an object or a thing that performs the role of the *sayer*. So, verbal processes are for both animate and inanimate objects.

- **Behavioral Processes**

According to Bloor and Bloor (1995), a behavioral process is the grey area between material and mental processes. This kind of process is typically human reflected in the various human psychological and physiological behaviors such as breathing, coughing, smiling and dreaming. Behavioral processes have no clear defined boundaries and they are the least distinctive processes among the six main types of processes. It is difficult sometimes for grammarians to decide if the process is behavioral or just mental

or material. Behavioral processes “are partly mental and partly material”, as Halliday and Matthiessen say (2004, p. 250).

The participant who is ‘behaving’ is labeled *behavior* who is typically a conscious being. Yet, the process is very often like the material process.

The following is an example of a behavioral process

She	is crying
Participant: behavior	Process: behavioral

- **Relational Processes**

The Verb ‘be’ is usually the verb used in realizing relational clauses. Other verbs may play a similar role: *see*, *become* and *appear* (copula verbs) or verbs that entail possession such as *have*, *own* and *possess*. Bloor and Bloor (1995) argue that relational processes are complicated as they adhere to more than one participant and without context it is hard to sort out relational processes precisely. The type of experience relational clauses construe is different from both how mental and material form experience. Although our inner (mental) and outer (material) experiences can be construed by relational processes, the latter construe these two experiences as ‘being’ and not as ‘doing’ or ‘sensing’.

The basic features of relational processes stem from the very essence of ‘being’. What kind of being relational clauses adhered to? It is worth mentioning that ‘being’ for relational clauses is not existing (this being is expressed by existential clauses); rather, the concept of being in relational clauses can be expressed in two different types: Something is to ‘be’ something else. In other words, a relationship of being is set up between two separate entities. This means that in relational clauses in English there are always two inherent participants or two ‘be-ers’. The configuration of process+ *Be-er 1*+ *Be-er 2* opens up the potential for constructing the abstract relationship of *class-membership* and

identity in all domains of experience. (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). The class-membership is construed by *attributive* clauses and identity is constructed by *identifying* clauses.

Each language has its own way of constructing relational clauses. As far as English is concerned, relational clauses work within three main types of relations: ‘intensive’, ‘possessive’, and ‘circumstantial’. Each one of these types can be found in both identifying (identity) and characterization (class-membership) clauses. Hence, English has six different types of relational clauses. These are summarized in the following table:

Table 3.2 Types of Relational Process (Halliday and Mattiessen, 2004).

Mood / Process	Attributive	Identifying
Possessive	I have a car	The car is mine
Circumstantial	The game is today	Today is the game
Intensive	Adam is happy	Happy is Adam

The possessive process is expressed in the form of ‘x have y’, circumstantial is expressed in the form of ‘x is at y’ and intensive process is expressed as an ‘x is y’. Hence, in relational process there are two main moods: identifying and attributive and each one of these moods can be expressed either through intensive, circumstantial or possessive. In *attributive* relational clauses the participants are *carrier* and *attribute* while in identifying ones are *token* and *value*.

- **Mental processes**

This type of process covers the meaning of feeling and thinking. In contrast to *material* processes, *mental* processes are about our inner thought and how the world of consciousness is experienced. In addition to the verb that performs the process, the mental clause type has two participants: the *senser* (the one who feels, perceives or thinks) and the *phenomenon* which is the thing, concept or act that is felt, thought or perceived by the *senser*.

Mental process figures in four subtypes: cognition, affection, perception and desideration. Each of these types appears as in the following examples:

Cognition includes verbs of thinking, knowing and understanding

I	know	the rules
Senser	Mental Process	Phenomenon

Affection contains verb of liking, loving, fearing and hating

She	likes	her teachers
Senser	Mental Process	Phenomenon

Perception entails verbs of seeing and hearing

I	can hear	you
Senser	mental process	Phenomenon

Desideration verbs are verbs of wanting, desiring and wishing

He	wants	a new house
Senser	Mental process	Phenomenon

There are some basic properties that distinguish mental processes from material ones. These characteristics are related to the *senser*, the phenomenon and the grammatical system of time. Halliday and Matteissen (2004) argue that unlike in material process where the actor is either a thing or a person, the senser in mental clause process is always a conscious person. Grammatically speaking, the senser is the one referred to as ‘she’ or ‘he’ and not ‘it’. As far the other part of the mental clause, namely the phenomenon, the situation is the other way around. The phenomenon may appear as person, a thing or even

a fact or an act. Mental processes are also distinguished from material ones in terms of tense system. They usually take the present tense in contrast to the material processes which take the progressive present. So, one usually says ‘I am building the house’ but not ‘I *am liking the flower’ only in some restricted instances.

- **Material Processes**

Material processes involve an act of doing and happening in the physical world. According to Bloor and Bloor (1995) material processes are the most frequent type among the six processes. This process types has two inherent participants that are involved in the process: a) an Actor which is the obligatory element and expresses the doer of the process or action, b) Goal which is the optional element and refers to the person or entity (animate or inanimate) affected by the process. Also, material processes might have another extra element or Circumstance that provides additional information on the “when, where, why and how” of the process. The Circumstance in a material clause is usually realized through either a prepositional phrase or an adverbial phrase and never in nominal phrase like in the following example

The lion	sprang	in the garden
Actor	process	Circumstance

When material process expresses a doing, it has only two part: the Actor and the process itself. This is like in traditional form of transitive verbs where the action is not extended to affect any other entity. An example of this is the following sentence:

The lion	sprang
Actor	Process

However, when material process is said to express a happening, the second obligatory element the Goal has to take place. This notion is similar to the traditional intransitive verbs where the doer of the process or the action extends to affect another entity. The following example illustrates this case:

The lion	Caught	The tourist
Actor	Process	Goal

When material clauses involve a happening process with an Actor and Goal being affected, the representation may take two different forms: either as *operative* (active) as in ‘The lion caught the tourist’ or receptive (passive) as in ‘The tourist was caught **by** the lion’. In the passive variant the Goal is given the role of the subject and so it is assigned model responsibility, and the Actor is given a status of an Adjunct which is usually left out; e.g., ‘The tourist was caught’ (Halliday and Matteissen, 2004).

The following table summarizes the six types of processes

Table 3.3 Summary of process types (Halliday and Matteissen 2004).

Process type	Category meaning	Participant directly involved	Participant obliquely involved
Material: Action Event	Doing Doing Happening	Actor, Goal	Recipient, Client, Scope; Initiator; Attribute
Behavioral	Behaving	Behaver	Behavior
Mental Perception Affection Cognition	Sensing Sensing Feeling Thinking	Senser, Phenomenon	
Verbal	Saying	Sayer, Target	Receiver, verbiage
Relational Attribution Indentification	Being Attributing Indentifying	Carrier, Attribute Identified, indentifier, token, attribute	Attributer, beneficiary Assigner
Existential	Existing	Existent	

As far as this study is concerned, the transitivity analysis is applied on the Muslim women Telegraph corpus (MWTC) and it considers only the clauses that contain the node ‘Muslim women’. The clauses are sorted out through the concordance tool provided by

the AntConc software (3.4.4w). Clauses are analyzed in terms of their frequency types, i.e., what the main frequent process types are in clauses that contain the node ‘Muslim women’. The analysis is limited to the three most frequent types, so the focus is on the prevailing process types only. Moreover, the participant’s role the node ‘Muslim women’ is assigned in these clauses is also analyzed.

All in all, transitivity analysis is very useful in revealing how MW are linguistically represented in *The Telegraph*. This is done by investigating the process types associated to Muslim women and the participant’s role they are assigned in these clauses.

3.4.3 Fairclough’s Three -Dimensional Framework

As we mentioned in Chapter 1, CDA is both a theory and method for studying social semiotic. One of CDA well-stated views is that language is a social practice and it is in bidirectional dialectical relationship with society; language shapes social reality and society shapes language. Although CDA practitioners adhere to various ways of analyzing texts and provide different orientations to deal with discourse, most of them (Fairclough, 2015; Wodak,2001; Van Dijk, 2003) agree that CDA is directed to deal with social problems and the ways through which power and ideology are implicitly integrated into discourse in order to shape and maintain unequal social relationships. In this respect, Fairclough (1995, p.34) stresses that “the relationship between text and society/culture is to be seen dialectically. Texts are socioculturally shaped but they also constitute society and culture”.

By no doubt, the media is one of those sites where social struggle between powerful ideologies and oppressed people is taking place. The media is a social institution where discourse plays a role in producing and maintaining unequal social relationships through various semiotic ways such as written/ spoken language, sounds, visual and graphic images, and the like. Having such an important role in the social and cultural life of communities, the media constitutes a fertile arena to investigate the role of language

and discourse in our life. For that reason, the media also attracts CDA analysts’ attention to unveil the ideological and powerful relationships that exist in media text.

This study adopts Fairclough’s Dialectical-relational approach (1989, 1995, 2001, 2009, 2015) to study how MW are discursively represented in *The Telegraph* and reveal the role of power and ideology in the way MW are depicted in this British quality newspaper.

Fairclough’s vision of CDA adopts the view that regards language as an integral part of the social process. He stresses that every linguistic phenomenon is socially constituted and that every social practice is partially linguistic. Following this view, CDA is the process of analyzing the dialectical relationship between semiosis (including language) and the other components of the social practice. Fairclough (2015, pp.57-58) reveals his view of discourse in the following:

Discourse, then, involves social conditions, which can be specified as *social conditions of production*, and *social conditions of interpretation*. These social conditions, moreover, relate to three different levels of social organization: the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix of the discourse; and the level of the society as a whole.

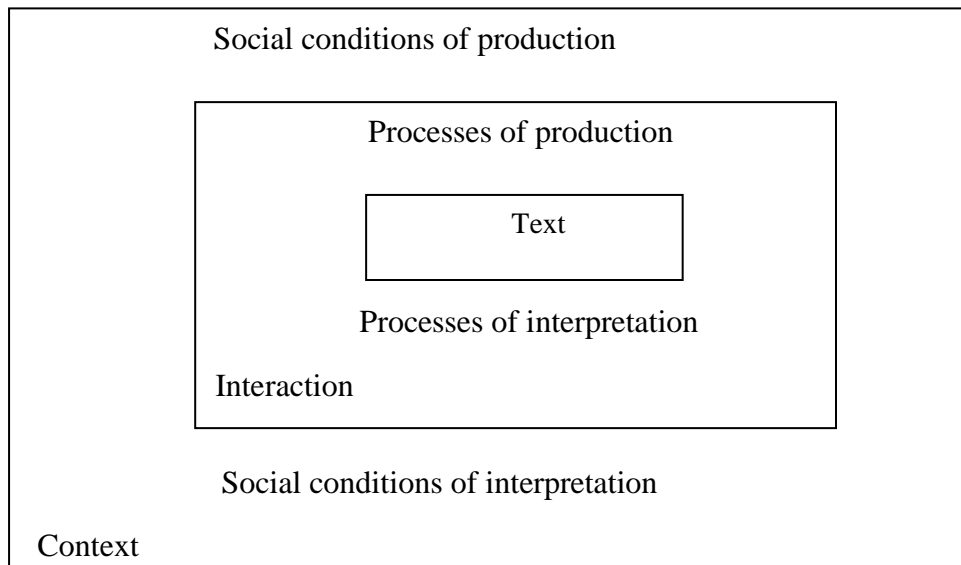


Figure 3.2 Discourse as text, interaction and context, Fairclough (2015)

Accordingly, Fairclough regards CDA main work as analyzing the relational process that exists between the three various dimensions of text, interaction and context. Following these three dimensions, Fairclough differentiates between three stages of his approach to critical discourse analysis: *description*, *interpretation* and *explanation*.

3.4.3.1. Description

The description level is concerned with analyzing the formal properties of the text in terms of grammar, vocabulary and textual structure. Fairclough adopts Halliday's model in order to realize the description level of his three-dimensional framework. Following Halliday's model of Functional Grammar, Fairclough (2015) divides the description stage into three main levels by taking into account that any text is said to serve three main functions simultaneously. These functions are: experiential, relational and textual function. Thus, the description stage examines that functions on the grammatical features of texts, their lexical properties and their textual organization.

In fact, Fairclough (2015) asserts that there are three different values formal feature may have: a) the experiential value which is the key to understanding the way text producer's experience of the world is represented. Experiential values take into consideration three main concepts: content, knowledge and beliefs; b) a formal feature with a relational value is a road map to the social relations which are enacted via texts in the discourse. Social relationships and relations are the main interest of relational values; c) describing the expressive values of formal features is the cue that traces the text producer's evaluation of the reality it relates to. The main focus of expressive values is subjects and social identities. These three values are found in the three main part of formal properties of texts, i.e., vocabulary, grammar and textual structure. The following section shows how these three values are applied on the three formal properties of texts.

- **Vocabulary**

The study of vocabulary or lexical items in the description stage examines three main areas proposed by Fairclough (2015 p. 129) by the following three questions:

1. What experiential values do words have? (What are the ideological words?)
 - a. What classification schemes are drawn upon?
 - b. Are there words which are ideologically contested? (The various meanings of a word)
 - c. Is there rewording or over-wording?
 - d. What ideologically-significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, and antonym) are there between words?
2. What relational values do words have?
 - a. Are there euphemistic expressions?
 - b. Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What expressive values do words have? (writer's evaluation, positive/negative).
4. What metaphors are used?

The experiential values of words try to unveil how ideologies of the representation of the world are encoded in texts vocabularies. The relational values of words deal with how text producer's choice of words depends on, and leads to creating social relationships between participants. Finally, the expressive values show how speakers express evaluation relying on classification schemes which are in part systems of evaluations and these are ideologically contrastive schemes embedding different values in various discourse types. The differences that exist between discourse types in the expressive values of words are ideologically significant.

- **Grammar**

The grammatical features of texts are also studied according to the three main values Fairclough (2015) has supposed. The experiential values of grammar deal with

the ways in which the grammatical forms of language code happening or relationships in the world of experience. It also covers the people, animals or things involved in those happenings and relations as it deals with their spatial and temporal circumstances, manners of occurrence, and so on. The relational values of grammatical features are varied yet; the focus is always on three main areas: a) modes of sentences, i.e., what mode of sentence is used? Declarative, grammatical question or imperative? b) modality, i.e., are the pronoun ‘we’ and ‘you’ used, and if so how? c) Are there important features of relational modality? As far as the expressive values of grammatical features are concerned, Fairclough (2015) limits the study of expressive values to expressive modality. He also summarizes the different area of grammar the analyst may consider in the following list of questions:

- a) What experiential values do grammatical features have? (“The ways in which the grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world, the people...involved in this happenings” (Fairclough, 1989,p.120)).
- b) What types of process and participants predominate?
- c) Is agency unclear?
- d) Are processes what they seem?
- e) Are nominalizations used?
- f) Are sentences active or passive?
- g) Are sentences positive or negative? (“What is not the case in reality from what is the case
- h) What relational values do grammatical features have?
- i) What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used?
- j) Are there important features of relational modality?
- k) Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how?
- l) What expressive values do grammatical features have?
- m) Are there important features of expressive modality?
- n) How are (simple) sentences linked together? (cohesion)
- o) What logical connectors are used?
- p) Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination?
- q) What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?
- r) What interactional conventions are used? (This question is ignored in the study)
- s) What larger-scale structures does the text have? (How is the text structured?)

- **Textual Structure**

Formal features at the textual level relate to formal organizational properties of the whole text. Experiential values of textual structure deal with the larger-scale structure the given text takes. Relational values of textual features examine the interactional conventions that are used in texts. The third level of textual structure deals with the *connective* values (as opposed to experiential, relational and expressive values). Connective values have a partially ‘internal character’. The latter deals with the values formal features have in connecting together parts of texts. Yet, it also deals with the relationship between text and context.

Yet, analysts are not supposed to tackle all the questions or the grammatical features mentioned here. It is not a list or a blueprint to be followed slavishly; rather, analysts are free to decide upon the features that suit their research questions better and choose the questions accordingly.

3.4. 3. 2 Interpretation

The second level of analysis in Fairclough’s model (1989, 1995 and 2015) is called interpretation. It deals with participants’ processes of text production and consumption. Interpretation is used to mean both the level of analysis and one of the processes included, i.e, readers’ text consumption and interpretation. Interpretation is the level where analysts are supposed to move from text analysis to discourse analysis. They focus on analyzing the various discursive practices that govern both texts’ production and consumption.

As far as text production is concerned, Richardson (2004) assumes that newspaper writings are the product of various filters, processes, and discursive practices which are different according to genres and organizations. It is vital to understand the nature of these filters, what they focus on and what they deemphasize. Why are certain topics given so much or so little attention? How and why are certain individuals or groups given space to voice their views and why are others excluded. According to Fairclough (2015), the position of the producer can be affected by contents, relations and subjects.

In terms of content, the position of the text's producer can be problematized where the producer's ideological representation of the world is incompatible with the world itself. A good example of this is for instance when a newspaper represents an event in a way that contradicts its normal way of representing that part of the world such as when a newspaper is put in a position to deal with large-scale of injuries to some member of the public caused by police intervention knowing that newspapers usually support the views of the police in such cases. As far as relations are concerned, the producer's position may be problematized in the level of the relationships that exist between producers and interpreters. A good example of this is when the producer and the addressee are from different sexes.

Also, the position of the producer may be affected by subjects. i.e. the subject position or social identity of the text producer or the subject position or social identity of the interpreters, for instance the relationship that exists between doctors and patients or teachers' relationships with students and pupils especially when students attain similar qualifications as their teachers.

As far as newspaper production processes, we have seen in Chapter Two section (2.5) how the politics and economy of the media are important in the news manufacturing. Newspapers also give importance to their audience and readers. They try to produce and report on the news that reflects the ideologies and interests of their readers. Richardson (2007) argues that the studies on the complex process of news production in newspapers remain undeveloped compared to what is done in newspaper output. This is what makes the level of interpretation difficult for achieving a rigorous analysis of subjects, contents and relations that govern the process of texts' production in newspaper discourse.

Accordingly, our analysis of *The Telegraph* process of text production of articles about MW will just focus on some limited questions which are related to the textual level of analysis mainly the choice of topics and the main voices being reported and present in *The Telegraph* articles about MW. Before the article is put for publication it goes through different complex stages of refinements and modification realized by editors in a way that works with the newspaper ideological views and its cultural, economic and political

approach to social events. In this respect, Fowler (1992, p.2) asserts that “what events are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of those events, but reveals the operation of a complex and artificial set of criteria for selection”. As far as the process of text consumption or decoding is concerned, Fairclough (2015) assumes that interpretations are generated via a combination of what is in the text and what is in the mind of the interpreter in terms of what he calls ‘member’s resources’ (MR). These latter are background knowledge, or social and cognitive schemata participants bring to the context for interpreting and producing texts. Also they are considered as interpretative procedures for their role in originating interpretations. Formal features of a text are considered as ‘cues’ that trigger elements of interpreter’s MR. Accordingly, interpretations are formulated via the dialectical interaction between cues and MR.

The interpretation process draws on two different but interrelated elements: the interpretation of text and interpretation of context. The analyst is interested in making relationship between what he finds in the formal properties of text being analyzed and the knowledge he has about the situational and intertextual context of the text in question. Accordingly, the analysis of text consumption in relation to the MW articles in *The Telegraph* is an interpretation of what we have found in the description stage with the analysis of the context where MW articles appear.

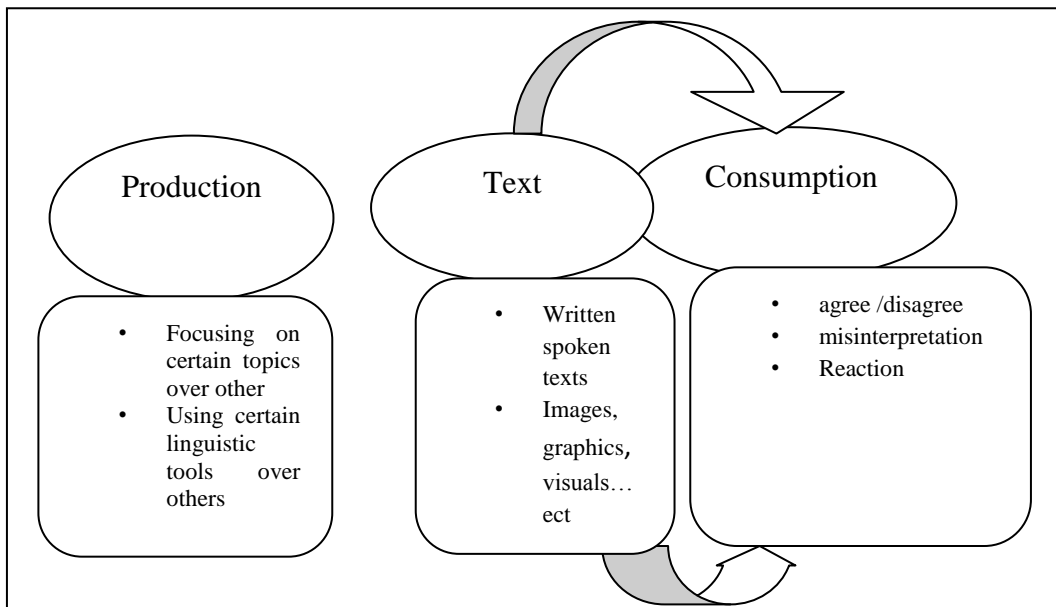


Figure 3.3 the process of interpretation

3.4.3.4 Explanation

Explanation is the third level in Fairclough's model of analysis. It aims at sketching discourse as an element of social process and as a social practice. Also, it clarifies how social structures determine discourse and shows the productive effects that discourses may accumulatively have on those structures in terms of changing or maintaining them. Fairclough (2015) holds that both social effects and social determinants of discourse must be studied at three levels of social organization: the societal level, the institutional level, and the situational level.

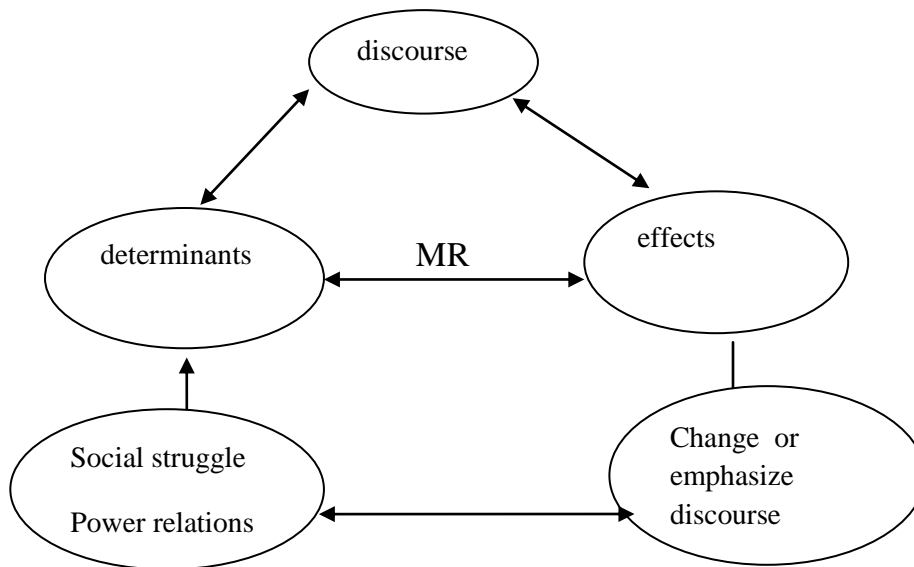


Fig 3.4 the Process of Explanation

Fairclough (2015, p. 172) stresses that the purpose of “the stage of explanation is to portray discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures sustaining them or changing them.” Accordingly, discourse should not stop at the level of interpretation where participants draw upon their cognitive knowledge or what is referred to as MR; rather, discourse is also shaped by social structures of struggle and power relations.

The present study focuses on showing how the Daily Telegraph discourse about MW is shaped by the newspaper’s institutional policy (especially those related to social, political, economical and cultural issues in the UK), the situational context of the news reports about MW, and finally, the wider societal structures the newspaper belongs to.

To sum up, Fairclough’s model (2015) consists of three main levels. In the first level, analysts are supposed to deal with the formal properties of their texts including a rigorous analysis of their grammar, lexis and textual structure. The level of interpretation is the second level. Analysts are supposed to move from text analysis to discourse analysis where it is necessary to deal with the processes of text’s production and consumption and their relations to the formal properties to texts. Finally, the third level is explanation where discourse is portrayed as a social process and a social practice. The three levels are summarized in Fig. 3.4 below:

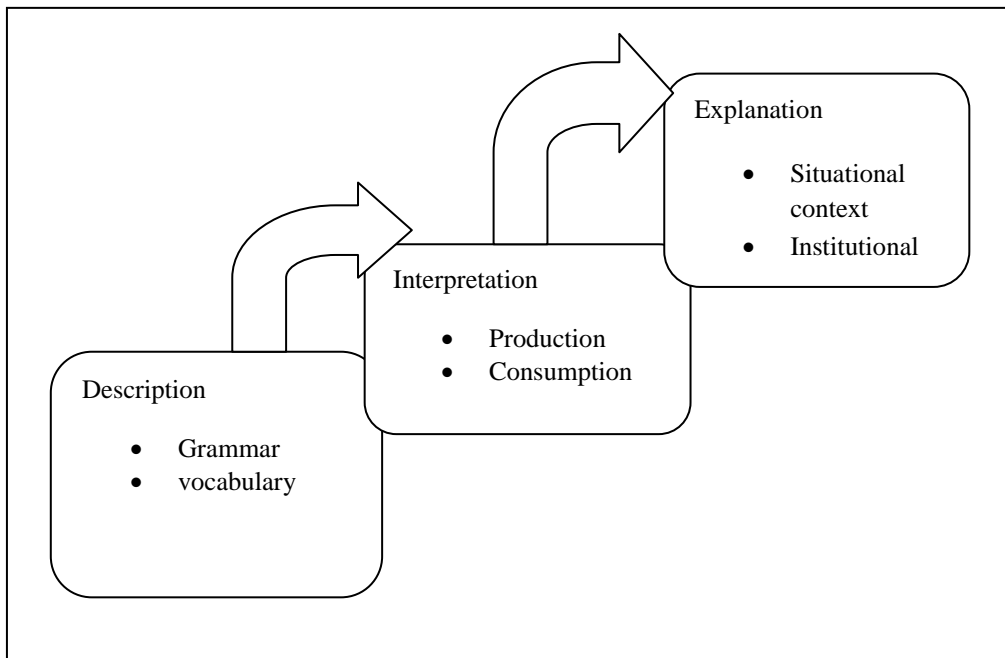


Figure 3.5 Fairclough Three dimensional model

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter is set to describe the process of data collection and the research tools that are used for data analysis. The data of this study is made of the Daily Telegraph articles that mention the node “Muslim women” anywhere in their texts. The articles selected are those appeared from 2010 to 2016. Tools for data analysis are selected carefully. First there is corpus linguistics with its various tools such as keyword, concordance, and collocation. Corpus linguistics is chosen to give the analysis a quantitative perspective that helps in reducing research bias or the qualitative discourse analysis of this study. Second is transitivity analysis from Systemic Functional Grammar. It helps to reveal how social subjects are represented in the grammatical level of the clause. Transitivity is integrated with concordance analysis because the latter helps mapping all the clauses that include “Muslim women”. Finally, Fairclough’s Critical Language Study model is used mainly to analyze critically, the sub-corpus made of articles that mention “Muslim women” in their headlines. The researcher believes that the chosen methods have the potential to answer the study’s research questions.

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4.1 Introduction

This section is set to unveil how *The Telegraph* tends to represent and portray MW issues. It tries to investigate the role of newspaper language and discursive techniques in constructing the heated topic of religious minorities', Muslim women in this case. Through the use of CL linguistics tools as well as transitivity analysis, this chapter aims at revealing the linguistic patterns used by *The Telegraph* to portray MW. The CL tools used in this analysis are: wordlist tool, keyword analysis, concordance analysis, and collocation. Each one of these tools is used to describe and analyze, quantitatively or qualitatively, some of the corpus linguistic features.

- Transitivity analysis is used to analyze the clauses that include the node “Muslim woma(e)n” in their structure. It tries to analyze what participant’s role the node “Muslim women” is given in those clauses i.e. either “Actors” subjects or “Goals” objects.
- CL and transitivity analysis are integrated in order to rigorously investigate, qualitatively and quantitatively, the MWTC from a macro analysis perspective.

4.2 General Description of the Muslim Women Telegraph Corpus (MWTC)

This section tries to present a general and macro description of the MWTC. It provides basic information about the corpus such as the number of its articles, the amount of types and tokens in the corpus and the type/ token ratio, the number of headlines about MW, and a frequency list of the top 20 frequent words and lexical items in the corpus. The aim of such description is to help readers have general idea about the corpus before the study goes deeper. **Table 4.1** contains the mentioned information.

In corpus linguistic terms, the MWTC is not a large corpus since very often, corpora are made of millions of words. However, the latter feature is usually found in large general corpora such as the British National Corpus (100 million words) while the

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MWTC is just a specialized corpus with a total 262750 tokens which indicates the total number of words with repetition and a total number of 18966 types which indicates the total number of words used in a corpus without repetition. The corpus might look small and this is due to the strict query terms that are used to build it.

Table 4.1 Basic statistics about MWTC

Item	Number
articles	331
types	18966
Tokens	262750
Type/token ratio	7.21%
Headlines	30

As far as the number of articles is concerned, a comparison is made in the table below between the different British broadsheets in order to show the significance of the space allocated for MW in *The Telegraph*.

Table 4.2 articles about MW in British broadsheet

Newspaper	Number of articles
Telegraph	146
Guardian	382
Independent	484
Times	193
The Observer	52

As the table indicates, *The Telegraph* gives little attention to MW issues compared to its counterparts *the Guardian* and *the Independent*. For instance, MW articles in *the Guardian* are twice more than those in *The Telegraph* and four times more in those of *the Independent*. Hence, MW issues are given less attention and space in *The Telegraph*

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compared to other widespread British broadsheets. However, less space for reporting about a given topic does not necessarily mean the topic is negatively represented. Such a claim needs a further and an in-depth analysis.

Using AntConc(3.3.4W) software and its wordlist tool, a table of the most frequent words in the MWTC is generated as Table 4.3 shows

Table 4.3 Top ten frequent words in MWTC

Word	Frequency
The	14059
To	7301
Of	6759
A	6999
And	5489
In	5314
That	2952
Is	2583
S	2407
Was	2352

As Table 4.3 indicates, the most frequent words in the MWTC are function words such as *the, to, of, and, that* and *a*. Like in any corpus it is usually the function words which have the highest frequency rate and the MWTC is no exception.

Another wordlist is compiled to show the top ten frequent lexical items in the MWTC. Although such a list gives a global idea about what the corpus is generally about, a further in-depth analysis of lexical choices is recommended in order to form a rigorous understanding of how lexical items are used to represent and report on a given topic.

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Table 4.4 MWTC top ten lexical items

Lexical Item	Frequency
Said	1052
Muslim	1008
Women	994
all	851
National	487
Year	416
British	355
Face	336
Like	309
Britain	292

The top-ten list of lexical items in MWTC confirms that the texts of the corpus are about Muslim women since the two most frequent lexical items after the word *said*, which reflects the tendency of newspapers to report on different sources, are *Muslim* and *women* respectively. Other lexical items such as *Britain* and *British* indicate that the most reported stories where the term MW appears are from Britain which means that *The Telegraph*, when dealing with MW issues, tends to report on local stories. However, analyzing word frequency is not a sufficient step towards understanding the discourse of *The Telegraph* about MW. Corpus linguists suggest another corpus tool that leads the analyst towards the basic or key topics and themes in a corpus. This tool is called keyword analysis and is used in the current study in order to indentify the key themes of the MWTC. So, what are the salient topics in the MWTC? A keyword analysis will answer this question.

4.3 Keyword Analysis

The keyword analysis is set to identify key themes in the MWTC. As mentioned above, frequent words in a corpus do not necessarily constitute the key topics in a text. For this purpose, CL uses a mathematical algorithm to count keyness in a text based on

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probability value given to each word in a text and its likelihood to appear more or less frequently in a corpus when compared with another reference corpus.

For this study, a reference corpus has been compiled for the purpose of generating the keyword list of MWTC. After trying many reference corpora, using sometimes general corpora such as the Brown Corpus, or specific-built corpora such as *the Guardian* corpus or the Arab news corpus, we have noticed that in all instances, there was no remarkable difference between the different keyword lists generated by using these different reference corpora. However, it is worth mentioning that those corpora are from the same genre, i.e., newspaper language. Even if the Brown corpus is a corpus of general English, the researchers have only used three sub-corpora that represent the newspaper language. This preliminary trial confirms Goh's study (2011) about factors that can influence keyword analysis after using different reference corpora. He finds that only changing the corpus genre can clearly affect the keyword list. For instance, if the corpus is about newspaper language and the reference corpus is compiled from a literary genre, the keyword list will change. Since there was no big difference in the keyword lists resulting from comparing MWTC with other different corpora, the researchers have decided to use *the Guardian* specialized corpus they have compiled manually. *The Guardian* reference corpus GRC henceforth was compiled using same search terms used to compile TMWC and in the same time span. The aim is to see how language and discourse change from one newspaper to another when each of them belongs to different political and ideological standpoints. *The Guardian* is a politically left-wing newspaper and *The Telegraph* is a right-wing newspaper.

Using AntConc (3.4.4) software, the two corpora are downloaded into the software, the Log-Likelihood option to compare between the two corpora is chosen, and a list of 200 keywords ranked by their keyness is created. After filtering the list and removing irrelevant words that are related to the newspaper information such as *telegraph, edition, pg, dtl, cent, graphic, London, page, daily, national...*etc, a table is set

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to show the top 20 keywords in the MWTC and try to provide an analysis of the words that appear to be key terms in MWTC. Table 4.5 shows the top 20 keyword in the MWTC. The words are classified according to their strength in keyness.

The first thing that attracts the researcher's attention is that keyness is not identified by frequency; the most frequent words, i.e., words that have a high level of appearance in the corpus, are not necessarily the key words in that corpus. For instance, the word *burka* appears less than the word *ban* (159 vs 271 times respectively); yet, it is ranked before it and is likely to have more keyness value. As indicated in table 4.5 below, words such as *burqa*, *veil* and *niqab* are the top keywords in the MWTC.

Table 4.5 Top 20 keywords in MWTC

Rank	Keyword	Frequency	Keyness
11	Burka	159	436.724
13	Veil	280	337.983
15	Veils	163	2.44.769
20	Face	336	234.609
21	Miss	123	230.470
23	Remove	107	204.710
24	Niqab	125	203.251
29	Code	411	195.647
30	Ban	271	195.453
37	Mrs	74	174.037
38	ISIL	82	171.761
42	Judge	127	161.596
43	Woman	475	149.528
45	Quaeda	54	148.321
46	Guidance	61	145.082
47	Old	223	143.264
48	Court	232	136.895
49	Children	238	132.046
50	Wearing	241	127.465
53	Dtai	47	119.957
55	Prince	55	115.354

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This means that the topic of veiling and MW dress continues to dominate the news reports about MW in the Western media and *The Telegraph* is no exception. Although Muslim practices have existed for a long time in Europe, the issues of *hijab* or the *veil* is still something the West in general, and Britain in particular, seem to regard as alien and incompatible with Western ideas and values. In a similar study held by Al Hejin (2012), where he compared how Muslim women are represented in two different news media, the BBC and Arab news, he found that the topic of *Hijab* is the salient topic in the BBC corpus about Muslim women.

Since the basic aim of making a keyword analysis of the MWTC is to indentify key topics in the corpus, we are inclined to group words from the same lexical field into different semantic categories because it is noticed that some words are used to talk about the same topic such as veils, veil, burka, niqab can be grouped in the semantic category of veiling or hijab. Henceforth, the 200 keywords are grouped into different semantic categories. Each semantic category is said to be a key topic in the MWTC. Table 4.6 summarizes the key topics or semantic macrostructures of the MWTC.

Table 4.6 Semantic topics in the MWTC

Semantic category	Keywords
Veiling and Dress	burka, veil, veils, niqab, face, remove, code, wearing, wear, burkas, dress, burkini, veiled, facial, breasts, covering, eyes
Court and law	Judge, court, trial, defendant, jury, guilty, witness, evidence, ordered, banned, ban , plea, allowed, stubbed, police, killed
Religion	Faith, sheikh, god, religious, Islamist, Muslim, Sharia, Church, Islamic, Koran, Christian, guidance
Terrorism	Isil, quada, knife, Seleka, jihadist, Chabab, fighters, front,
Geography	French, Wales, Cairo, Britain, Sarajevo, Egypt, Syria, Qatar,
Female	Miss, woman, lady, princess, girl, Ms, daughter, girls, married,
Politicians	Sarkozy ,Berlusconi, Holland, Galloway Browne, Timms, Cox, Clegg, Creasy, Straw
Female celebrities	Warsi, Dati, Hirsi, Eve Arnold, Doris lessing, Jo Cox, Angelina Joli, Allison Pearson,

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Keywords are grouped into eight semantic categories which are: *Veiling and dress, court, religion, geography, female, politicians, and female celebrities.*

A preliminary reading of the key topics in the MWTC reveals that *The Telegraph* tends to regard the issue of MW veil and dress a prominent topic and something that needs lot of coverage and discussion. Although the presence of Islam and Muslim has a long tradition in the British society and MW have been known by their veils since long ago, something that should be seen normal because of its long existence, *The Telegraph* seems to report the Muslim veil and MW dress as something in odds with a multicultural British values and traditions. However, we do not claim that all reporting about the veil and MW dress is negative. This issue needs further analysis.

The other topics include *court, religion* and *terrorism*. It is believed that these three topics are controversial and always reflect heated debates especially religion and terrorism. The latter is said to have been a very negative topic in the West since 9/11 attacks to the extent that ‘Muslim’ and ‘terrorist’ are almost synonymous words nowadays. The topic of *court & law* reflects the various difficulties Muslims in general and MW in particular are facing in the west in legalizing their religious practices especially their dress. In this respect, the topic of veiling appears to be the dominating topic of *law* and *court* debates. One can refer to the various laws that were issued in many parts of Europe that calls for banning the wearing of hijab in public spaces, especially in France. All in all, we believe that these topics are negative. Hence, *The Telegraph* tends to report MW in association with negative themes.

As far as the other topics are concerned, *geography* for instance, *The Telegraph* tends to report from Arab countries a lot especially those places where conflicts and wars are spread such as Syria and Egypt. Topics like *female and female celebrities* is also present where a lot of controversial Muslim and non-Muslim females appear such as Hollywood famous actress Angelina Jolie who went to many Arab countries and who is also known by her strong support to refugees’ issues. Other female Muslim politicians

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and writers are also present such as the former French minister of justice Rashida Dati who came from an Arab-Islamic background to become one of the examples of Muslim women who get a high social and political status in Europe. We think that dealing with such successful Muslim women is something positive. Hence, we believe that although most of the topics that are associated with MW are negative, *The Telegraph* has also dealt with some positive topics such as mentioning some, though not many, successful MW politicians and activists.

Although the keyword analysis is a practical step toward tracing the properties of the discourse of *The Telegraph* about MW and revealing some basic elements of this discourse such as identifying the key topics in the MWTC and see whether the topics are negative, positive or neutral; keyword analysis can not reveal how such topics are dealt with in context. For instance, although it is believed that associating MW with topics such as terrorism and war is something would make readers formulate a negative perception about MW, the researchers believe that a further analysis of the context where such topics and keywords appear is needed. In this respect, Baker (2004, p.3) asserts that keyword analysis is not a complete process unless keywords are studied in context. He stresses that “Examining how such keywords occur in context, which grammatical categories they appear in and looking at their common patterns of co-occurrence should therefore be revealing”. Henceforth, the next section tries to study the above mentioned key topics in their contextual use through an analysis of their concordance.

Concordance analysis shows how keywords are used in context. It reflects whether the key topics are negatively or positively reported in the context where they appear in the MW articles. For the current study, the researchers decide that only three key topics are put for further analysis. In addition to the most salient topics of *veiling*, the topics of *court & law* and *terrorism* are put for concordance analysis.

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4.4 Keywords in Context: a Concordance analysis

This section is set to analyze the key topics in the MWTC in the context where they appear in the corpus. The concordance analysis shows all the sentences where such keywords appear and the researcher's work is to analyze these sentences from a lexicogrammatical perspective. The analysis is said to reveal the discourse that turns around such topics. The analysis will include only the most prominent topics which are *veiling and dress*, *crime and law* and *religion*

4.4.1 Veil and Dress

The analysis of keywords in contexts starts with the most prominent topic in the MWTC. As seen in Table 4.1 words pertaining to the topic of MW veiling and dress are the strongest keywords in the corpus under investigation with the words *burka*, *veil*, and *niqab* occupying the top of the list. Yet, the analysis will only consider the strongest keyword in this topic which is the word *burka*.

- **Burka**

The word 'burka' is the strongest keyword in the corpus and in the topic of veiling. It appears 159 times and only 147 times when removing duplicates. The word *burka* (also **burkha**, **burqa**) pronounced /'burka/ as defined in Oxford Online Dictionary (2017) is "an Arab word used to refer to a long, loose garment covering the whole body from head to feet, worn in public by women in many Muslim countries". After scanning the 147 concordance lines as displayed by AntConc (3.44), it is found that the Daily Telegraph uses three main patterns to represent this issue. These patterns are summarized in Table 4.3

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Table 4.7 burka's representation patterns

Pattern	N° of Lines	Percentage
Positive	13	8.84%
Negative	93	63.29%
Neutral	41	27.89%
Total	147	100%

Figure 4.1 below illustrates the first twenty concordance lines as they are displayed in AntConc (3.4.4). The software organizes word concordance as they appear in the corpus. It is up to the researcher to group the different lines that point to the same thing into topics.

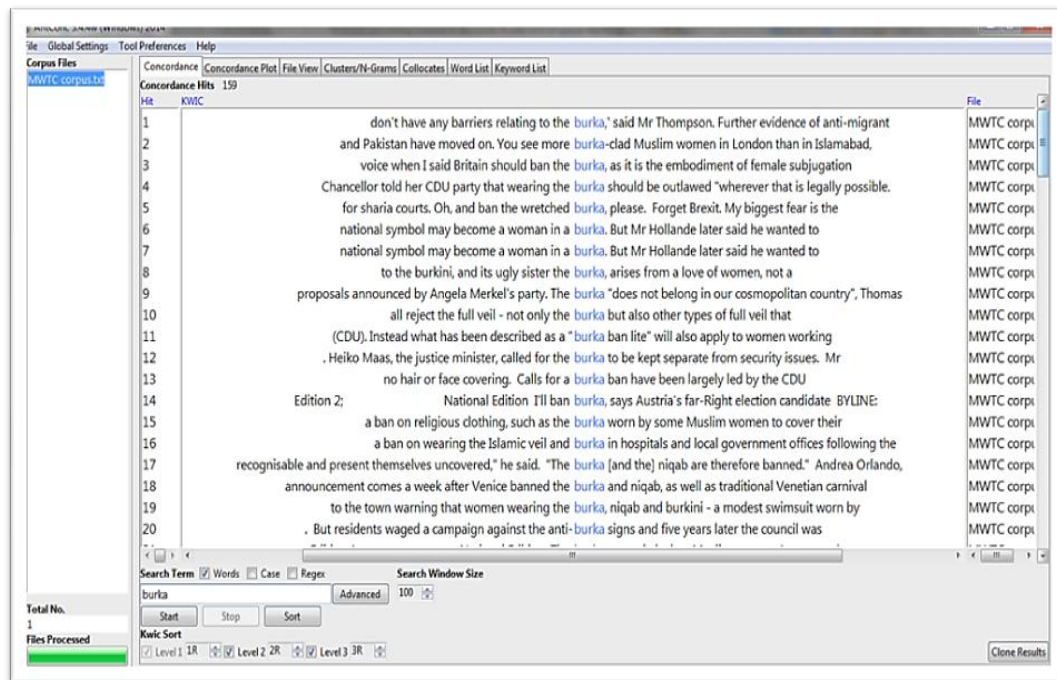


Figure 4.1 Burka negative concordances

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The negative representation of the topic of burka by *The Telegraph* has two main patterns: a) giving much space to the voices of burka ban and b) reporting the burka as a primitive dress that threatens the Western values and identity.

Lines number 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18 in figure 4.1 all point to the same topic which is the *burka ban*. This latter is regarded as the most negative topic in the Telegraph's pattern of burka representation. Line 3 as shown in Figure 4.1 for instance is an explicit and direct call for banning the burka in Britain because, according to the writer, the burka embodies female subjugation. Moreover, the burka is something *wretched* that should be outlawed (lines 4 and 5). The following lines are some other examples about *burka ban*:

“Oh, and ban the wretched **burka**” (The Telegraph, December 7, 2016)

“told her CDU party that wearing the **burka** should be outlawed, wherever that is legal” (Telegraph, December 7, 2016).

“Call for burka ban has been largely led by the CDU” (Telegraph, August 20, 2016)
“French decision to ban women from wearing burka in public” (Telegraph, July 19, 2010).

Other lines refer to the burka ban that is being called for in some European countries including Germany (line 13), Austria (line 14), Italy (line 17) France and Belgium (line 51) as show in the following lines:

- I'll **ban burka**, says Austria's far-right election candidate (Telegraph, Aug.15, 2016).
- comes a week after Venice **banned** the **burka** and niqab, as well as traditional Venetian carnival (Telegraph, December 12, 2015).
- France became the first European country to **ban** the **burka** in public in 2011. (Telegraph, September 17, 2013).
- Belgium moves closer to **banning** the **burka** (Telegraph, April1, 2010).

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Lines number 2, 6, 9, and 10 in figure 4.1 are about burka and European national identity. For instance, the newspaper reports about the German Chancellor Angela Merkle's party saying: "the burka does not belong to our cosmopolitan country" (line 9). Lines 2 and 6 show how the burka is portrayed as invading Europe to the extent that women in burka are reportedly seen more in London than in Islamabad, and where the burka is going to be the national symbol of France because many Muslim women tend to wear it. The following are some examples:

- "You see more **burka**-clad Muslim women in London than in Islamabad (Telegraph, December 8, 2016). For me this line strikes some fear in the hearts of the readers.
- "National symbol may become a woman in a **burka** (Telegraph, October 13, 2016).
- "formal resolution describing the **burka** as an affront to French values (Telegraph, May 12, 2010).
- Like a Harry Potter Invisibility Cloak, the **burka** conceals the identity of the wearer (Telegraph, November 7, 2013).
- a "devout Muslim and she wears the **burka** and niqab in accordance with her religious faith (Telegraph, July 2, 2014).

As the concordance lines show, the reporting of the Muslim women burka and its representation turn around two major negative themes: first, the call for a European campaign towards a ban of this Islamic, 'anti-Western' dress that "denigrates women"; second, the burka is reported purely as an Islamic practice that threatens the European identity menacing its very existence because of the growing number of Muslim women who come to Europe with their religious rituals and cultural practices. Hence, an indirect but a strong Islamophobic discourse is being propagated by the Daily Telegraph via the issue of the Muslim burka, despite the knowledge that the majority of Muslims do not regard wearing the burka as a religious obligation. This claim is supported by a collocation analysis showing that *burka* collocates with verbs such as *ban* and *banning*,

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and with countries such as France and Britain that refer to Europe where the debate over the *burka* and the European identity is so heated, especially in France.

Neutral presentation of the topic of burka in the Telegraph appears in a few instances where it reports some stories of burka ban in some European countries and the battle being fought by Muslims in order to legalize this dress. Moreover, the Telegraph reports on stories to define the burka as a dress, how it is required in some Islamic schools and countries and how some Muslims look at this dress. Some examples below reflect this pattern:

- 53 no right to evaluate culture," he said. "A **burka** is not better or worse than a short (Telegraph, September 19, 2013).
- 54 yesterday, requires all pupils to wear a **burka**, or a full-face veil and a long black (September 19, 2013)
- 55 Islamic schools, require pupils to wear a **burka** or *jilbab* (headscarf) The Ayesha (The Telegraph, September 19, 2013).

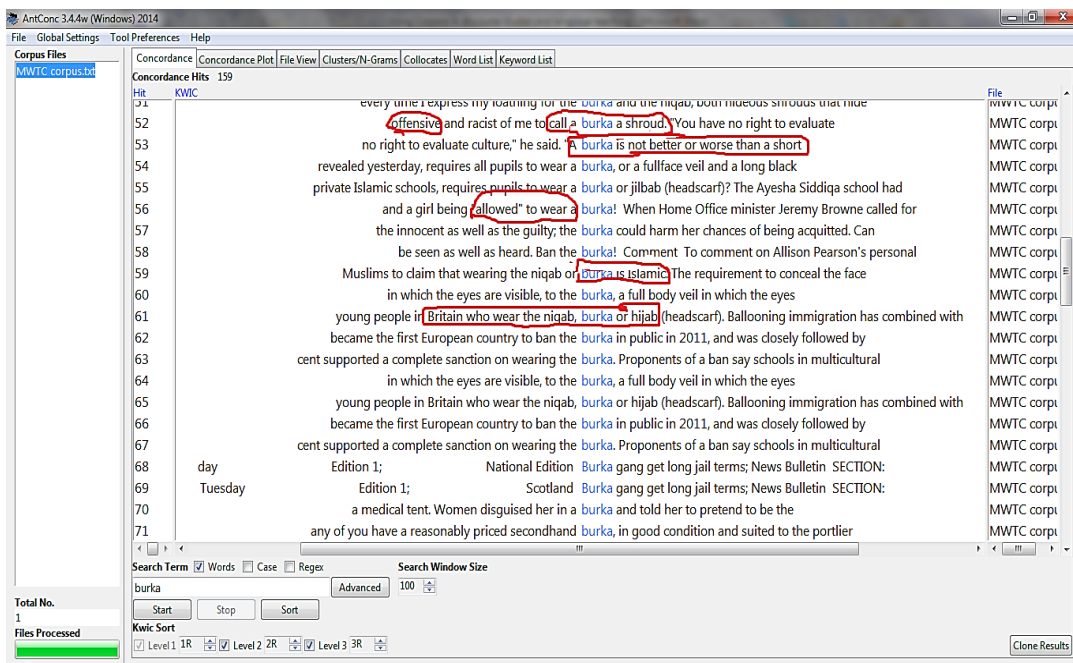


Figure 4.2 Burka neutral concordances

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As for the positive depiction of the burka, stories about this pattern include some instances where the burka is shown as a free choice made by some Muslim women. In addition to that, the positive representation of the burka is reflected in rare instances where the burka is said to be another way of presenting the beauty of women but from a different perspective. The following are examples of this pattern:

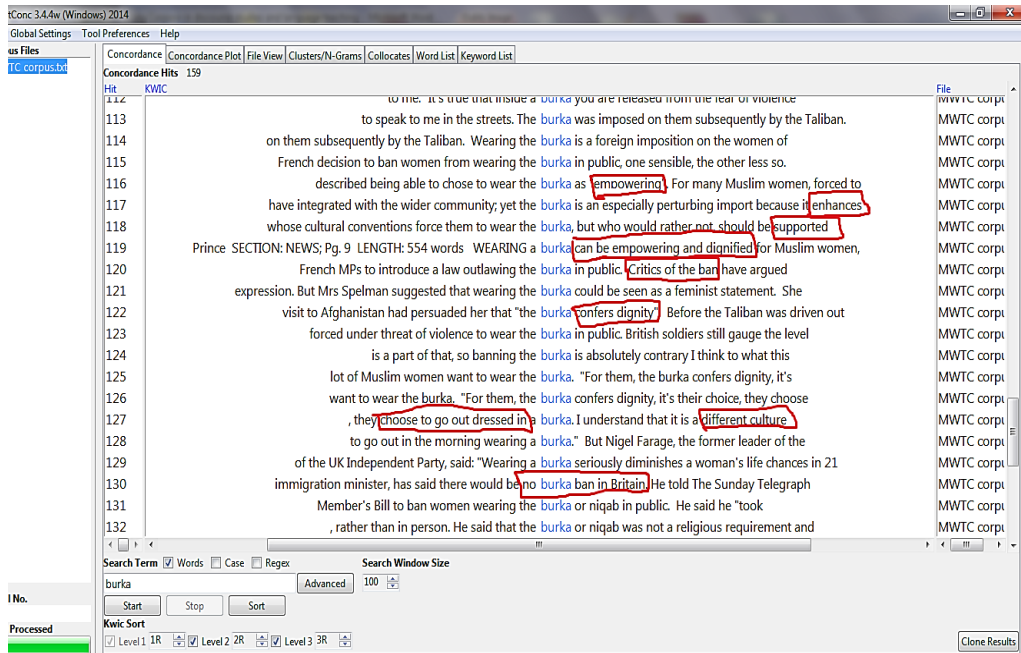


Figure 4.3 burka positive concordances

- 116 described being able to choose to wear the burka as "empowering". (Telegraph July 19, 2010)
- 122 Visit to Afghanistan persuaded her that "the burka confers dignity" (Telegraph, July 19, 2010).
- 125 They choose to go out dressed in a **burka**, I understand that it is a different culture (Telegraph, July 19, 2010).

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4.4.2 Court and Law

The second dominant topic in the MWTC is the theme of *court and law*. The strongest keyword that pertains to this topic is the word *ban*. The latter appears 271 times in the corpus. This keyword is going to be analyzed in context using concordance analysis of the sentences where it appears. The words that are related to MW and collocate with the keyword *ban* are the following: *niqab(s)*, *burka(s)*, *veil(s)*, *burkini*, *Muslim*, *women*, and *Islamic*. Thanks to the collocation analysis tool provided by AntConc(3.4.4W) that we were able to identify the concordance lines that are related to Muslim women or one of their issues.

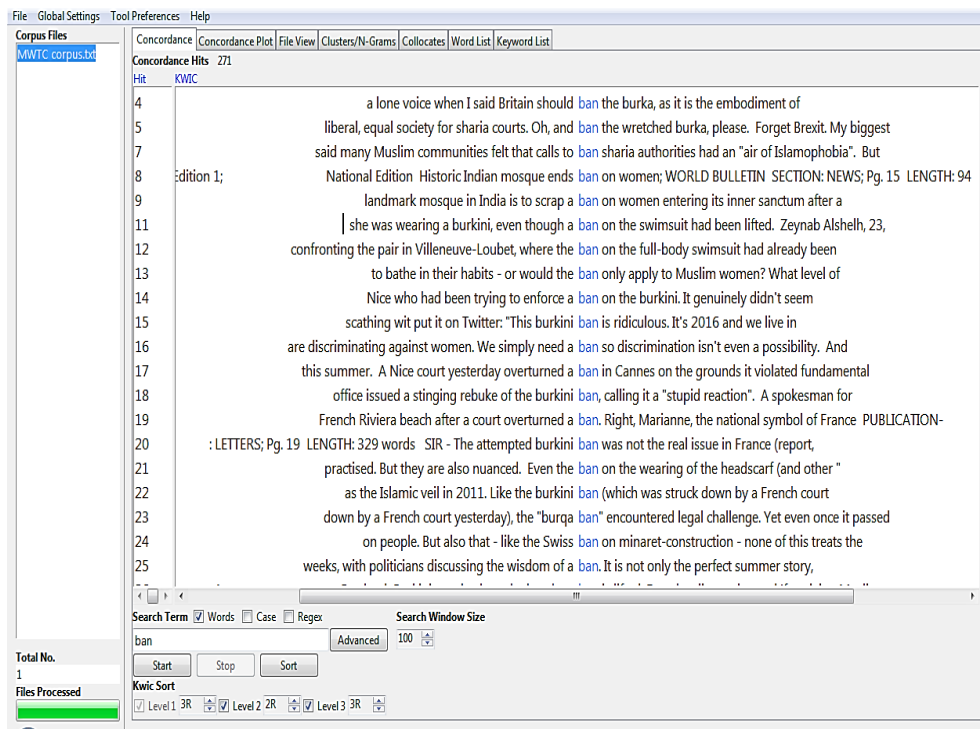


Figure4.4 Concordance of the word ban

The second strongest keyword in the topic of *court and law* is the keyword *court*. The words that are related to Muslim women or some of their issues and collocate with the keyword *court* are the following: *veil(s)*, *faces*, *niqab*, *girl*, *wearing*, *Muslim*, *women*. So, even in *court and law* topic, Muslim women dress is always the target. Why do

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Muslim women go to the court? What is wrong with their dress to be banned? Is their way of dressing a threat to European societies? These are the questions that come to the mind of anyone who would read and find that the topic of *court and law* is a key theme when Muslim women issues are addressed.

Lines from 11 to 20 as Figure 4.4 above shows are all about the *burkini* ban. *The Telegraph* reports on stories about MW who appear to challenge the court ban and wear their Islamic swimsuit as a sign of their strong adherence to their religious practices and beliefs as shown in the following lines:

- 11 she was wearing a burkini, even though a **ban** on the swimsuit had been lifted.
- 12 confronting the pair in Villeneuve-Loubet, where the **ban** on the full-body swimsuit had already

Also, *The Telegraph* reports on international news when it deals with the issue of the burkini ban. It reports on stories from France, the first European country to rule the burkini ban in its beaches like in the following two examples:

- 14 Nice who had been trying to enforce a **ban** on the burkini. It genuinely didn't seem
- 20 The attempted burkini **ban** was not the real issue in France
- 23 down by a French court yesterday), the "burqa **ban**" encountered legal challenge

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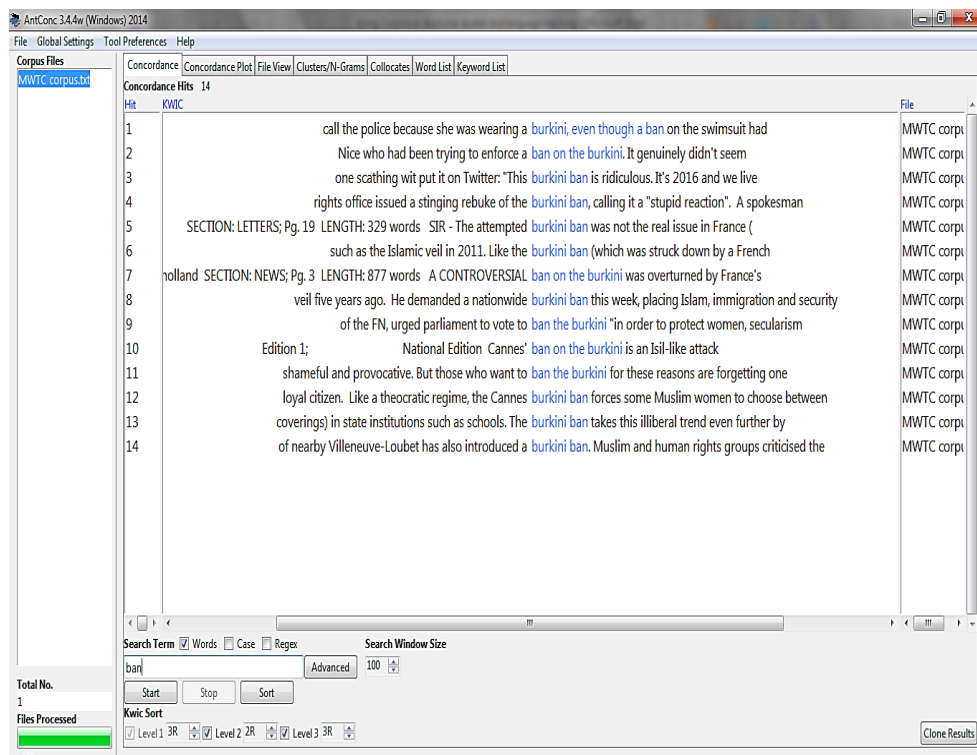


Figure 4.5 Concordance of burkini ban

The Telegraph seems to give the voice to those who are against the burkini ban as it reports their views and arguments against the *burkin ban* such as in the following lines:

- 27 A controversial **ban** on the burkini was overturned by France's
- 10 appealed against a court order to overturn the **ban**, made on the grounds that the prohibition violated
- 18 office issued a stinging rebuke of the burkini **ban**, calling it a "stupid reaction".
- 26 Burkinis are back on the beach as **ban** is lifted; French ruling welcomed 'for giving Muslim women back their dignity. (Telegraph, August27, 2016).
- 10 Cannes' ban on the burkini is an Isil-like attack (Telegraph, August15, 2016).

At the same time it reports on the views of those who are for a burkini ban :

- of the FN, urged parliament to vote to ban the burkini "in order to protect women, secularism (Telegraph, August27, 2016)
- He demanded a nationwide burkini ban this week, placing Islam, immigration and security (Telegraph, August27, 2016).
- Mayors who contest the **ban** will be backed by Nicolas Sarkozy(Telegraph, August27, 2017).

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The keyword *ban* appears 271 times in the MWTC in order to discuss the various laws that are issued in many parts of Europe to ban some MW dress such as the burkini, niqab and burka. The analysis of the concordance of the keyword *ban* as it appears in the corpus shows that the Telegraph tends to give much space to the voices and instances that calls for the ban of such Islamic dresses especially the burka. This probably reflects its indirect support for such laws and regulations. However, the case is different when the Telegraph reports on the burkini ban. It represents the views of those who directly criticize the burka ban as “ridiculous” or “unconstitutional”. It also reports on stories where Muslim women challenge such racist and anti-Muslim laws as we have mentioned in the above examples.

4.4.3 Terrorism

According to Jenkins (2017, p. 01), terrorism is “the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about particular objective”. The third key topic in the MWTC is the theme of terrorism. Hence, associating MW with a topic that entails the systematic use of violence would render MW in a negative way. So, let us see how are MW reported in relation to this negative topic.

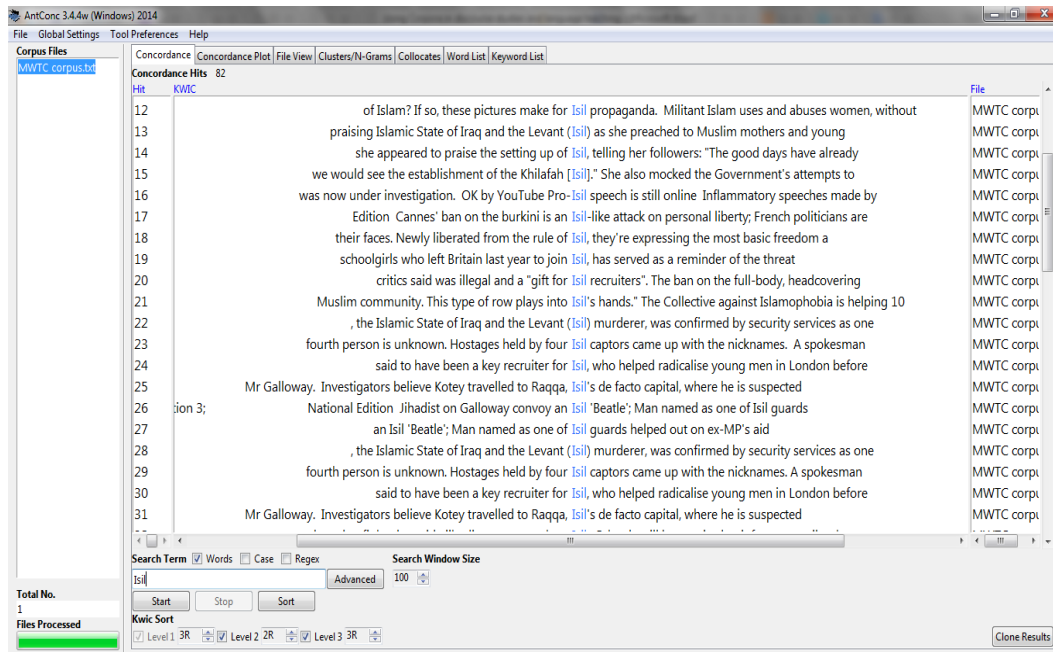


Figure 4.6 Concordance of the keyword ISIL

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The strongest keyword that pertains to the topic of terrorism is the word *ISIL*, an acronym that refers to a deadly terrorist group calling themselves Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. It was founded in Iraq by Abū Bakr al-Baghdadi in 2014 to restore the so-called the Muslim Caliphate in the Arab and Islamic world. The keyword *ISIL* appears 82 times in the MWTC. This section will show how these appear in contexts by examining the concordance of this keyword. In this first section of the concordance of the keyword **ISIL**, *The Telegraph* reports stories about the savage crimes and violence such as killing civilians and kidnapping journalists committed by *ISIL* fighters.

The British newspaper also reports on stories of the abuse and violence MW experienced because of *ISIL* (line 5, 11, 12, 18, and 33). Some MW did not hesitate to joyfully take off burka, the full-face veil *ISIL* has forced many MW to wear when under their rule in some Iraqi and Syrian territories. *The Telegraph* wants to show how abusive and tyrant *ISIL* is towards MW. The following are some excerpts that confirm this pattern:

- 5who cast off their burkas as soon as **Isil** had left. Burkinis? We shall fight them on (*Telegraph*, August 31, 2016)
- 11joyfully tearing off the face veils imposed by **Isil** can be in no doubt that to cloak (*Telegraph*, August 26, 2016)
- 12 of Islam? If so, these pictures make for **Isil** propaganda. Militant Islam uses and abuses women, *Telegraph*, August 26, 2016

On the other hand, the *Telegraph* also report stories where MW are said to be in active relationship with *Isil* and terrorism by shedding light on stories of some MW who fled Europe to join *Isil* and their role in the battle being fought in Iraq and Syria (line 13, 14, 15, 16 and 19). In these lines the *Telegraph* tries to show the role of some MW in the spread of *Isil* in Europe and elsewhere. How such women have social media to praise *ISIL*'s propoganda and legitimate their aggressive action to restore what they call the Islamic Caliphate as shown in the following examples:

- 13praising Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (**Isil**) as she preached to Muslim mothers and you (*Telegraph*, August 18, 2016)

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- 14she appeared to praise the setting up of **Isil**, telling her followers: "The good days have already come (Telegraph, August 18, 2016)
- 15 we would see the establishment of the Khilafah [**Isil**]." She also mocked the Government's attempt (Telegraph, August 18, 2016)
- 54Muslim teacher, Nargs Bibi, posted 40 offensive messages urging **Isil** to kill all non believers (Telegraph, July 3, 2015)

This section reveals how *The Telegraph* uses always the same theme and pattern when it deals with terrorism (ISIL) in relation to MW. The most dominant patterns are those that show MW as responsible and those that depict them as victims. The concordance analysis of the keyword *ISIL* reveals that there are 34 lines out of 82 that reflect these aforementioned patterns. Yet, there is a kind of discrepancy when it comes to the space allocated to each pattern, i.e. MW as victims or responsible. Counting the concordance lines of the keywords *ISIL* shows that there are 24 lines that point to MW as responsible for terrorism activities and 12 lines that point to MW as victims of terrorism in general and *ISIL* group in particular.

When MW are reported as responsible of terrorism two different patterns appear: the first one depicts how some British MW has gone deliberately to join war in Syria and Iraq where local people are leaving their homes and families to save their lives from brutal fights. Such terrorist MW are going to join *ISIL* not to participate in the fights rather, to work as sex slave or what has been called by media "Jihadi brides". The following are some examples of the keyword *ISIL* where MW are set to be responsible of terrorism.

- **Muslim mother** left Britain to join **ISIL** 'under noses of MI5' (Telegraph, March 21, 2015)
- **Muslim women fleeing** this country into the arms of **ISIL**, which is when she bared her soul.(Telegraph, January 22,2015)
- prevented from fighting by Sharia law, to which **ISIL** adheres, the **female jihadist** is now chief recruiter(Telegraph, January 22, 2015).

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- Glasgow-born **Aqsa Mahmood**, 20, married to an **Isil** fighter in Syria and mother to his children (Telegraph, January 22, 2015).
- 19 schoolgirls who left Britain last year to join **ISIL**, has served as a reminder of the threat or radicalization within British borders (Telegraph, August 13, 2016).

The second pattern is that of depicting and reporting MW as active participants in spreading ISIL ideology or praising their barbaric actions. The following are some examples that show such pattern:

- Primary teacher sacked for praising **Isil** beheadings (Telegraph, July 3, 2015).
- took to Twitter last month to celebrate the **Isil** murder of US journalist James Foley (Telegraph, September 6, 2014)
- Twitter and Tumblr from Western women in **Isil** encourage their European sisters to travel to Syria or carry out terrorist attacks on home soil (Telegraph, January 22, 2015).
- Muslim teacher, Nargs Bibi, posted 40 offensive messages urging **Isil** to kill all non believers (Telegraph, July 3, 2015).

Some of these lines show how some MW use social media such as Twitter or Facebook to recruit female terrorists or to praise and support ISIL deadly attacks on Europeans. Hence, their activities are not less dangerous than those holding guns and killing innocent people.

As mentioned above, *the Telegraph* also reports stories where MW are victims though it gives such stories very little space compared to what it is given to stories where MW are direct actors in the field of terrorism. Here are some examples where MW are reported as victims of terrorism and ISIL:

- 55 warned how easy people are being fooled by **Isil** propaganda and lured to the war torn country (Telegraph, June 16, 2015).
- In October, there was a video of **Isil** militants stoning 7 women to death (Telegraph, February 6, 2015)
- 3 The British women who lead the line for **Isil**; '**Jihadi brides**' are often vulnerable girls (Telegraph, January 22, 2015).

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The Telegraph reports on some stories that show how some MW in parts of Iraq and Syria have expressed their joy by throwing off the face-veil that the terrorist group had forced them to wear. It also reports on some instances where some MW were victims of brutal punishment such as stoning to death because of adultery. In some rare cases, *The Telegraph* reports stories where MW are described as vulnerable brain-washed victims of the strong and malicious propaganda of the deadly terrorist group of ISIL.

To sum up, the keyword analysis has revealed that in general *The Telegraph* focuses on negative topics when it deals with issues related to Muslim women. The keyword analysis of the MWTC has shown that these topics are *burka and veil*, *court & law*, and *terrorism*. It is claimed that these topics reflect how *The Telegraph* uses cliché topics such as women dress to report on Muslim women in a superficial negative way. Thus, the newspaper is clearly missing the opportunity (intentional or otherwise) to inform and enlighten its readers about the real issues and challenges Muslim women face within and outside the UK and Europe, knowing that dress has never been a real obstacle for Muslim women to achieve success and development. Examples of very successful veiled Muslim women are numerous, and among them are: the American activist and writer Linda Sarsour who has been named as the Time Magazine's 100 most influential people in 2017 (*The Times*, 2017); the Yemeni journalist and human rights activist Tawakol Kerman, who was a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 2011.

Moreover, when *The Telegraph* deals with Muslim women dress, it focuses on the burka or the full face veil although a very tiny minority of Muslim women tends to wear it, not only in Europe and the UK but also in many Arab and Islamic countries. *The Telegraph* reports and supports the views of those against the burka by giving them much more space to spell out their negative views about it and to spread their exaggerated fear of a Europe with more Muslim women wearing burka in Europe than in Islamabad. On the contrary, it gives very little space for Muslim women to voice their views about the burka and other Islamic dress although they are the first who should be concerned about their issues. Consequently, the Muslim veil, or the *hijab*, is no longer a key topic in the

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Western media as shown in previous studies (Al Hejin 2012; Ozcan 2012). The focus seems to have shifted toward the controversial burka.

However, *The Telegraph* representation of Muslim women issues is not all gloomy and negative. Sometimes, the newspaper gives space to Muslim women to talk positively about their issues and show their capacity to defend themselves and fight the stereotypical images that surround them. It is hoped that the newspaper and other Western media outlets will do more to promote positive images about Muslim women and Islam for a world free from prejudice and conflicts between cultures and religions.

4.5 Transitivity Analysis of the concordance node “Muslim women”

This section is set to study the grammatical features of the MWTC through an analysis of the transitivity systems of the clauses in the corpus under investigation. It tries to describe the type of processes and their functions in order to reveal the way MW are represented in the Daily Telegraph. Clauses are sorted out through the corpus tool of concordance analysis provided by AntConc software (3.3.4W, 2014). The analysis of the process types helps in understanding how social objects in this case (Muslim women) are represented. The Transitivity analysis focuses mainly on analyzing the most frequent process types as well as the participants’ roles i.e. subjects or objects, MW take in the analyzed process types.

4.5.1 Distribution of the node “Muslim women” in Process Types

The following table shows the distribution of process types in the MWTC in relation to the node ‘Muslim women’ which means that this analysis is not taking all the clauses that appear in the corpus, rather, it takes only the clauses where the node ‘Muslim women’ appears in the clause.

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Table 4.8 Process types in MWTC

Process type	N° of clauses	Percentage
Material	105	47.94%
Verbal	63	28.76%
Mental	31	14.15%
Relational	13	5.93%
Behavioral	04	1.82%
Existential	03	1.36%
Total	219	100%

As table 4.7 indicates, material and mental process are the dominant types when the MW node appears in clauses. Verbal and relational types also appear but with low frequency whereas behavioral and existential processes appear with very low frequency. Consequently, the analysis will take into consideration the three frequent types which are: *material*, *mental*, and *verbal* processes. Each process type will be analyzed separately.

The high frequency of the node MW in material process reveals that MW are indulged into various actions which means they are active and not passive elements. Verbal processes occupy the second place as the most frequent type because of genre of the texts and corpus which belong to press and news reporting where journalists are supposed to make interviews, dialogues, and quote from official and unofficial sources. Mental processes features in the third place of the list with 31 clauses. We expect *The Telegraph* to give MW space to voice their ideas, emotions and desires and 31 clauses could be revealing indeed.

4.5.1.1 Muslim Women in Material Clauses

According to Bloor and Bloor (1995), material processes are the most frequent process types in our language use and it is no exception for the MWTC to have high frequency of material processes. This type of process is realized through two different

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types: *happening* and *doing*. When material process is expressing doing, the clause takes only two parts: the Actor and the Process itself. Yet, when it expresses happening, the clause takes a third part: Actor+ Process+ Goal. Accordingly, the coming analytical sections will reveal how the node Muslim women features in material processes? What is the dominant pattern? Is it Happening or doing? What function is given to MW in these clauses? Are they assigned the role Actors or Goals? Table 4.8 shows the distribution of happening and doing types.

Table 4.9 Types of material clauses

Material Processes	N° of clauses	Percentage
Doing	16	15.23
Happening	89	84.77
Total	105	100%

Since the type of happening is the most dominant and frequent type used in clauses where the node “Muslim women” appears, it will be taken for further analysis to show how it appears in those clauses as either an Actor or a Goal. Table 4.8 shows the distribution of the node MW as either Actor or Goal.

Table 4.10 Distribution of the node MW as Actor or Goal

MW in happening clauses	N° of clauses	Percentage
Actor	47	52.80
Goal	42	47.20
Total	89	100%

As Table 4.8 indicates the distribution of the node MW in the happening clauses is almost the same between Actors and Goals. This might mean that high distribution of MW as Goal or recipient of the action reflects the tendency of the Telegraph to regard MW as passive recipient of actions. The transitivity structure as Davidse (1992, p.10)

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stresses “is a system which has the Actor as the most central participant in material processes. It is Actor-centered. This situation leads us to ask who is doing what to MW? Who are those Actors affecting MW?

- **Muslim Women as Goals in the Clause**

The most frequent Actors that are said to directly affect MW are *laws and governmental institutions, veils and Burkini, Islam, and terrorists.*

- ✓ **Laws and regulations:** All of the clauses where *laws* are affecting MW refer to the new rules that are lunched by courts to ban some MW dress especially the burka (see section 4.2.2). The following clauses are some examples of this type:

- 315 France's National Assembly will begin debate in early July on a bill banning Muslim women from wearing the full Islamic veil. (Telegraph, April 30, 2010 Friday)

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
A bill	Banning	Muslim women	From wearing the full Islamic veil

- 315 The French government is drawing up a law to ban Muslim women from wearing a full-face veil in public.

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
A law	To ban	Muslim women	From wearing full-face veil ; in public

Why would the Daily Telegraph report on news about the ban of the full-face veil from outside UK, in this case France? Is this relevant to the British reader? This would be interpreted that the newspaper is bringing such news in order to call for the government to do same thing like France and ban the Muslim full-face veil in spite of the fact that

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Britain is a multicultural country where different cultural practices are welcomed and recognized.

- 329 Muslim women should be banned from covering their faces, Nigel Farage of the UKIP - MWTC corpus.txt January 18, 2010 Monday
- 305 Tory MP has launched a proposal to pass a law that would ban Muslim women from wearing the burka in Britain. Philip Hollobone will attempt to steer MWTC corpus.txt July 1, 2010 Thursday

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
Law	Would ban	Muslim women	From wearing the burka; in Britain

- 310 mainstream parties, will be followed in July by a law that will outlaw Muslim women from wearing the burka, which covers the eyes with mesh, or the MWTC corpus.txt May 12, 2010 Wednesday
- 93 “Muslim women can be banned from wearing veils in schools, courts and other British institutions” January 19, 2016 Tuesday
 - ✓ **Government and institutions:** this type of Actors counts a number of bodies that have relationship to governments and state in general such as Mayors, MPs, schools and others. The following are some examples where MW functions as Goal to such governmental bodies:
- 82 she made a comment when Prime Minister said he would support the idea that **schools and courts** could ban **Muslim women** from wearing the veil. LOAD-DATE: January 20, 2016.

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Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
Schools and courts	Could ban	Muslim women	From wearing the veil

- 89 **David Cameron's £20 million plan** to improve English classes for immigrants and, more specifically, to bring **Muslim women** into mainstream society (January 20, 2016 Wednesday)

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
David Cameron's £20million plan	To bring	Muslim women	Into mainstream society

- 96 **We** must teach **Muslim women** English to free them - not beat ISIL; The PM was wrong to link poor language skills with Islamic radicalism and Terrorism (January 19, 2016 Tuesday)

Actor	Process	Goal	Beneficiary	Circumstance
We	Must teach	English	Muslim women	To free them

Clauses 89 and 96 shows that the government is trying to help MW integrate into the British society by investing money to raise the educational level and to improve their English language skills in order to bring MW into mainstream society or to free them and help them embrace liberal views. *The Telegraph* is portraying the Conservative government to have positive effects on MW as it strives to empower them by teaching and educating them so that they are brought to mainstream society.

- ✓ **Islamic dress and Culture:** As far as this is concerned, we refer to clauses that contain burka, veil, burkini, Sharia law, Islamic culture and Islamic district as Actors that affect or do something to the Goal MW. Let us see some examples of clauses that contain MW function as a Goal to the above mentioned entities.

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- 23 some have claimed that at least this **ludicrous garment** (Burkini) affords **Muslim women** the opportunity to go swimming, when they might otherwise be locked away (August 31, 2016 Wednesday)

Actor	Process	Goal	Beneficiary
Ludicrous garment (burkini)	Affords	The opportunity	Muslim women

- 118 **The burka** can only isolate **Muslim women** (December 9, 2015).

Actor	Process	Goal
The burka	Can only isolate	Muslim women

In these two clauses (23) and (118) MW are represented as victims of their dress that can only isolate them. Moreover, when some kind of dress seems to be helpful (the burkini) it is mocked and represented in a sarcastic way as when *The Telegraph* describe the burkini as a “ludicrous garment”. This way of presenting MW dress gives readers a very negative connotation about MW dress as being isolating and belongs to backward traditions. It also shows how MW are naïve who are locked and isolated because of their dress.

- 309 **A devoutly Islamic district** of Aceh, on northern Sumatra, has banned **Muslim women** from wearing revealing clothing such as figure-hugging trousers, (May 28, 2010 Friday).

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
A devoutly Islamic district	Has banned	Muslim women	From wearing revealing clothes; Aceh, Northern Sumatra

- 22 While I agree that **the culture** that forces some **Muslim women** to cover up is not in keeping with British norms and needs to be tackled (September 1, 2016 Thursday)

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Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
The culture	Forces	Some Muslim women	To cover up

- 331 **Sharia law** that bullies young British **Muslim women** at home and persecutes Christians abroad.

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
Sharia law	Bullies, persecutes	Young British Muslim women, Christians	At home ; abroad

In the three clauses above (309, 22 and 331) MW are being subjects to tough and conservative Islamic rules and practices. *The Telegraph* tries to represent MW as victims of their own religion and culture that bullies them and force them to do and follow some restrictive rules throwing away their rights and neglecting their basic freedom. A short comparison between what the British government does to MW and what Islam and its issues impose on MW, the picture we draw would reveal important ideological beliefs of *The Telegraph* and its way of seeing MW. While the British government is willing to spend money (£20 million plan) to bring MW to mainstream society and to free them from ignorance and their oppressive culture, Islamic culture forces MW to cover up with veils and burka that can only isolate them. MW are victims of Sharia law that bullies them at home and outside. This is what is called a “double discourse” where the “other” in this case Islam is represented negatively and associated with negative effects and practices, and “us” in this case the British Government and culture, as represented positively and associated with positive practices.

- **Muslim Women as Actors**

From the 79 material clauses we are dealing with, MW appear in 42 clauses to as playing the role of Actors. As mentioned above, Actor is the most important part in

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material clauses as he/she is the one who does the action or the one responsible for the event. Knowing the type of actions and events MW are responsible for would help us understand the way *The Telegraph* represents them linguistically. To put it simply, what sorts of actions MW are associated with in the MWTC? MW are actors for verbs like *trap, live, stone, walk, catch up, travel, learn, wear, bring, reform, change, speak, face, give, join, celebrate, dress, leave, offer, practice, form, allow, jump, win, use, break*. Let us see some clauses of these verbs.

- 35 A study in 2009 found more than **two thirds of Muslim women** in Germany **wear** no hair or face covering. MWTC corpus.txt

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
Two thirds of Muslim women	Wear	No hair or face covering	In Germany

- 43 into ISIL's hands." The Collective against Islamophobia is helping 10 **Muslim women bring a legal request** to have the ban overturned. MWTC corpus

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
10 Muslim women	Bring	A legal request	To have the ban overturned

- 81 Only Muslim women **can reform** Islam

Actor	Process	Goal
Muslim women	Can reform	Islam

- 86 Muslim women **can change** Islam for the better

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
Muslim women	Can change	Islam	For the better

The three clauses above (43, 81, 86) are the only instances where MW are given positive role to play. The newspaper or the one whom it reports on thinks that MW can play a role in a process of reforming Islam or changing it for the better.

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- 97 Some 22% of **Muslim women** in the UK-around 190,000- **speak little or no** English

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
22% of Muslim women	Speak	Little or no English	In the UK

- 98 More than half the 40,000 British Muslim women who cannot speak English at all are of working age, between 16 and 64

Actor	Process	Goal
Half British Muslim women	Cannot speak	English at all

Clauses (97) and (98) provide a very negative image about MW as being unable to speak English. 22 % of them are illiterate or unable to communicate with their fellow British citizens. Moreover, half of those who cannot speak English are in the labor market which further complicates the problem because modern labor market and societies are knowledge-based that have no place for illiterate people.

- 101 Eighteen percent of **Muslim women are looking** after family to the exclusion of paid work

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
Eighteen percent of Muslim women	are looking	after family	to the exclusion of paid work

- 131 significant numbers of **Muslim women** and young girls are **joining** the conflict too.

Actor	Process	Goal

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Significant numbers of MW and young girls	Are joining	The conflict
-------------------------------------------	-------------	--------------

- 165 Academics estimate that as many as 60 **Muslim women** have **left** UK in the past year to join husband or to find one in the conflict zones.

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
60 Muslim women	Have left	To join husband or to find one	UK, in the past, in the conflict zone

Clauses (101), (131) and (165) also represent MW negatively. In (101), MW are given a passive role to play. The majority of MW prefer to work as house wife on paid work. Something makes them dependent on their husbands and family members to afford their living. In other words, MW have chosen to be vulnerable and dependent. As far as clauses (131) and (165) are concerned, the image is much gloomy. MW are joining conflicts and war zones with significant numbers. They take part in conflicts taking places especially in terrorist attacks. They go there deliberately and with great numbers. However, *The Telegraph* exaggerates when it reports about the numbers of MW who go to join war zones. Instead of stating exact numbers, it just says significant numbers.

4.5.1.2 Muslim Women in Verbal Clauses

Verbal processes involve a communication between a Sayer and an Addressee, where some message, the Verbiage, is communicated. Saragih (2010, p. 8) states that verbal processes show activities related to information. Specifically, the process includes that of saying, commanding, asking, and offering.

First of all we need to identify the major Sayers of the verbal clauses about MW. We are going to reveal what MW say and talk about, what has been said to them and what they are told to do.

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- **Governmental bodies as Sayers**

The Daily Telegraph reports many instances where governmental bodies such as Parliamentary members, politicians, and members of social institutions, address some issues related to MW. Such official voices reflect the way MW are seen not only by those governmental institutions but also by *The Telegraph* itself as it belongs to the same political and ideological stream of right-wing or conservatives. In the following, there are some examples of verbal clauses where *The Telegraph* reports on governmental bodies talking about MW:

- 7 Sir Paul Coleridge, founder of the Marriage Foundation think tank, said he had come to the "truly startling" conclusion based on findings from a study suggesting that British Muslim women are more likely to be happily married than those from other backgrounds.

This is a clause complex and we can sort out from it two different verbal clauses:

Sir Paul Coleridge	Said	He had ... other backgrounds
Sayer	Process : verbal	projection

Study	Suggesting	That British Muslim women ...background
Sayer	Process: verbal	projection

- 11 Naz Shah, the Labour MP for Bradford West, who was herself forced into marriage at the age of 15, insisted during the meeting that many Muslim women, including some in abusive relationships, found sharia councils a valuable source of help.

Naz Shah	Insisted	During a meeting	That many Muslim women, including some in abusive relationships, found sharia councils..help
Sayer	Process: verbal	circumstance	projection

- 51 Sharia teaching is being "misused" and "exploited" to discriminate against Muslim women, Theresa May, the Home Secretary, has claimed, May 27, 2016 Friday

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Theresa May	Has claimed	Shria teaching is being misused and exploited to discriminate against Muslim women
Sayer	Process: verbal	Projection

- 94 Mr Cameron also announced that tens of thousands of Muslim women would face deportation unless they pass a series of English language tests after coming to Britain on spouse visas.

Mr Cameron	Announced	That tens of thousands of Muslim women would face deportation ...visa
Sayer	Process: verbal	Projection

- 114 A government source said “At the moment, too many Muslim women are treated like second-class citizens who may speak only basic English at best January 18, 2016 Monday

A government source	Said	At the moment, too many Muslim women are treated like second-class citizens who may speak only basic English at best
Sayer	Process: verbal	Projection

- 197 PM: Muslim women should remove their veils in court MWTC corpus.txt September 30, 2013

PM (Prime Minister)	Said “ the verb omitted” and replaced by colons	Muslim women should remove their veils in court
Sayer	Process : verbal	projection

- 122 Baroness Cox, a cross-bench peer, highlighted a series of "shocking" examples of the impact of Islamic law on Muslim women in Britain as she called for them to be given greater protection under equality legislation October 24, 2015.

Baroness Cox	Highlighted	A series of chocking examples of Islamic law on Muslim women	In Britain
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Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage	Circumstance
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She (baroness Cox)	Called	For them	To be given greater protection	Under equality legislation
Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Verbiage	Circumstance

- 14 Mr Hollande later said he wanted to see Muslim women integrated into France, "free" from the veil. "MWTC corpus.txt"

As the above clauses show, governmental bodies' verbiage about MW oscillates between two different but interrelated presentations. The first one shows how for instance, Prime ministers and Parliamentary members talk about MW as being incompatible with the British culture and values as they do not speak fluent English or wear inappropriate dress that hides their identity and hinders the work of courts, as in the case of full-face veil in court or even in public places where it raises security issues. Moreover, the PM issues a direct threat to those who cannot speak English or do not accept the laws of the courts to be deported and expelled out of England. See clause 94 and 197 above. The discourse reported here is negative as it holds direct threat to MW by the head of the government himself and the Daily Telegraph has used reporting and not quoting or projection which gives the reader the impression that the newspaper supports what the head of government is saying about MW. Secondly, government institutions address the issue of MW in a tolerant language by regarding MW as victims of their own religion and traditions. Accordingly, they call for them to be freed and liberated from their oppressive religion and culture.

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- **Muslim women speaking for themselves**
- 31 Faiza Ben Mohamed of a Muslim group in Villeneuve-Loubet, said it "gives Muslim women back their dignity". August 27, 2016 Saturday

Faiza Ben Mohamed of a Muslim group	Said	It gives Muslim women back their dignity
Syaer	Process	Projection

- 36 In an anti-Semitic rant she said: "The audacity and the arrogance of these Jews and they encourage killing of Muslim children and Muslim women."

She	Said	In an anti-Semitic rant	The audacity and arrogance of these jews ..the killing of Muslim women
Sayer	Process : verbal	Circumstance	projection

- 65 Take the case of those Muslim women who claim to have been systematically blocked from seeking office by male Muslim Labour councillors.

Muslim women	Claim	To have been systematically blocked from seeking office by male Muslim Labor councilors
Sayer	Process: verbal	Projection

- 79 She mentions that in Britain "men too often do the talking for Muslim women". January 21, 2016 Thursday
- 88 Shaista Gohir, chairman of the Muslim Women's Network UK, says women tell her that their husbands or in-laws don't want them to learn English because it will "disturb the status quo" January 20, 2016 Wednesday.

Shaista Gohir	Muslim Women Network UK	Says	Women tell her...status quo
Sayer	Circumstance	Process: verbal	Projection

women	Tell	Her	Teir husbands or in laws don't want them to learn English because it will "disturb the status quo"
Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Projection

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Clauses (88, 79, and 65) all deal with the same aspect. They refer to the suffering of MW because of their male counterpart who try to “block them” from seeking offices, or not allowing them to “learn English” or even , in situations and problems where MW need to speak and voice their needs, Muslim males interfere and talk in behalf of them. Accordingly, real problems are not dealt with and MW voices are not heard. Once again, *The Telegraph* report stories of MW , using their own voices, who are victims of the Islamic patriarchic system that strangulate any raising voice of women who want to proceed high in the social and academic life. It seems that *The Telegraph* gives MW voices only when they criticize their own belief and culture. One might wonder what about the other social problems they face like sexual harassment, bullying, racists attacks, and many others. Why *The Telegraph* does not listen to MW’s stories about such aggressions and harassments they face every day.

- 129 She (The Muslim teacher, Nargs Bibi) also referred to aid workers in Syria as "barking dogs", called on Muslim women to "stay at home" and prayed that Allah would "destroy" the UK and America.

She (Muslim teacher	Called on / prayed	Muslim women	To stay home/ would destroy the UK and America
Sayer	Processes: verbal	Receiver	Projection

- 153 as one told her: "We Muslim women dress in a modest way, not like Western women."

One (Muslim women)	Told	Her	We Muslim women dress in a modest way, not like Western women
Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Projection

In clauses 129 and 153, we read about two different voices of MW. The first one (129) refers to a woman who shows a great deal of submission to religious codes as she calls for her fellow women to stay home and to play the role of housewives and leave jobs

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and work for their male counterparts. The second one (153) is a conversation between a Daily Telegraph journalist and a MW. The latter has referred to herself and other MW as “different” and distinguished from the rest of women in terms of their modest dress.

- 158 as a Muslim. Educational statistics show that young Muslim women in the UK are now among the highest achieving among their academic peers. MWTC corpus.txt January 3, 2015 Saturday

Educational statistics	show	Young MW are among the highest achieving among their academic peers
Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage

- 160 It's very evident that Muslim women can be fashionable while also retaining their modesty," the Queen's daughter-in-law declares in the February edition of Harper's Bazaar January 1, 2015

The Queen's daughter in law	Declares	It's very evident that MW can be fashionable while also retaining their modesty
Sayer	Process: verbal	Verbiage

- 258 Muslim women in our Islamic history have demonstrated positions that expressed correct opinions and advice," he told advisers. September 26, 2011

He (Saudi king)	Told	Advisors	MW in our Islamic history have demonstrated positions that expressed correct opinions and advice
Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Verbiage

Clauses 158, 160 and 258 provide a very positive depiction of MW. In clause 158 *The Telegraph* reports on a social research that shows young MW as intelligent and successful in their academic life. Clause 160 can be regarded as a lone voice of solidarity with MW modest dress that comes from an important personality in the British politics such as Cherie Blair. Finally, clause 258 is a report on the Saudi King who, in one of the

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countries known for their hostile treatment of women, is praising the role of MW in the Islamic history and civilization.

4.5.1.3 Muslim Women in Mental Clauses

Mental processes refer to verbs indicating perception, cognition, affection and desire (Halliday, 1994; Saragih, 2010). It enables language users to express opinion, thoughts and tastes that help to identify their definitions of reality. This process type tends to be realized through the use of verbs like ‘think’, ‘know’, ‘feel’, ‘smell’, ‘hear’, ‘see’, ‘want’, ‘like’, ‘hate’, ‘please’, ‘repel’, ‘admire’, ‘enjoy’, ‘fear’... Mental clauses would tell us how MW think, what they feel and desire, and what they see and believe. Analyzing mental clauses could reveal a lot about MW and tell us more about their mental and psychological activities.

Mental process of the search term ‘Muslim women’ in the MWTC appears 45 times and covers 25.28% percent of the clauses related to MW. This type of process has four meaning categories: *affection*, *perception*, *desideration* and *cognition*. The two participants involved are called the *Senser* and the *Phenomenon*.

- **Perception clauses**
- 119 feminist, find deeply offensive. We **hear** that many Muslim women in Britain do **not know** our language MWTC corpus.txt have moved on.

Muslim women	Don't know	Our language
Senser	Process : mental	Phenomenon

- **You see** more burka-clad Muslim women in London than in Islamabad, while Bollywood MWTC corpus.txt

You	See	More burka-clad Muslim women	In London than in Islamabad
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon	Circumstance

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- 133 I strained to **catch sight** of any Muslim women. Apart from a handful of white females, MWTC corpus.txt

I	Catch sigh	Of any Muslim women	
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon	

- 330 shocking stories we sometimes **hear** of crimes against Muslim women who break Islamic cultural rules, it's MWTC corpus.txt

We	Hear	Of crimes	Against Muslim women
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon	Circumstance

None of the perception clauses mentioned above include MW as the Senser (doer); they are either Phenomenon or Circumstance. MW are seen, heard about, and intimidated in different contexts. It seems *The Telegraph* does not report about MW and their perception to reality.

- **Cognition clauses**

Cognition clauses are supposed to reveal the way MW think and what they discuss, know or ignore.

- 68 Labour '**ignored** misogyny against Muslim women''

Labor	ignored	Misogyny	Against Muslim women
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon	Circumstance

- 58 highlights include two short pieces in which young Muslim women **discuss** wearing the hijab (December 2 2015); a pair MWTC corpus.txt

Muslim women	Discuss	Wearing the niqab	
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon	

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- 78 I spent a lot of time in evening surgeries trying to **persuade** Muslim women to **learn** English (Letters, January 20). Free classes MWTC corpus.txt

I/ Muslim women	Persuade/ learn	Muslim women/ English
Senser	Processes: mental	Phenomenon

- 272 a blow to individual freedom. If legislators **think** Muslim women are oppressed, then why attack them? Also, MWTC corpus.txt

Legislator	Think	Muslim women are oppressed
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon

- 282 Cherie Blair **has defended** Muslim women who wear a veil and insisted that MWTC corpus.txt

Cherie Blair	Has defended	Muslim women
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon

- 209 Umar London SW19 SIR - As I **understand it**, Muslim women are **required** to wear the veil so MWTC corpus.txt
- 263 and their community through sport. When it **involves** Muslim women, there may be boundaries to cross - in MWTC corpus.txt

Like in Perception clauses, MW do not appear to be the Senser or the doer of the process, they merely occupied the function of Phenomenon. Except in one clause where *The Telegraph* reports on some MW discussing the topic of the veil. They are ignored, thought to be oppressed and difficult to persuade. Mental clauses used by *The Telegraph* strengthen the negative presentation of MW as being passive receivers and not involved in any thinking activities

- **Desideration**
- 190 may not eat in daylight hours in Ramadan Muslim women may not **wish** to shake hands with MWTC corpus.txt

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Muslim women	May not wish	To shake hands
Senser	Process : mental	Phenomenon

- 274 ethnic minority women, and they **don't want** Muslim women living in central London." She also suggested MWTC corpus.txt

They	Don't want	Muslim women	Live in central London
Senser	Process: mental	phenomenon	

- 301 better as a result ... why a lot of Muslim women **want** to wear the burka. "For them, MWTC corpus.txt

Lot of Muslim women	Want	To wear burka
Senser	Process: mental	phenomenon

The desideration type of mental clauses is about expressing wishes and desires or dislikes. Desideration clauses about MW are supposed to show what MW want, desire or wish. However, *The Telegraph* does not give enough space for MW to spell out their wants and needs. Apart from one clause (190) that shows what MW want (not to shake hands in Ramadhan), the other clauses are about others do not want MW to neighbor (clause 274) them or questioning what MW want to wear (clause 301)

• Affection

This type of mental clauses includes verbs of liking, fearing, loving and hating. Affection clauses are supposed to reflect what people like, dislike or love to do.

- 261 BYLINE: Jonathan Pearlman Muslim women who **refuse** to remove their veils for MWTC corpus.txt

Muslim women	Refuse	To remove their veils
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon

- 268 looking for four teenage girls who **mocked** Muslim women about her religion before kicking and punching MWTC corpus.txt

Teenage girls	Mocked	Muslim women	About her religion
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Senser	Process : mental	phenomenon	Circumstance
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- 120 the George Formby Society, the wrestler Giant Haystacks, Muslim women **praising** the veil and the actress Anita MWTC corpus.txt

Muslim women	Praising	The veil and actress Anita
Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon

As the examples from the clauses above show, there is no clause that tells about what MW love, hate or desire. The clauses we have here are about MW being mocked because of their religion (clause 268). Other two clauses are about MW who praise their veil and who refuse to remove it (clause 120 and 261 respectively) in an act that shows their disobedience of laws that forbid wearing some clothes.

All in all, the analysis shows that although mental clauses occupy good space in the processes used in relation to MM, they do not reveal what MW perceive, think about, like, want and desires for, except in a few cases, MW do not occupy the role of Senser (the subject) or the one who is doing the process. Most of the clauses we took MW appear in them as Phenomenon. This means that *The Telegraph* depicts MW as passives objects who have no importance to show their feeling, ideas and emotions.

4.6 Discussion of the Results

The analysis of the transitivity systems of the node ‘Muslim women’ through its concordance appearance in the MWTC reveals that the term ‘Muslim women’ appears with high frequency in material, verbal, and mental clauses. These three types of processes are taken into further qualitative analysis.

The high frequency of the node ‘Muslim women’ in material clauses could be seen at first glance that MW are active social agents and they take part in various actions and events. However, the analysis of material clauses in terms of participants’ distribution has shown that MW are given the role of Goals (objects) who are affected by different Actors (subjects). When MW are Goals in clauses, they are reported as passive receivers of

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actions. *The Telegraph* gives MW the role of Goals in the clause in order to show them as victims of their own religion, culture and traditions they want to stick to. They are either victims of their modest and isolating dress such as the burka which they choose or are forced to wear; or victims of their Islamic law and its patriarchic system that bullies them and take away their freedom. Moreover, the analysis has shown that when MW are placed as Goals for Islamic dress, laws or regulations; these latter are said to negatively affect them. Yet, when MW are placed as Goals for British or Western Actors, they are reported to be positively affected. This kind of ‘double discourse’ reflects the ideological stance of *The Telegraph* which favors, brushes and praises ‘Our’ actions and practices and criticize, humiliate and look down Other’s practices and values.

According to the analysis of the mental clauses where the node ‘Muslim women’ appears in the three sub-categories of this process type, these latter would reveal how MW think and what they discuss, what they want and desire, and how they perceive the external reality. However, the analysis of the mental clauses in the MWTC has shown that *The Telegraph* does not use mental clause to tell its readers about MW’s ideas, emotion, wants and desires. In most of the clauses we analyzed, MW do not occupy the function of the Senser (the subject). Rather, they are given the role of Phenomenon. To put it another way, *The Telegraph* tells us how others think of MW, how they see them, and what they want them to do. This means that *The Telegraph* again is depicting MW passively except in some very few instances where it reports on some MW discussing things and expressing their wishes. Therefore, the analysis of material and mental clauses comes down to side of the first hypothesis which states that Muslim women are discursively misrepresented in *The Telegraph*.

As far as verbal processes are concerned, the analysis of the presence of the term ‘Muslim women’ in this type of clauses has revealed that there are two main patterns: a) *The Telegraph* reports on MW as being talked about especially by governments institutions or politicians, b) *The Telegraph* reports on MW talking about themselves. When MW are talked about by British politicians or governmental sources, *The*

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Telegraph reports on direct threat issued by the British Government for those MW who are not willing to obey the British social laws especially in terms of dress, although the British institution welcomes multi-cultural practices. *The Telegraph* also reports on warnings issued by the conservative government to those MW who cannot speak English or do not want to learn it to be deported back to their homeland. Reporting on officials and governmental institutions talking about MW in this negative way would lead *The Telegraph* readers to see MW as a national problem and a threat to the British values that should be addressed and considered seriously. On the other hand, the analysis has shown that when *The Telegraph* reports MW voices and quote their opinions and views, it only does when MW claim being oppressed or blocked by their male counterparts. In other words, MW voices are reported and quoted when they criticize their own religion and culture. Accordingly, the analysis of the verbal process allowed the researcher to confirm the second hypothesis which stipulates that the Muslim women's voice is generally unheard in *The Telegraph*.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the MWTC corpus from a corpus linguistics analysis and transitivity analysis (mainly the node "Muslim women"). The keyword analysis has revealed the key topics that *The Telegraph* addresses when reporting about Muslim women. The key topics that are further analyzed through the concordance tool revealed that the most frequent patterns *The Telegraph* uses to report about these topics are negative especially the topic of terrorism, and court and law. The concordance analysis that is integrated with transitivity analysis to study has shown that the material process is the most frequent process type and that Muslim women are given a passive role to play. The analysis of the verbal processes has shown that *The Telegraph* does not give enough space for MW to talk about their own issues. It only does so when MW appear to criticize their religion and culture.

**Chapter Five: *The Telegraph's* hidden
ideologies about Muslim Women**

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at using Fairclough's Critical Language Study model (1989) in order to reveal the relationships between the discursive patterns and ideologies *the Daily Telegraph* uses to depict Muslim women. Fairclough's CDA model of Description, Interpretation, and Explanation is applied on a specific corpus compiled from the general MWTC including the articles that mention the "Muslim women" in their headlines. The Description stage deals with the formal properties of *The Telegraph* texts encoded in their vocabulary and grammar. The Interpretation stage attempts to discuss this newspaper's processes of text production and consumption. The explanation stage is set to link its texts and discourse about Muslim women with the broader social context. This chapter is closed by discussing the main results by linking them to the study's research questions.

5.2 Headline Analysis and Identification of Main Topics

This section is set to give a general overview about *The Telegraph* headlines that include the word 'Muslim women'. Headlines are the central part in newspaper articles because they include the most important information on what the topic is about and most of the time, readers would read only headlines without going through the whole articles.

Access to *the Daily Telegraph* articles that include headlines about MW is done through the Nexis Lexis platform. The articles that were selected are those appeared from January 2010 to September 2016. The search terms used were 'Muslim woma(e)n, Arab woma(en). The search results show that the search terms appear in 27 headlines and in different news types. These articles are preserved in a corpus called Muslim Women in Headlined Corpus (henceforth MWHC). MW in headlines appear in most of news types. They are dealt with in editorials, features, news stories and letters to the editors. The following table shows the articles distribution in new types

Table 5.1 Articles distribution in news types

Types of Articles	Number of articles
News	20
Editorials	2
Letters to editors	3
Features	2
Total	27

Table 5.1 indicates that the search words appear most of the time in news stories section. On the other hand, *The Telegraph* has just two columns written by editors dealing with MW. This means that during six years, the issue of MW has appeared only twice as central social topic that needs an in-depth analysis by editors of the newspapers where the latter explain and present the newspaper views and judgment of the topic of MW. MW appear in features articles with a similar frequency. Features articles do not usually tell readers what happened only; rather, they try to look profoundly why some events or phenomena took place. Finally, there are three letters to the editors about the issue of MW. This type is very often written by people who are not part of the journalist's staff of the newspaper. Hence, most of the articles with MW in their headlines are written by the newspaper staff. Consequently, they represent the view of the newspaper about MW and their issues. After identifying the news types where MW appear in headlines, we need now to identify the types of topics of those headlines and articles. What are the different topics where MW are dealt with in headlines? To answer this question, headlines have been classified according to their topics. The classification of headlines resulted in the following topics:

-Muslim women dress such as veil and burka

-Violence

-Muslim women as victims

-Muslim women in positive appearance

The following table shows the number of articles each topic includes

Table 5.2 headlines topics

Topics	Number of headlines
Muslim women dress (veil, burak..)	11
Violence	09
Muslim women as victims	06
Muslim women positive reports	01

As indicated in table 5.2, the topic of MW dress such as veil, headscarves and burka dominate the MW headlines topics. This is in fact a confirmation of the keyword analysis we held the previous chapter (see Chapter four, section 4.3). The keyword analysis of the MWTC has revealed also that the topic of MW dress such as burka, niqab, and veil is the strongest key topic when *The Telegraph* deals with issues in relation to MW. The second major theme where MW appear in headlines is about violence. It deals with news stories that report on incidents of physical attacks and violence where MW are shown either as victims or as perpetrators. The third main theme shows stories about MW as victims of misogyny and Islamophobia. In this case, MW are most of the time victims of institutions rather than individuals such as in airplanes, music concerts, political parties, and in the family by their male counterparts. Finally, there is only one single headline that represents MW in a positive topic. It is in fact a long article that tries to show the important role that could be played by MW in the process of reforming Islam. Although we are not sure what is mean by ‘reforming Islam’, we can assume that the article gives MW a positive and progressive role to play.

5.3 Description, Interpretation and Explanation of the Daily Telegraph Muslim Women Articles

This section is an attempt to apply Fairclough’s (1995, 2015) three dimensional model of description, interpretation and explanation on MWHC. As we have seen in the section above (5.2), there are 27 headlines that contain one of the aforementioned search terms in different newspaper articles including news stories, editorials, letters to the editor, and features. These articles are going to be investigated from three perspectives.

First, we are going to describe the linguistic and formal properties of these texts and reveal their functions. Second, these texts are analyzed from production and consumption points of view. Finally, we consider and analyze the broader institutional and situational context of these texts. The aim of this three-partite analysis is to reveal the hidden ideological discourse of *The Telegraph* about Muslim women and its exercise of power domination on MW as a social and religious minority group in the UK.

5.3.1 Description

Description is the first stage in Fairclough's three-dimensional model of his CDA approach (1995, 2015). It deals with the analysis of the texts' formal properties in terms of grammar, vocabulary, and textual analysis. According to Fairclough (1995), texts may simultaneously serve three different but interrelated values. A text may have an experiential value, a relational value, and an expressive value. Experiential values deal with contents, beliefs, and knowledge. Relational values signal the social relationships that are enacted in texts through discourse. Finally, expressive values deal with subjects and social identities. Fairclough (2015) summarizes text formal features in table 5.3 in a more elaborated way.

Table 5.3 Formal features: experiential, relational and expressive values (Fairclough, 2015)

Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural effects
Contents	Experiential	Knowledge/beliefs
Relations	Relational	Social relations
Subjects	Expressive	Social identities

According to Fairclough (2015), grammatical, lexical, and textual features all have experiential, relational, and expressive values. They all serve to reveal the formal properties of texts and show the linguistic choices formulated made by text producers. Fairclough (2015, p.129) stresses that "the set of formal features we find in a specific text can be regarded as particular choices from among the options (e.g. choices of vocabulary and grammar) available in the discourse types which the text draws upon". The choice of words and grammatical structures are never neutral. These choices are very often

ideological. In order to interpret grammatical and lexical choices made in a text, Fairclough (2015) suggests that we need to bring to light what other choices might have been made. Accordingly, the analysis of texts has to oscillate between what is 'there' in the text and the discourse types the text is drawing upon.

As far as this study is concerned, the description stage deals only with lexical and grammatical features of the selected articles. We will analyze the experiential and relational features of both lexis and grammar.

5.3.1.1 Experiential Values of Lexical Items

Analysis of experiential values of words should reveal how texts' ideological representation of the world is encoded in its vocabulary. In order to reveal the experiential values in a given text, Fairclough (2015) suggests that we need to look for certain lexical features. These lexical characteristics are summarized in the following questions: a) Are there words which are ideologically contested? b) What classification schemes does *The Telegraph* draw upon? What words does the cluster "Muslim women" collocate with? Is metaphor used? If so how? Following this three questions, we will analyze the experiential values of lexical items in the 27 articles with search words in their headlines as we mentioned above in section 5.

- **Ideologically Contested Words**

According to Fairclough (2015), sometimes what is important about the experiential values of lexical items in a given text is whether it includes ideologically contested words or not. Readers may easily identify words as lexical items belonging to specific ideological views. For instance the word 'misogyny' is very common in feminism ideological discourse. Yet, sometimes, words are not used to mean literally what they mean in such ideologies and readers might find it difficult to interpret such lexical items. We believe that the following words are said to be ideologically contested words used in *The Telegraph* articles when dealing with MW issues: "pacifying", "secular", "secularism", "freedom of dress", "expands rights and possibilities", "people should be free, given the freedom", "expand the rights and possibilities of women" (*The*

Daily Telegraph, Appendix2). All of these words are ideologically contested words. For instance “freedom, people should be free, or given the freedom” signals the liberal ideology of the Western media where individual freedom is promoted and preserved by laws and constitutions. However, this is not the case when things are related to Muslim women dress and their freedom to wear what they want. Freedom of dress and individuals seems to be restricted. MW are not allowed to wear their religious dress. So, the freedom which is meant here is not the liberal freedom of people in the west, among them minorities, where people are supposed to wear what they please. Rather, *The Telegraph* means a restricted freedom. The following extract shows this situation wherever *The Telegraph* signals freedom and liberty in relation to MW, it precedes it with words like “lawfully impose, practical necessity, public order” in order to justify the restriction of MW freedom of dress.

“The right to a particular religious dress code is safeguarded by the Human Rights Act and must be followed by schools and colleges, it is claimed. But the guidance says that teachers can lawfully impose policies that "restrict the freedom of pupils to manifest their religion" - for example, by covering their face or carrying the traditional Sikh kirpan dagger - on various grounds”.

(*The Telegraph* Appendix2)

Hence, *The Telegraph* seems to support the right of schools to present dress codes that would prevent pupils from manifesting their religion. Restricting dress code for MW means in fact, banning them from wearing veils and hijab because both represent a religious dress which is imposed by Islam. *The Telegraph* replaced the expression “ban the Muslim dress” by an expression that would minimize the tension between Muslims and the laws of the government. Henceforth, the expression “restrict the dress code” is used to mitigate the action of “banning the Muslim dress” that could be considered as an infringement of individual freedom that is protected by laws and the press itself in liberal societies.

Moreover, *The Telegraph* holds the same views of the Conservative Party leading the British government since 2010 concerning the right and liberties of religious

minorities in Britain. The British Conservative government led by David Cameron (2010-2016) and later by Theresa May (2016-) is cautious when freedom of dress of Muslim minorities are addressed. When both Cameron and May address the issue of MW dress, they start first by focusing that Britain is free country and that they respect the freedom of women to wear whatever they want. Yet, they emphasize the right of schools and institutions to introduce some restrictions on dress codes that are related to Muslim minorities in the UK especially the Islamic hijab and the full-face veil. The following extracts are respectively quotes of David Cameron and Theresa May concerning the issue of MW dress.

“We are a free country and people should be free to wear whatever clothes they like in public or in private,” Mr Cameron said. “But we should support those institutions that need to put in place rules so that those institutions can work properly. So for instance in a school, if they want that particular dress code, I believe the Government should back them. The same for courts, the same for immigration” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

“Theresa May, the Conservative Home Secretary, also speaking yesterday, said “women should be free to decide” for themselves whether to wear a veil. She said it was not for the state to “tell people what they should be wearing”, but added that in schools and courts, removing veils may be a “practical necessity”

(*The Telegraph*, Appendix2).

So, both of Conservative leaders refer to banning the Islamic veil and hijab and infringing individual freedoms through expressions such as “we should support those institutions that need to put in place rules so that those institutions can work properly” (David Cameron, *The Telegraph*, Appendix 2) or as May said “removing veils may be a “practical necessity”. So, banning the veils in schools and other institutions is again mitigated by what is called “practical necessity” and “rules for institutions to work properly”. Mitigation is used in such contexts for face protection. *The Telegraph* and the Conservative leaders are trying to avoid sounding undemocratic or anti-Islamic by

replacing their support to banning MW dress by other misleading expressions that make the meaning of freedom and individual liberties vague for readers.

- **What Classification Schemes are Used to Address MW Issues?**

Classification schemes constitute a particular way of dividing up some aspects of reality which is built upon a particular ideological representation of that reality. In this way, the structure of vocabulary is based (Fairclough, 1989, p.115). The way text producers frame their topic through drawing or using specific vocabulary borrowed from other domains or discourse type is a way of representing their topic which in turn reflects their ideology and evaluation of that topic. For instance, *The Telegraph* uses various words that belong to other discourse types in order to represent the burka or the Muslim dress in general. The following lexical items clarify this concept. Using words like *fuel a racist political agenda, exhaust the debate, victory for the law and wisdom ... that should make it possible to reduce tension, feeding jihadist propaganda, to protect women, secularism and our way of life". to heighten tensions which will carry risks of trouble',Burkinis are back as ban is lifted"* (The Telegraph, Appendix 2). The lexical items used to talk about the debate of the burka and the Islamic veil ban is taken from violence jargon. This is clear when *The Telegraph* uses words like "reduce tension", "feeding jihadist propaganda", "heighten tension" "carry risk of trouble" and "wearing the veil is an act of aggression" all such choice of lexical items from a violence discourse type to represent a social issue related to Muslim women dress reflects the negative frame *The Telegraph* draws upon when talking about Muslim women dress. No one likes wars. It is a symbol of hate and destruction. *The Telegraph* chooses such schematic frames to represent the burka and Muslim dress as alien to the British culture and an enemy that should be faced and dealt with seriously. The classification scheme of the issue of the Islamic dress as a topic of violence is not used randomly. It has been chosen carefully and it reflects how Islamophobic the view of *The Telegraph* is regarding Muslim women dress.

- **Collocation analysis**

According to Fairclough (2015), the co-occurrence or collocation of words might have an important indication of texts' ideological background. Following this argument, an analysis of collocation of the search term "Muslim women" is carried out. The aim is to reveal the words that keep company with the cluster "Muslim women". Hunston claims that "collocates can convey a message implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement" (qt in Baker, Gabrielatos, McCannery, 2012). Arguably, revealing patterns of collocations would unveil the elements of the underlying discourse relating to MW. The collocation analysis used in this section is informed by CL tools discussed in Chapter 3. AntCon (3.4.4w) is used to search for collocates in the MWHC. The minimum word frequency is set to be 3 words, i.e., a word is counted as collocate of the cluster "Muslim women" if it keep its company at least 3 times in the corpus. Moreover, collocation analysis includes only lexical items and excludes functional items. The following words are the lexical items that collocate with the cluster "Muslim women". The words are ordered according to their frequency of collocation.

Helping, women, asking, UK, wear, says, learn, veils, speak, do, remove, English, can, said

Muslim women collocates with verbs like "says", "wear", "speak", "remove", "do", "said", and "can". These verbs are just normal verbs with neither a positive nor a negative connotation. In order to see in which context they are used, we need to examine those verbs in context. Hence, we need to see their concordance.

The word "helping" is the most frequent collocate to the cluster "Muslim women". It appears three times in all the articles, two of its appearances are collocate to the cluster "Muslim women". The use of this word entails that "Muslim women" are in difficult situations where they need help. They are unable to protect or defend themselves. They are weak. The following extract shows this collocates clearly:

“Too many Muslim women today are trapped. *Helping them* to speak English is a first step to setting them free to make themselves rich” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

“Another objection is the message sent by framing the drive to speak English as counter-terrorism. That risks looking like *helping Muslim women* only as a means to an end - that of curbing terror. But *helping Muslim women* purely for our sake, not theirs, would be a gift to hate preachers who argue that the West doesn't really care about Muslim lives” The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

We believe that using words like “helping” MW who are trapped or helping them to avoid terrorism or for the sake of showing a Western pacifying and care about MW reflects *The Telegraph's* representation of MW as weak and submissive who need to be protected by laws and regulations.

The cluster MW also collocates with words like “wear”, “veil”, “remove” all are about MW dress especially the full-face veil and burka. This means that *The Telegraph* do not disassociate MW from their dress. Whenever they mention MW they mention their dress. The Muslim veil and dress seems to be the most important issue to be addressed and dealt with by *The Telegraph* when pointing to MW. This collocation type reinforces the keyword analysis carried out in Chapter Four where we have results of the keyword analysis of the MWTC have shown that the topic of Muslim women dress and veil is the most important key topic in *The Telegraph* articles.

- **Over-lexicalization**

Teo (2000) stresses that over-lexicalization or over-wording is a result of an excessive of repetitions, nearly-synonymous terms that is woven in the fabric of news discourse giving rise to a sense of over-completeness. Over-lexicalization gives sense of “over-persuasion and is normally evidence that something is problematic or of ideological contention. Accordingly, the analysis of over-wording in *The Telegraph* articles would reveal the ideological perception of MW by this newspaper. This section is set to reveal the type of over-lexicalization used by *The Telegraph* when it deals with MW. Hence, following a manual examination of the MWHC, we found that there is an over-lexicalization of the Islamic hijab worn by MW. *The Telegraph* uses different words to

mean the Islamic hijab among those words are the following items: “fully- clothed”, “with her hair covered”, “clad in a hijab”, “who wear headscarves”, “covered by black form head to toe”, “Mw in veil”, “wearing face-veil”, “veiled women”, “veiled Mw”, “covering her face”, “whose face was covered”, “anonymous clothing”, “women in a Muslim dress”, “dressed as a Muslim woman”. This over-lexicalization of the hijab reflects the intense preoccupation in *The Telegraph* articles in showing MW in relation to their controversial Islamic dress where their bodies are completely hidden. It is clear that the Islamic hijab is one of the most important practices that easily distinguish MW from other religious minorities in UK. The hijab is a very common religious practice in Islamic societies since the early years of the Islamic state established by Prophet Mohammed (p.b.u.h) in the 7th century A.D. However, the hijab is perceived negatively in the West. It is seen as a symbol of female subjugation and or even a symbol of extremism and terrorism. Hence, we believe that the Daily Telegraph intense preoccupation of the hijab through its over-lexicalization reflects its ideology of regarding the religious dress as a treat the Western secular system that emphasizes a strict separation between religion and the state. Over-lexicalization often “indicates area of intense preoccupation in a text, and hence, in the ideology of the writer” (Haig, 2001).

Moreover, the process of over-lexicalization is used when *The Telegraph* refers to MW characters. This British broadsheet uses some quasi-synonymous words to describe MW as weak and victims. The newspaper portraits MW as victims by using the following quasi-synonymous words: “passed over”, “illegally interrogated”, “disfranchised”, “subjugated female”, “treated as second-class citizens”, “ silent hand-maidens”, “trapped”, “shamed”. These quasi-synonymous words reflect *The Telegraph* belief that MW are victimized social objects who need to be defended and liberated. The use of the past participle form to describe MW as victims reveals that *The Telegraph* believes that MW are victimized by other social subjected. MW are “trapped by”, “subjugated by” “treated as second-class citizens by”, “disfranchised by”. The following extracts show this pattern:

“She mentions that in Britain "men too often do the talking for Muslim women". Is this also the case when it comes to voting? ... Are many Muslim women disfranchised in this way too? If so, this could have a serious impact on our democracy”. (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

So, MW seem to be having no voice as their men “do the talking” for them and since they do most of the talking, they are likely to decide upon their voices in elections. Hence, MW are disfranchised by their men which could have negative repercussions on the British democracy. MW are victims of their male counterparts.

“And I'm sorry, but no one is ever going to convince me that shrouding a woman's body and face says anything other than subjugated female within” (The DT, Appendix)

According to the writer, the Islamic veil or hijab is no more than a symbol of subjugation. It is something imposed by religious laws on women to take away their freedom of dress. Hence, the writer believes that MW are subjugated by their religion and this kind of religious subjugation has to be fought and eradicated.

“At the moment, too many Muslim women are treated like second-class citizens who may speak only basic English at best, and have no jobs or independent financial standing. It means they are in no position to speak out against the influence of the radical Imams, however strongly they feel”. (The Daily Telegraph, Appendix).

Similarly, MW are represented in this extract as victims of their religious and cultural institution. They are forbidden from learning English and having academic careers and hence, would not be able to work and be financially independent. This position lends MW to be weak and in a difficult position to make their voices heard especially about the Islamic radicalism that they strongly condemn but cannot communicate their views with the wider society. The one to be blame again is the Islam and its family institutions. MW are victims of their religions because they choose to stick to it.

- **What Metaphors are Used**

Fairclough (1995, p.114) stresses that “metaphor is not just a literary device. Choice of metaphor may be a key factor in differentiating representations in many domains, literary or non-literary, including even scientific and technology.” The use of metaphor

henceforth, is a reflection of language users' belief and evaluation of social subjects and realities. The following section tries to reveal the use of metaphors in *The Telegraph* and their function in representing MW in its discourse.

After filtering the MWHC, we found out that the use of metaphors is not a common linguistic practice *The Telegraph* uses in its articles related to MW. Few instances of metaphors have been found and they are examined in the following examples:

“Mr Valls, who was booed in Nice after the Bastille Day slaughter amid anger that the government had not been tough enough on terrorism, said that the court's ruling would not "exhaust the debate". "Denouncing the burkini is not jeopardizing an individual freedom. There is no freedom that locks up women! It's denouncing a deadly, backward Islam," he wrote on his Facebook page. However, opponents of the bans, who include the Moroccan-born education minister, Najat Vallaud-Belkacem, have argued that they only served to fuel a racist political agenda as the election campaign kicks off” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

In this extract, the writer reports on the French minister of justice Najat Vallaud-Belkacem on her view about the debate in France about the burka arguing that negative declarations by politicians against the Islamic dress would only “ fuel a racist political agenda”. The writer depicts the debate about the burka ban and the critics towards the Islamic dress as a fuel that could intensify the already hot debate between pro-burka and anti-burka commentators especially those of the far-right political parties who play on the issue of immigration and political Islam to win elections. This in fact signals that MW are in a constant struggle to accommodate with the Western life style as they choose to stick to their traditions that are seen by many as backward and dangerous. Hence, political comments about the burka could trigger racist sentiments towards MW by those anti-burak mobs. The function of the metaphor of presenting the critics of the Islamic dress as fuel that could intensify a racist political agenda is to show how dangerous is the situations because it can serve to fasten the spread of a racist political agenda that would have negative outcomes on the French and European societies. Henceforth, politicians need to be careful when dealing with the issue of the Islamic dress and burka.

The second metaphor found is always related to MW dress. In the following extract that is taken from an Obituaries article about Halet Cambel, the first Muslim woman to compete in Olympics, the writer shows how a successful MW looks like. She is described as a good looking woman with a Western appearance wearing trousers and having a short cut hair. This is made explicit in the following extract:

“A good-looking woman, she maintained a no-nonsense approach on her pioneering digs in south-east Anatolia. “Halet was always respected by the farmers,” said the Danish-German ethnologist Ulla Johansen. “She wore practical trousers and simple, high-buttoned blouses, completely covering her upper arms and a man's cap on her short cut hair.”

(The Telegraph, appendix 2)

Moreover, the writer shows also how this successful MW views the Islamic dress. She seems to regard the Muslim dress in odds with modern life to the extent that she used to be shocked how some women still cover themselves completely in black. The following extract is a good example of how metaphor is used to represent the Islamic dress in a negative way:

“Halet Cambel was “shocked by the black shrouded women who came and visited us at home. Part of Ataturk's legacy was to expand the rights and possibilities of women. Participation in sport contributed to this emancipation. *(The Telegrpah, Appendix 2)*.”

Associating veiled MW with shrouded bodies is very negative. MW wearing veils are depicted as dead bodies. This image would provoke negative feelings among readers such as fear and sadness because death is a sign of fear and sadness. Veiled MW look frightening because they are totally covered and anonymous and people are always afraid from something anonymous. The metaphor provokes also sentiments of sadness as it reflects how sad for women to be locked in a dress that totally covers their bodies. They cannot show or enjoy their beauty. We believe that *The Telegraph* uses this metaphor to negatively depict MW.

5.3.1.2 Experiential Values of Grammatical Features

Fairclough (2015) asserts that experiential characteristics of grammar in texts and discourse deals with the ways in which the grammatical forms of language code happening and relationships in the world, how people, animals and things are encoded in

those happenings and relationships, and their spatial and temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence and so on. Experiential values of grammatical features in texts are revealed through an examination of a number of grammatical categories. Fairclough (2015) suggests that we need to look for answers to the following questions: What types of process and participants predominate? Is agency unclear? Are processes what they seem? Are sentences passive or active?

As far as the analysis of experiential values of grammatical features in the MWHC is concerned, the focus is put on three main areas: passivisation and modality

- **The use of passive and Active sentences**

Fowler (1992) argues that although passive and active sentences have the same propositional meaning and differ only in syntactic ordering, in functional approach we need to look for reasons behind text producers' use of one form instead of another. In other words, why passive sentences are used?

In news discourse, the use of the passive is a common practice especially in headlines. According to Fowler (1992) the use of the passive may have various motivations. First, it helps in saving space and in immediately establishing the topic. Moreover, a passive form may be used to delete parts of the clause especially the agent in order to leave responsibility of the occurring events unspecified. Also, it can be used for the purpose of the reorientation of the story and puts emphasis on one element over another chosen by the writer in order to convey the desirable meaning. Henceforth, the use of the passive over the active reflects the way text producers' represent the social element they are dealing with and shows the role of their ideological background in such representation.

Accordingly, this section is set to reveal how and why passive sentences are used in the MWHC articles. Since passives are common in headlines, we will examine all the headlines and see how and why *the Daily Telegraph* uses passives constructions. Out of 27 articles, the MWHC includes 15 headlines that use transitive verbs, i.e., a verb that accepts both active and passive forms.

Table 5.4 Headlines and leads with passives in the MWHC

Headlines	Leads
Burkinis are back on the beach as ban is lifted; French ruling welcomed 'for giving Muslim women back their dignity' but it also provokes Right-wing backlash with Riviera mayors saying they will defy the judgment	A Controversial ban on the burkini was overturned by France's highest administrative court yesterday, prompting a Right-wing backlash as mayors vowed to defy the ruling
11 Muslim woman in a veil is shown the door by singers at Paris opera house	A Muslim woman wearing a veil covering her face was told to leave a Paris opera house, officials said yesterday
14 Arab women 'hit with hammer'	A man was charged with the attempted murder of three wealthy women at a London hotel, police said last night.
21 Muslim woman shamed over Western boyfriends leapt to death at wine bar	A Muslim jumped to her death from the roof of a City wine bar after being criticized on Facebook over her Western way of life, an inquest was told yesterday.
Girl gang hunted over attack on Muslim woman	
MP stabbed by Muslim woman at surgery	A former Labour minister was stabbed by a woman in Muslim dress during a constituency surgery yesterday.
Muslim woman is barred from flight after refusing body scan	A Muslim woman is thought to have become the first passenger to be stopped from boarding a flight after refusing to go through a full body scanner for religious reasons.
Total	7

The table above shows how many headlines and leads use the passive form. The MWHC includes 27 article and hence 27 headlines with their leads. Only eight headlines use passives instead of active sentences. This means that *The Telegraph* prefers the active sentence instead of the passive in writing headlines. Leads are included because

sometimes writers reveal agency deleted in the headline in the lead. If we start by analyzing passives that inverted the position of the participants, i.e., the patient (the participant that is affected by the action) is put at the beginning and the agent (the doer of the action) is given at the end of the sentence, we found only two headlines that are introduced with 'by' where both participants appear in the sentence. The two headlines are analyzed in the following:

- a) Muslim woman in a veil is shown the door by singers at Paris opera house.

If the writers choose the active form, the sentence would be: "Singers have shown the door to a Muslim woman in veil in Paris opera house". Hence, the responsibility of sending out the veiled Muslim women from the opera is thrown on the doers of the action, i.e., on the singers. However, the writer chooses to introduce the headlines by the one affected by the actions (Muslim woman) and hence puts responsibility on her. The headline can be understood as 'because the woman was a Muslim woman wearing a veil she has been driven out by the singers'. So, the problem is not in the singers who could not bear the presence of a veiled Muslim woman. Rather, the problem is in that the Muslim woman who seems to stick to her religious dress code tradition even when she is in a different culture that separates between state and religion like France.

Through the writer's choice of the passive form by throwing responsibility on the veiled Muslim woman, we believe that the headline is biased as it reproduces the view of the real responsible of the action that shifts responsibility and put the blame of this rude act of showing the door to someone from a music party on the one being sent out because of her religious belief and not on the one who does the act of expulsion.

Moreover, the writer continues to shift responsibility from the doers of the action of exclusion of the MW, i.e., singers, through the use of agentless passive form in the byline of the article where responsibility is set unclear when describing the incident. This is show in the following extract:

“A Muslim woman wearing a veil covering her face was told to leave a Paris opera house, officials said yesterday. The woman, described as "a tourist from a Gulf state", was ordered out after members of the cast refused to perform if she remained in the audience.” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2).

The two agentless passive sentences used in this extract are related to the same clause in the headline. “A Muslim woman wearing a veil covering her face was told to leave Paris opera house”. In this sentence, it is not clear who told the veiled Muslim woman to leave the Opera. The same thing is said about the second agentless passive sentence where the “woman ...was ordered out”. So, readers keep asking on who ordered the woman out and who told her to leave the opera? The writer chooses to omit the real agent or the doer and just puts the focus on the Muslim woman being sent out and not on those who expelled her in order to put responsibility on her.

The second headline is about an MP who is stabbed by a Muslim woman in a public place.

b) MP stabbed by Muslim woman at surgery

In headline (b), the situation is contrary to the headline (a). Although it is clear that the MP is the victim as he is stabbed by a Muslim woman, the writer chooses to start the headline with the victim and not the responsible as it should be. We believe that responsibility is thrown on the MP because he did not use the right security measures while in contact with people in public places. This is supported by the writers calling up a similar incident that took place in the past. The incident took place in 2000 when an MP was killed by a samurai attack in a public place as it is shown in the following extract from the same article:

“The attack has echoes of an incident in 2000 in which Andrew Pennington, a Lib Dem councilor, was killed during an attack with a samurai sword at a constituency surgery in Cheltenham.” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

We believe that the writer uses the passive form to put responsibility on the MP who did not take into consideration the security measures while being in public places.

The other type of passive headlines appears in the MWHC is the agentless passive form. In this type of passive the writer tends to omit the agent of the action and leave only the patient so that the real doer of the action is left unknown to the reader and the focus is put only on the patient who is affected by the action. As mentioned earlier, the omission of the agent in the passive form is driven by the intention of the writer and as Fowler (1992) has shown, usually the real doer of the action is omitted because the writer wants to focus on the patient and leaves responsibility unclear.

As for agentless passive sentences related to MW, table 5.1 shows that it is very common in the MWHC. There are five headlines out of seven that use this type of passive form. This section is set to analyze these headlines. Table 5.1 indicates that the agentless passive is the most frequent passive form in the headlines with passive sentences. These sentences are analyzed as follows:

“ban is lifted” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

The first headline includes many clauses; one of them is used in the agentless passive form, used to refer to the court overturning of the ban imposed by some local mayors in some beaches in France. We believe the writer chose the agentless passive not to convey any ideological meaning but just to achieve brevity because the headline is long. Moreover, readers can easily anticipate that only the court has the power to overturn mayors' decisions which is indicated in the lead of the article. Henceforth, we think that this use of agentless passive form is a normal journalistic practice and signals nothing interesting as far as ideological and power practices are concerned.

“Arab women 'hit with hammer” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

This headline is a news story in brief. It tells the incident of a group of Arab women being attacked with a hammer. The headline is written in the agentless passive form where the real doer of the attack is omitted. Readers who read only headlines would not know who has committed such a horrible attack on a group of women. Normally, the writer would choose the active form where responsibility of action is revealed. Readers

may wonder why the writer has omitted the actor of the action and cite only the patient? The answer could be clear if we know that the attacker is a British white male and not a black, immigrant or someone from another religious or ethnic minority. Moreover, even in the lead, the identity of the doer of the action is still unknown. The writer refers to the intruder just by 'a man' where information about him is lost in other unnecessary details as shown in the following extract:

"A man was charged with the attempted murder of three wealthy women at a London hotel, police said last night. Three women from the United Arab Emirates were bludgeoned with a hammer by an intruder at the Cumberland Hotel in the West End early last Sunday"

(*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

The writer gives no important information about the attacker as s/he refers to him by ambiguous reference such as the word "a man" or "the intruder". The writer gives only the name and age of this intruder at the end of the articles surrounded by unnecessary details. We believe that this choice of the agentless passive form is not random. Rather, it is motivated by a tendency of *The Telegraph* to deemphasize or mitigate 'in- group' bad actions and emphasize and highlight 'out-group' bad actions. This pattern occurs in many other headlines and articles as analysis will show in the coming extracts.

"Muslim woman is barred from flight after refusing body scan" (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

This headline also uses the agentless passive form. It tells that story of a woman from Pakistan who is barred from flight because she refused to go through a body scan in the airport. The one who took the decision or banned this Muslim woman from taking the flight to her motherland is unknown because the writer chose to elide him/her and put the focus on the one who is affected by the action. Hence, the writer throws responsibility on the woman and not on those who bared her. This is supported by the fact that the writer has given the reason of the ban which is the woman refusal to go through the body scan. Accordingly, the woman is depicted as an outlaw who deserved to be banned from flight.

In fact, the use of agentless passive form is not limited only to the headlines. Rather, writers use this form frequently even in the body of the article where they are supposed to give more details about who, what, when and where the incident takes place. The only information missing is most of the time the real doer of the action or the one who is responsible is omitted or left unspecified.

For instance, in the same article about the Muslim woman being banned from flight, the writer uses only the agentless passive form whenever s/he mentions the incident. S/he never reveals the one behind taking the decision to ban the woman from taking the flight because she refused a body scan that abuses women privacy because it clearly depicts their private body parts. The following excerpts show this pattern:

“A Muslim woman is thought to have become the first passenger to be stopped from boarding a flight” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

“she was selected at random to pass through the security screen.” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

“She was told she could not board the Pakistan International Airlines flight if she refused” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

In all the above extracts, the clauses about the banned Muslim woman are put in the agentless passive form. Readers do not know who has “stopped”, “selected”, and “told” her to do so. The writer chose to delete the agent of the action in order to leave responsibility unspecified.

This and the other above extracts about the use of the *agentless* passive form show that the real agent or doer of the action is removed if they are British individuals and institutions. This is also very frequent in most of the MWHC articles. After we counted the number of articles that use the agentless passive form, we found that there are 25 clauses with an agentless passive form where MW are given the role of Patient. In all these cases, the writers represent MW as victims of various social, cultural and religious discriminations. From the 12 articles that are taken from the MWHC, we chose two main

articles relatively high number of agentless passives related to MW. Each article includes more than 5 agentless passives sentences. These are analyzed in the following section:

The first is an article entitled as “UK employers routinely snub Muslim women in headscarves”. Although the headline of the article clearly throws responsibility of MW being passed over in job applications on UK employers, the other clauses that refer to MW being looked over are put in an agentless form as the following extracts show (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2):

“Muslim women who wear headscarves *are routinely being passed over* for jobs and sideline”

“Highly qualified women, who have already overcome major barriers to train in professions such as law *are being written off* because of crude assumptions that they are "submissive and weak", a Commons report found.”

“*Some are driven* to abandon wearing traditional Islamic dress in order to get a good job”

“*Others find themselves interrogated - illegally -* at job interviews about whether they are married and have children or want to, while those already in jobs find themselves passed over for important assignments because of assumptions that they might not be "allowed" to travel”

In the three extract, the writer reports that MW are “routinely being passed over”, “they are being written of”, “they are driven to abandon their traditional dress” and “they are illegally interrogate” in job applications. Although we believe it is an illuminating journalistic practice to inform the people and government that MW are treated unfairly in job applications, we also believe that the writer has missed the chance to clearly designate those responsible for such unfair practices. Through the use of agentless passive form to represent this issue, the writer has omitted the real doer of the action in most cases to leave responsibility unclear. Moreover, through the focus on the Patient of the action (MW in this case), readers may conclude that they are responsible for being passed over in job application which is totally not the case. We believe that the writer did not choose the agentless passive from randomly; rather, the choice is made on purpose. It includes on the process of deemphasizing ‘in group’ bad practices and emphasizing ‘out group’ bad practices.

- **Modality**

The concept of modality is central to relational values of grammatical features. According to Fairclough (2015), modality deals with text producers' authority. It has two different dimensions depending on what direction authority is directed to. First, we have relational modality which is related to the authority of one participant in relation others. Second, there is expressive modality which is a matter of text producers' authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality. The present analysis considers only relational modality to reveal the expense of authority expressed by *The Telegraph* towards MW. Relational modality reveals the power relationships that exist between *The Telegraph* and MW.

In order to express modality, speakers or writers use modal auxiliaries; “may”, “might”, “must”, “should”, “can”, “cannot” and “ought”. These modals are categorized into three main types. The first type is called high modals which include “must” and “have to”. Second are named median modals and include “should” and “would”. Finally, there are low modals; “may”, “can” and “could”. The following section will only analyze the use of the “high” and “median” auxiliaries because “low” modal auxiliaries do not appear in relational modality. Also, the analysis will consider the clauses that are directly related to MW or any of their issues especially their dress and clothing problem. The two different types are analyzed separately where their frequency is shown in different tables.

- ✓ **High modal auxiliaries “must” and “have/had to”**

As mentioned above, the high modal auxiliaries express a strong determination to do or not to do something. It also expresses strong obligation. The following table summarizes the use of this type of modals in the MWHC.

Table 5.5 high models in MWHC

Value	Finite modal	Number of occurrence
High	Must	07
	Have/ had to	08

As table 5.2 indicates, high modal auxiliary “must” is the most frequent one compared to “have/had to” which both appear four times. Modal auxiliary “must” also appears in two headlines where writers express strong obligation in doing something. The two headlines are analyzed in the following:

- a) We must teach Muslim women English to free them - not beat Isil; The PM was wrong to link poor language skills with Islamic radicalism
(*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

The writer expresses an authoritative view regarding the issue of radicalism among British Muslims. He believes that the only solution to stop Jihadists threat is a strong commitment to teach MW English. The writer also uses the inclusive pronoun “we” which excludes MW from being part of the British community. He calls for the Conservative Government to change its plans in dealing with extremism from an external program that focuses on sending British soldiers to fight ISIL in Iraq and Syria to consider an internal program that focuses of tackling extremis inside Britain through teaching MW English in order to ‘free them’ from dangerous extremist ideologies.

However, in liberal free societies, such an authoritative claim that calls for a strong and a must-to do plan on a minority group without even taking into account their views and perspectives may sound undemocratic and intolerant. Instead of imposing rules and regulations, liberal societies are likely to solve their social problems through a dialogue with all those concerned. Yet, it seems *The Telegraph* journalist chooses not to be democratic when things are related to a religious minority such as MW as if it is even acceptable to impose things on minorities. Such linguistic representation of MW reflects the will of *The Telegraph* to exercise power on MW through its authoritative claim made by its writers.

- b) “Muslim women must remove veil to give evidence, judge rules.” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

This headline is a judge's declaration about MW veils. He strongly affirms that MW must remove their veils while in court. This declaration would make it forbidden for MW to wear veils while present in court. This judge is in fact representing the British court system that seems to impose a new law that would prohibit MW from wearing their religious dress in court. Is it acceptable that court should tell people how to dress or impose some dress codes or prohibit others? We do not think so. No one, even judges in court, should have the right to tell people how to dress because dress is a personal freedom and people should be free to wear whatever they want. Moreover, the writer chose the reported speech to transform the judge's declaration and not direct quotation. This means that the writer holds the same view of the speaker, which means that the writer is also in favor of banning the Islamic veil in court. The use of "must" in actions related to MW reflects the unequal power relationship MW are subject to, not only by the newspaper but by law and constitutions as well.

As far as the modal auxiliary "have/had to" is concerned, most of the clauses related to this modal are about MW obligations to learn English and removing their veils as the following extracts demonstrate:

"But they must not forget that for the child to prosper in Britain and to reach his or her full potential, he or she will also have to have fluent command of English" .” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

"She waved her right to give evidence after being told she would have to show her face to the jury" .” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

"I have had to wear below-the-knee dresses in the era of the mini-skirt, and also an abaya (the best thing for concealing the figure of a female) when going outside the house" .” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

"There was a misunderstanding of the law (the burka is banned) and the lady either had to respect it or leave" .” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

"When my parents came over, my mum had to learn the basics (of English) to get by" .” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

All the above extracts where the modal auxiliary "have/had to" appears in relation to MW is about the same topics of the auxiliary "must". They are about learning English

and removing veils. According to *The Telegraph*, MW must /have to remove their veils and learn English if they want to be integrated in the British society and considered as normal citizens. *The Telegraph* journalists have tried to use different arguments to impose their ideas on MW concerning the issue of their dress and learning English. As far as the learning English is concerned, journalists try to show the disturbing fact of MW not speaking English. It cost the British national exchequer lot of money because hospitals spend a fortune each year to pay translators for those British women who cannot speak English and communicate with doctors and staff in hospitals. Also, by sticking to their mother tongues and not learning English, MW would badly affect their children's educational career because they need fluent command of English which is the role of their mothers at home. Finally, and more interestingly, some of *The Telegraph* journalists tried to link teaching MW English with their freedom. This implies that MW are locked up in their culture and language, and they need to be taught English because it is the only way they can win their freedom. So, according to *The Telegraph*, teaching MW English is obligatory because it has benefits economically, educationally and socially. However, *The Telegraph* did not take into account the views of the first concerned and focus only on showing the arguments that serve their views and opinions in imposing a dress code and educational agenda on MW.

✓ **Median Modal Auxiliary “should”**

In relational modality “should” is considered as a median modal auxiliary. When speakers or writers use it in relation to another participant, it means the one addressed should do what he was asked, but he also has an option not to do it. Unlike the strong auxiliary “must” where the addressee has no option but to perform what he is asked to do.

The analysis of the use of the median auxiliary “should” in relation to MW shows that *The Telegraph* journalists use “should” in three main issues related to MW. First, in relation to the veil and burka, i.e., MW should not wear their veils in public places, especially courtrooms and schools. Second, MW should learn English. Finally, MW

should work and participate in the British labor market. As far as the debate over the Muslim veil and burka is concerned, it seems that *The Telegraph* is in harmony with the views that call for banning the burka and the veil in the public places especially in court and schools.

The analysis of the use of the median auxiliary “should” in the MWHC shows that this auxiliary is used 12 times in relations to the issue of the wearing of veil and burka in public places. This auxiliary is used seven times in context in favor of the banning of the veil and burka. The following extracts show this pattern of representation:

“Other European governments have taken the bold decision to impose a full ban; we should do the same. Alan Shaw Halifax, West Yorkshire SIR - The Koran says that women should dress conservatively, not that they should cover their faces or indeed their whole bodies.”

(*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

The writer of this article is arguing on the issue of banning the burka. He brings to light the decisions made in some European countries such as France and Belgium where a full ban has been imposed on MW wearing the burka. He argues that since the ban is imposed by many European countries, why shouldn't Britain do the same? The reader may wonder by which authority the writer is trying to call for imposing the ban of burka on MW.

“Muslim women should remove veils in court because jurors need to see the faces of witnesses, David Cameron said yesterday, as he indicated that he may strengthen national guidance on the issue” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

In this extract, the writer is reporting on the PM David Cameroon his view concerning wearing the veil in court. He clearly indicates he is in favor of banning the veil in courts because jurors need to see the face of witnesses.

“Asking women to remove veil 'is not racist'. Former extremist who has joined Lib Dems says Muslim women are not required to cover up indoors and should show face in court and lessons” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

“Mr Nawaz said: "It is not racist or Islamophobic. We don't want to go down the aggressive French secularist route, but we also don't want to go down the aggressive Islamist route. There is a British way and that's the middle. In schools, colleges and

universities women should have their face uncovered for the duration of the lesson. They should be required to show their attendance in class.” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2).

In these two extracts, *The Telegraph* quotes on famous British Muslim politician, Majid Nawaz, who is also in favor of banning the burka in public places, especially in schools and all educational institutions. According to the reporter, being a Muslim, Nawaz does not see any air of islamophobia or racism in banning burka in educational institutions. It is no more than a necessity. Burka should be banned in some restricted places, not in all public places as occurred in France.

“A pensioner chased a Muslim woman around a shop in France and ripped her niqab from her face claiming they should be banned in the country, a court has heard. Mrs Ruby said: "I find it unacceptable that someone should be wearing a niqab in this country of human rights. It's no more than a muzzle and all that's missing is the reins. It's the negation of womanhood”

(*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

Also, in this extract, *The Telegraph* reports on a French teacher who ripped the burka from the face of a MW because she thinks they should be banned in France. This last extract shows how powerless MW are in France and in Europe. Everyone is trying to force them to remove the veil even by using violence.

The above extracts show how *The Telegraph* uses the median auxiliary “should” to impose its views concerning the banning of the Muslim veil. The British broadsheet uses an indirect way to spread its views concerning the issues of veil and burka. It reports on the views of those who impose a ban of the burka such as the PM David Cameron, judges and even some Muslim politicians such as Mr. Nawaz. Yet, *The Telegraph* has never mentioned the view of MW in one of their main concerns. Although it is widely spread in Western societies that women are free to wear whatever they want, the case is not true when it comes to MW.

However, although *The Telegraph* does not give voice to MW to express their views and opinions concerning their way of dressing, it also gives some space to the voices that call for respecting the way MW dress including the burka that hides their faces. This is shown in the following two extracts:

“Judges should allow Muslim women to appear in court wearing a full-face veil, Britain's most senior judge has suggested” .” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

“A tolerant society should integrate Muslim women, not ban the clothes they wear” (The Telegraph, Appendix 2)

In the two above extracts, *The Telegraph* brings the other view concerning wearing the veil in court and the MW dress in general. The first one is a declaration made by a senior judge who believes that MW should be given the right to wear the burka in court because Britain is a free country and there is no law that prohibits wearing a religious dress. In the second extract, the writer seems to be in favor of MW freedom to wear their religious dress because it is the only way tolerant societies work. It is through integrating MW and their tradition into the British culture and not trying to force them to ban their religious dress.

In addition to the issue of MW dress, the median auxiliary “should” also appears with the topics of learning English and employment, although in a few cases, the British broadsheet expresses its views concerning the obligatory need to teach MW English and to help them find a job because their culture strongly believes that women should not work. The use of “should” in these two topics is shown in the following extracts:

“More Muslim women should learn English in the hope that they will turn into more powerful moderating forces, David Cameron will say today” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

“Not least because of what we know about the advantages of work, should we accept that state of affairs without challenge? No. Some would argue that this is all part of the "tradition and heritage" that Lord Patten said we should not ask Muslims to lay aside. In fact, we should want more Muslim women to work, and say so assertively”(*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

According to the British PM, MW are obliged to learn English if they want to achieve a powerful presence in the British society. This means that the PM acknowledges the fact that MW are a powerless social minority in the UK. He seems to strengthen this situation through his powerful political position to impose things on MW through the use of the median auxiliary “should” which indicates that MW are obliged (but they still have

choice not) to learn English without even knowing their point of view or hearing their voice.

In sum, *The Telegraph* uses the median auxiliary “should” in relation to three main topics: the veil and burka, learning English and employment. In these three topics, we have seen how the journalists of this conservative British broadsheet employ the auxiliary “should” to impose their views on MW in an authoritative way without taking into account their personal views.

5.3.2 Interpretation

Interpretation is the second stage in Fairclough's model. It deals with participants' processes of text production and consumption. There are various factors that influence newspapers text production and readers' text consumption. As for *The Telegraph* representation of MW in its articles, we believe that journalists follow certain principles and guidelines before they report about this religious minority. The process of text production is in fact affected by the ideologies of the institution and society as well.

The Telegraph supports the British Conservative government views concerning issues related to MW mainly their policies of integrating Muslims and other religious minorities into the British society through various programs such as the imposition of English learning programs on MW coming from various Islamic countries, the calls for banning MW Islamic dress and some other issues. These political and governmental practices are central in the occurrence of discursive practices mainly the process of text production. Accordingly, the journalist's choice of topics and linguistic techniques to represent MW and their issues is not neutral; rather, it is governed by the newspaper's ideological constraints in harmony with the social and governmental views in general.

In the description stage of this chapter, we have found that the main topics that dominated the MWHC are those related to MW dress (the veil and the burka), violence, and MW as victims. These three main MW topics are dealt with because they are directly or indirectly related to the issue of integrating Muslims in general and MW in particular

into the British society from the views of the Conservative Government led by Mr. Cameron. Consider the following extracts:

“The right to a particular religious dress code is safeguarded by the Human Rights Act and must be followed by schools and colleges, it is claimed. But the guidance says that teachers can lawfully impose policies that "restrict the freedom of pupils to manifest their religion" - for example, by covering their face or carrying the traditional Sikh kirpan dagger - on various grounds”
(*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2)

“Muslim women should remove veils in court because jurors need to see the faces of witnesses, David Cameron said yesterday, as he indicated that he may strengthen national guidance on the issue” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

“The Prime Minister said that he will "back up" schools and courts that ask people to remove Muslim veil” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

“in an interview with the BBC's Andrew Marr programme, Mr Cameron said he would consider issuing new guidelines to judges, teachers and immigration officers telling them when they can ask people to remove their veils”. (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

“A growing number of Conservative MPs want the Government to consider a full ban on the veil.” (*The Telegraph*, Appendix 2).

As the above extracts show, *The Telegraph* reports and supports the views of the Conservative Government concerning the issue of the MW dress as it gives much of the textual space in the article to either Prime Minister or other Parliamentary Members ignoring, intentionally or unintentionally, the voice of MW who are the first to be concerned with this issue. Hence, *The Telegraph* is in harmony with the Conservative Government against the policy of Multiculturim and in support of a policy of integration that calls for all the various components of the British society to be fused in one single national character. Moreover, the newspaper is interested in taking into account the readers' views and beliefs, those who pay annual fees to get news and information. Hence, it should represent their views and their perspectives in the social, economical and cultural spheres.

News selection encounters some contemporary social, political and cultural issues of interest to British people. *The Telegraph* writes about MW while drawing on different

contexts and various motives. Readers expect journalists to inform them about MW, to tell them about their life challenges, their success and failure, their contributions in the wider society and so on. Yet, this is not the case reflected in the articles. The stories selected are limited to certain issues restricted to Muslim women's dress.

Fairclough (2015) stresses that “formal properties of texts (grammar and lexis) can be regarded as traces of the productive process, and on the other hand as cues in the process of interpretation”. This would make the stages of description and interpretation closely related. The MR *The Telegraph* draws upon to represent MW are a reflection of specific patterns the newspaper uses to represent them. These patterns are in a way a reflection of the newspaper's assumptions, knowledge, and beliefs which form its ideologies that hold about MW. These representation patterns can be traced in the formal properties of articles about MW. They are summarized as follows:

- a) MW are a religious minority who stick to their religious practices which makes it difficult for them to integrate in the British community and acquire the British personality.
- b) MW are weak and submissive. They are victims of their cultures and religion that are in contradiction with the British Western values.
- c) MW and their practices can be a threat to the British values.

As far as the first pattern is concerned, there are some formal features in *The Telegraph's* texts and articles that work as traces of this discursive pattern. We draw on the analysis of the formal features we have established in the Description stage in order to trace discursive pattern that considers MW as a *minority sticking to its religious practices* which prevents them from being integrated into the British community. This ideological belief can be traced for instance when *The Telegraph* addresses the issue of the Islamic dress.

The lexical analysis of words that collocate with the node “Muslim women” reveals that the main collocates are words related to MW dress such as “wear”, “veils”

and “remove”. This shows how *The Telegraph* cannot disassociate MW from their Islamic dress which is regarded as alien to the British society and culture, especially the full-face veil or the burka. Thus, MW always look different and unable to integrate into the British society because of their dress. In addition to that, the analysis of the “passivisation process” in the Description stage shows that when MW are victims of hate attacks such as when being sent off in public places, or denied a flight, or having their veils ripped off, it is because of their Islamic dress and not because of the attackers being haters and extremists. This is being expressed implicitly by concealing the real doer of the aggressive acts by leaving them unknown and shifting focus on Muslim women, the victims, so that they seem to be responsible for what has happened to them.

The second discursive pattern that *The Telegraph* holds about MW is that they are *victims of their religion and cultures* because they are weak and submissive to them. This appears for instance when the paper deals with the issue of MW’s proficiency in the English language. All of the reports about this issue show MW incompetent in English to the extent that the PM Cameron has warned those MW with poor language skills to be deported to their home lands. Also, when some writers call for the obligation of teaching MW English, they do it as if all MW in Britain had very low competency in English. This is what we have seen when we analyzed the use of modal auxiliary “must” and “have to” and “should” when headlines such as “Muslim women must learn English” or “more Muslim women should learn English in the hope that they will turn into more powerful moderating forces, David Cameron will say today” are used.

The third pattern of representation *The Telegraph* uses to represent MW is that they are “*others*” whose practices can be a threat to “*our*” British values. This pattern appears mainly when the texts deal with, or calls for banning the Islamic dress, especially the burka, a dress that has been criticized in many texts in *The Telegraph*: “alien”, “backward” and “offensive” to women. Something that needs to be banned is something dangerous or has social, economical, or security repercussions such as selling drugs, tax

fraud, and counterfeiting. Calls for banning the Islamic dress would put MW in the defensive and in the same position of criminals and outlaws.

These representational patterns can also be interpreted differently by different readers. We believe that most MW who read those Daily Telegraph articles would not accept the way this broadsheet reports stories about them. For instance, we have seen that *The Telegraph* associates MW with veils or burka and deals with them as two deep-rooted problems that prevent MW from achieving success and progress as influential social subjects. Yet, it forgets, intentionally or unintentionally, to report stories of veiled MW from the UK or outside, who wear the veil or the face-veil and have succeeded in many social domains such as economy, education and politics. The ideologies found in the language of *The Telegraph* are not in isolation of the global societal structures. Newspapers' ideologies are socially determined as they have social effects on readers at the same time. The level of explanation in Fairclough's model is set to explain this dialectical relationship.

5.3.3 Explanation

Explanation is the third level in Fairclough's three dimensional framework. It deals with discourse as a social practice where analysts navigate from the concrete texts to the abstract social, political, and cultural factors that influence text production. In this stage, analysts need to read more widely and consider their findings more broadly. This can be realized through the two levels Fairclough (2015) suggests which constitute the analysis of language as a social practice. The situational level that takes into consideration the immediate situational contexts and events during the period of data collection that influence the process of text production. The second is the institutional level where we deal with *The Telegraph* institutions of news making, its vision of the world and its beliefs and ideologies it is committed to spread and maintain among its readers.

5.3.3.1 Situational Context

This section mentions the main events related to Muslims in general and MW in particular, those that proceeded or took place during data collection which acted as newsworthy events deserved coverage by Western or British media outlets. These main events include the 9/11 attacks in USA, Madrid bombings in 2004, and the London 7/7 bombings in 2005 as well as other events and issues, especially the debate over the veil and the burka.

According to Moore, Mason, and Lewis (2008), recent years have witnessed an enormous coverage of Islam and Muslims in the British media. Extraordinary newsworthy events have been reported extensively including the 9/11 2001 attacks in the USA, the Madrid bombings in 2004, and the 7/7 London bombings in 2005. These shocking incidents that took away the lives of many innocent people have been carried out by some Muslim extremists who belong to deadly terrorist organizations such as El-Qaida based in Afghanistan. Also, Islam and Muslims made the headlines in the British media because of the major events that took place in some Islamic countries such as the War in Afghanistan in 2001 and the War of Iraq in 2003. Moreover, there is a growing tendency in the Western media in general and British media in particular to report and write about other Islamic practices and issues in an attempt to understand 'the Islamic phenomenon' and provide details and critical readings to issues such as Islamic traditional education, Islamic family institution, Muslim women status, the issue of the Islamic dress such as the veil and hijab, and many other issues.

The situational context of this study falls in the attempt of British newspapers, *The Telegraph* in this case, to report on Muslim women, one of the most problematic issues between Islam and the West. Its coverage of news, stories and opinion articles related to MW is triggered by various incidents and the newspaper's different inherent motivations to report on MW. According to the analysis we have done in Chapter 4 (4.3, keyword analysis), we have found that *The Telegraph's* news coverage about MW turns around

three key topics: veiling and dress, court and law, and terrorism. Yet, there are also other important topics which also draw attention as newsworthy events and issues such as English language fluency among British Muslim women, their family status, and the effect of Islam and culture on them. These topics are related to certain events that proceeded or happened during data collection.

A heated debate over the “veil” sparked after the comments made by Jack Straw, the leader of the House of Commons, who argues that Muslim women should not wear the face-veil. In an interview with the BBC news (2006) Straw said “This is an issue that needs to be discussed because, in our society, we are able to relate particularly to strangers by being able to read their faces and if you can't read people's faces, that does provide some separation”. Asked whether he would like the veil to be abolished, Mr. Straw said “yes, it needs to be made clear I am not talking about being prescriptive but with all the caveats, yes, I would rather.” (BBC Radio 4, 2006). Since then, the topic of veil or full-face veil ban has become a popular topic for media, politicians, and the whole British society as well. Moreover, there have been a series of veil-related events that took place in Britain and elsewhere which contributed to the topic of veil to be a newsworthy topic in *The Telegraph*. These events are summarized in table 5.3

Table 5.6 Summary of some event related to the issue of veil

Date	Country	Event
June, 20010	UK	Face covering regulations Private Member’s Bill presented by Mr. Hollobone MP gets its first reading in the House of Commons
July 2010	Council of Europe	Thorbjorn Gagland, Secretary General of the council of Europe criticized the <i>burka ban</i>
April 2011	France	French ban comes into force
April 2011	Belgium	Belgian ban passed, Belgian ban comes into force by July
October 2011	Spain	<i>Partido Popular</i> candidate in general elections call for a bill to ban full-face veil in public places
March 2012	UK	Muslim juror excuses for refusing to remove face-veil
September 2013	UK	UK’s PM David Cameron said that Muslim women should remove their veils in court.

Table 5.6 summarizes a series of events that took place during the data collection of this study (from 2010 to 2016) which triggered *The Telegraph* to report news about it, though we still believe that there is an exaggeration in the news reports about the Muslim women dress. Moreover, one of the issues that are considered as newsworthy events is the issue of terrorism and violence. As found in Chapter Five (section 2) and in Chapter Three (section 3.2 keyword analysis), *The Telegraph* associates MW with this topic in its coverage about this religious minority. One of the main topics that made the headlines in Europe and Britain from 2014 to 2016 is issue of those European-based Muslim women who are joining the terrorist group of ISIL to work as “sex slaves” or what has come to be known in the media as “Jihadi brides”. Although estimates say that there are only 50 British Muslim women who have headed to Syria and Iraq in recent years (*The Telegraph*, 2017), yet *The Telegraph* has reported extensively on this topic to the extent that readers may feel that the “jihadi brides” is a widespread phenomenon among British Muslim women.

Moreover, The Telegraph's coverage of news related to MW comes in parallel with the growing interest in the Western institution in understanding Islam as one of the fastest growing phenomenon in the West. In this respect, Mayer (2007, p.1) states that “Over the past several years, no political or religious trend has taken the world more by surprise than the growth of Islam. This phenomenon has been accompanied by a denunciation in the West of its fundamentalist leanings and by a growing debate over how to integrate Islam into a Western liberal tradition.”

5.3.3.2 Institutional Context

This section deals with the institutional context of *The Telegraph* newspaper as a news-making company. This quality broadsheet has its own views, beliefs, and messages that are related to what is going on in Britain and in the rest of the world. We believe that the discursive patterns that it uses to represent MW are not only determined by some MW related events taking place in Britain and elsewhere, but also by the institutional principles that govern this quality newspaper.

The Telegraph forms with *The Guardian* and *The Times* Britain's biggest quality newspaper. It was founded in London by Joseph Moses Levy in 29 June 1855 as *The Daily Telegraph and Courier*. Yet, soon the paper has been renamed *The Daily Telegraph* by Moses Levy and his son Edward and transformed into London's first penny paper (Encyclopedia Britannica). The *Daily Telegraph* has known a number of different owners along its long history among them is Conrad Blake in 1985 and the twin brothers Sir David and Sir Frederick Barclay in 2004.

As far as its vision is concerned, not much has been changed since its first appearance in the late of 19th century. The principles of this newspaper are always stated in the newspaper such as this quote that goes back to 1937 (qt in Fuller, 2010):

It is the practice of the *Daily Telegraph* to serve up honest, unadulterated news...Though prompt, if occasion requires, to criticize with candor, *The Daily Telegraph* is entirely free all social and religious bias. It expresses its political interests vigorously but fairly.

However, nowadays, the *Daily Telegraph* expresses not only its commitment to political and religion neutrality but also its commitment to the right-center political and ideological views. Chris Evans (2018) the current editor of the *Daily Telegraph* expresses the vision of this newspaper as follows:

It is incumbent on us to ensure that we continue to thrive both for our current audience and for generations to come. The *Daily Telegraph* has certain values. We are right of center in support of free market and deregulation. We are in favor of enterprise. The *Telegraph* supports fair-play, the rule of law, and equality of opportunity. But it is also fun. Of course our journalist values mean nothing without the right culture among staff.

The Telegraph's editor states clearly that the newspaper holds right-center political and ideological views. The right political and philosophical doctrine is also known as Conservatism and it favors the historically inherited systems and not abstract ideals. In this respect, Veirick, Mingue and Ball (2016, p. 130) assert that:

The preference (of the traditional)has traditionally rested on an organic conception of society. That is on the belief that society is not merely a loose collection of individuals but a

living organism comprising closely connected, interdependent members. Conservatism thus, favors institutions and practices of continuity and stability.

The Conservative views of *The Telegraph* concerning the issue of Muslim women are implicitly expressed though they can be traced in the discursive patterns that are discussed above in the Interpretation level. For instance, the focus on the issue of the veil and Muslim women dress reflects the conservative view of *The Telegraph* that supports the mother land culture and its traditions , and rejects and criticizes the “ Others” and “alien” lifestyle that are trying to make their way into the British culture and society. Hence, the Conservatism views of *The Telegraph* are one of the discourse determiners about MW and their issues.

5.3.3.3 Discussion of the Results

The application of Fairclough's three dimensional Model of Description, Interpretation and Explanation on *The Telegraph* articles about MW has revealed interesting results. In the Description stage, we dealt with various lexical and grammatical features such as the use of passive form and modality, schematic frames used, ideological contested words and so on.

The use of the passive form in headlines that include MW has shown that the “agentless” passive form is the most frequent passive form used by *The Telegraph* when reporting about MW and their issues. MW in the agentless passives are represented as the main responsible of the actions that happened to them such as when they are barred from a flight, sent out from a music concert or when they are hit with a hammer. The analysis has shown that the use of this type of passive is motivated by the tendency of *The Telegraph* to deemphasize and mitigate “in-group” bad actions and highlight “out-group” bad actions.

Moreover, the analysis of the use of modality revealed a kind of unequal power relationships that is exercised by *The Telegraph* over MW. This appears mainly when it uses the strong modal “must” that signals obligation in relation to Muslim women issues

that are part of their personal freedom, mainly the issue of the Islamic dress (Hijab, burka, burkini and so on) without even giving them voice to defend their choices and proclaim their rights of freedom of dress.

In addition to that, the examination of a number of lexical features has shown how *The Telegraph* negatively frames MW issues such as when it addresses the issue of the hijab through drawing on negative topics such as violence and war. These grammatical and lexical choices used by *The Telegraph* writers to report about MW reflect a number of discursive patterns which have been identified through the Interpretation level.

The Interpretation stage in Fairclough's model is set to link text to context and mentions the processes that lead to text production and consumption. The analysis in this stage has revealed the three main discursive patterns *The Telegraph* uses to represent MW. These patterns are: a) MW form a backward religious minority who are unable to integrate in the British society, b) MW are weak and submissive, c) MW are "others" and their practices are a threat to the British values. These negative discursive patterns used by *The Telegraph* to represent MW are not new or creative. Rather, they reflect continuity in the Western media in general and the British media in particular to draw on similar negative patterns. This is evident when compared to the results of research papers about Muslim women that have been discussed in Chapter 2 (section 4.4). For instance, Fallah's (2005) study on the visual representation of Muslim women in US newspapers comes to the conclusion that Muslim women are reported as passive victims. Hence, *The Telegraph* tends to reproduce the same negative discursive patterns that maintain the same stereotypical images about MW.

The discursive patterns discussed above underlie certain ideological beliefs that serve to legitimize and naturalize them. There are three main ideological beliefs that dominate the discourse of *The Telegraph* about MW. The first is an *Orientalist* ideology that depicts MW in a negative way. Poo (2002) argues that there is an *Orientalist* discourse that is continuously transformed to fit the developing circumstance in the

British media outlets. *The Telegraph* is not an exception in this case. Among the stereotypical images it reproduces about MW is that they are victims of their religion. This conception is very common in the Orientalist discourse about MW as Zine (2006, p. 130) argues: “Muslim women are constructed in the Western imagination as backward victims of their heathen misogynistic culture”. Secondly, there is the Liberal-Conservative ideology that shows up in some texts, as not all texts in *The Telegraph* are necessarily ideological. As mentioned above, *The Telegraph* expresses explicitly its adherence to *Conservatism ideology* which is reflected in the discursive patterns that represent MW as “others” and a threat to the British society through the extensive report and criticism of the Islamic dress that renders MW different and shows them as challengers to the British way of life which *The Telegraph* seeks to promote and support.

Finally, there is the *secular ideology* which is also reflected in the discursive patterns that represent MW as victims and submissive to their misogynistic religion. *The Telegraph* is sensitive to the quest of religion as it outspokenly criticizes MW who stick to their religion. In this vein, Pool (2002) asserts that religion is very often constructed as a sign of primitivism and the antithesis of modern secular world. Therefore, the results obtained from the application of Fairclough’s model confirm the second hypothesis which states that CDA is the appropriate research method to reveal the reciprocal relationships between text and its social and ideological background.

5.4 Conclusion

The application of Fairclough’s three dimensional model on *The Telegraph* articles that report on MW have shown the linguistic choices (grammar and vocabulary) made by this Conservative broadsheet to represent MW and their issues. These linguistic choices form the discursive patterns that this quality newspaper repeatedly reproduces about MW. These negative discursive patterns formed by negative linguistic choices are a reflection of *The Telegraph* perception of MW which is in fact nurtured by the ideological beliefs of the newspaper that serve to naturalize the distortive images and stereotypes about Muslim Women.

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This section is set to summarize the main findings of the work through an account of the research questions this thesis has set out to answer. This is followed by emphasizing the research contributions to Critical Discourse Analysis(CDA), the media, and Muslim women (MW) studies. We will then consider the strengths and limitations of this study. Finally, suggestions and recommendations for future research on the issues of MW are highlighted. The study has been conducted to show how CDA as a theory and as a method can be used to analyze the relationship between texts and their ideological choices in newspaper discourse. CDA is chiefly interested in social problems. The identified social problem this study has investigated is the problematic representation of MW in news discourse mainly in one of Britain's most influential broadsheets, *The Telegraph*.

The tools used to answer the research questions and to analyze the data were selected carefully. We have used corpus linguistics, transitivity analysis and Fairclough's three dimensional model involving description, interpretation, and explanation. The data are studied from two perspectives: macro analysis and micro analysis and for this purpose, two different corpora were compiled. The first is the Muslim Women Telegraph Corpus (MWTC), which is a general corpus compiled of 280 articles. The second one is the Muslim Women in Headlines Corpus MWHC which is a sub-corpus compiled from the (MWTC) made of articles that include the term "Muslim women" in their headlines.

At the macro analysis level, we attempt to reveal how MW are represented discursively in *The Telegraph* articles. Corpus linguistics tools such as keyword analysis, concordances, and collocation tool are applied to the general corpus MWTC. Also, we have combined concordance analysis with transitivity analysis in order to analyze quantitatively and qualitatively the concordance of the cluster "Muslim women".

The keyword analysis employed on the MWTC is used to reveal the key topics *The Telegraph* addresses when dealing with Muslim women. The analysis has revealed that this conservative broadsheet associates MW with three main negative aspects:

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Muslim women dress mainly veil and burka, court and law, and terrorism. The keyword analysis shows *The Telegraph's* obsession with the Muslim women dress through reporting extensively about it as a symbol of Islamic culture that, as Hage (1998, p.37) asserts, is seen in the Western communities as “a harmful presence that affects their (Muslim women) own well being”. It also reveals that *The Telegraph* depicts MW as a source of problems through its focus on reporting them in court and law contexts. Moreover, the topic of terrorism is also considered as a negative theme as Schwenkenbecher (2012, p 38) argues that “terrorism is the use of fear and terror against some group as a means to intimidate or coerce that group”. Hence, associating MW with terroristic practices may distort their image. Accordingly, these three main negative topics contribute to the negative representation of MW in *The Telegraph* articles.

For a further examination of the key topics in their context, a concordance analysis of those topics has been undertaken. For instance, the keyword “burka” which pertains to the topic of veiling and dress has three patterns of occurrence: neutral, negative and positive. The analysis has shown that the negative burka representation is the most frequent pattern. In the key topic of court and law, the analysis of the word “ban”, the strongest keyword that pertains to this topic, has shown that *The Telegraph* is indirectly supporting “the burka” ban through giving much space to those who call for banning this Islamic dress within and outside Britain. It also shows how this conservative newspaper is trying to portray MW as “stubborn” and “very religious” who are challenging laws and regulations despite being warned and, sometimes fined by governments in many European countries. Finally, the concordance analysis of the last key topic “terrorism” indicates that *The Telegraph* portrays MW in relation to this topic in two negative ways: they are reported -either as victims of deadly terrorist groups such as ISIL or as active participants in such terrorist organizations. *The Telegraph* focuses on the stories of the so-called “Jihadi brides” who joined the war in Iraq and Syria to work as “sex slaves” for ISIL fighters or reporting them as active members in recruiting extremists through the use of various social media sites.

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The concordance tool was also used to analyze the occurrence of the cluster “Muslim women” in all the clauses contained within the Muslim Women Telegraph Corpus. We have used transitivity analysis to analyze these clauses. From a quantitative point of view, we have found that the most frequent process types (of clauses) are the material, verbal and mental processes. These processes are analyzed from a participant’s point of view, i.e. which participants’ role Muslim women are assigned to in these clauses.

The analysis of *material clauses* has shown that MW appear both in “happening” and “doing” clauses with a tendency to appear more in the latter process type. MW appear as Actors and Goals in the “doing clauses” with the same frequency. Both MW participant roles are analyzed. The analysis found that when MW are assigned the role of Actors in clauses they are reported to engage in negative actions such as joining conflicts, wars, and terrorist groups deliberately or they are portrayed to assign passive social roles such as reporting them choosing to stay dependent house wives over going for paid work. When MW are assigned the role of Goals (objects) there appear two different patterns of representation: when MW are Goals for British Actors such as government and Parliamentary Members and so on, these latter are reported to positively affect MW. However, when MW are Goals of Islamic or Muslim Actors, they are reported to be affected negatively to the extent that they seem to be victims of their culture and religion.

As far as the *verbal clauses* are concerned, the analysis has shown that MW are not given enough space to voice their needs and talk about their issues. *The Telegraph* tends not to quote MW to talk about their issues, challenges and their stories of success rather; they are quoted only when criticizing their own culture and religion.

According to the *mental clauses*, the analysis has shown that, although this process occupies good space in the processes used in relation to MM, they do not reveal what MW perceive, think about, like, want, and desires for, except in a few cases. Moreover, Mw are reported negatively in this process type.

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To sum up, the transitivity analysis of the cluster “Muslim women” in the three main process types mentioned above revealed how The Telegraph negatively represent MW in these types of clauses. They are assigned the role of passive receivers of action in material clauses, they are not quoted to voice their needs and talk about their life challenges and successful stories in verbal clauses, and it is not known what they think about, like, want, and desire for in mental clauses.

The use of Fairclough’s model of *description*, *interpretation* and *explanation* focused mainly on *The Telegraph*’s articles that included MW in their headlines which is referred to as the Muslim Women Headline Corpus. The aim of this three-partite analysis is to reveal the relationships between texts and ideologies in The Telegraph’s representation of MW.

The *description* stage dealt with the articles formal properties in terms of the choices made at the level of grammar and vocabulary. As far as lexical choices are concerned, it is found that there are some ideologically contested words. *The Telegraph* tried many times, through using words that belong to liberal literature, to show that it supports freedom and the rights of individuals to wear whatever they want. Yet, when it deals with the Islamic dress that is associated with MW it shows another face. *The Telegraph* criticism of the veil and burka puts its secular and liberal views into question.

Also, *The Telegraph* tends to use words that belong to negative topics to schematically frame issues related to MW. It draws on negative topics, such as war and violence, to deal with the issue of veil and burka taken form jargon of violence and war.

The negative grammatical and lexical choices that are revealed in the description stage form the discursive patterns that are found in the *interpretation* stage where text is linked to context. The three main discursive patterns that were identified at this stage are:

- MW are religious. They cannot integrate into secular societies.
- MW are weak and submissive. They are victims of their cultures and religion.

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- MW are regarded as the “other” whose practices can threaten the British values.

Compared to what we have discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.5.3) about the representation of MW in some Western media, *The Telegraph* tends to use similar discursive patterns and brings no novelty to the way MM are represented. Hence, it uses a discourse that maintains the same negative stereotypical images about MW.

The maintained stereotypical images The Telegraph uses to represent MW are in fact a reflection of three main ideologies:

- *Orientalist* ideology that sees MW as backward and victims of their religion.
- *Secularist* ideology that regards MW as religious minority unable to be integrated in the British society.
- *Conservative* ideology that supports integration and regards social minority groups as “others” and a threat to British values.

Although the research methods and procedures used to analyze the research data reflect some point of strength and proved to be appropriate to the nature of the study, there are some limitations that need to be acknowledged as follows:

a) in order to analyze the study corpus from a quantitative and qualitative point of view, we have integrated transitivity analysis with corpus linguistics (CL) though only partially. Yet, we believe that CL tools would be more fruitful if integrated with Fairclough’s CDA model where the analysis would oscillate between the quantitative corpus tools and the CDA’s interpretative procedures. Integrating CDA with CL is beyond our reach because it entails a very advanced level in both methods.

b) the interpretative nature of CDA has made it difficult for us to totally avoid subjectivity. However, our study also has many points of strengths as well. To avoid the inherent subjectivity of the CDA approach, we have used, though separately, the quantitative corpus linguistics tools especially in identifying the key topics in *The*

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Telegraph articles that form the corpus of the study. The keywords analysis is done automatically through the use of the AntConc software. Other studies might just choose certain topics over others based on preconceived ideas that they are important. So, the application of this corpus tool has helped us objectively to identify the topics *The Telegraph* focuses on while reporting on MW. Moreover, the compilation of the corpus of the study was done in a way that generates articles that include MW even just in passing. Moreover, the data were selected objectively since both keyword analysis and concordance are based on statistical criteria. In addition to that, one of the main strengths of this study is its twofold data analysis orientation: a macro-global analysis of the whole articles organized in the Muslim women *Telegraph* corpus and a more focused micro-analysis carried out through Fairclough's CDA model of a sub-corpus made of headlines. This has allowed us to achieve a thorough and comprehensive analysis of our data by shedding light on various aspects which could not be possible if not done this way.

Although the data and methodology used in this research have proven helpful to answer the study's research questions, there are some avenues that remain open for further investigations:

- a) a deep understanding of how MW are represented in newspaper articles would be achieved through extending the context of investigation to include not only the paper or online version of newspaper editions but also their social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter where comments and news about MW would reach more audience and receive more interaction thanks to the widespread use of these two social media platforms.
- b) this study would also benefit from a multi-model analysis that goes beyond the analysis of texts to consider other semiotic elements, in this case the use of images, visuals and colors. We believe that the analysis patterns of the visual images that are chosen by *The Telegraph* journalists while reporting about MW would tell us

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more about how this newspaper perceives and represents MW. In this case, Van Leeuwen's and Jewitt (2001) multimodal analysis would be of great importance

- c) Another interesting area of research on MW is to investigate how MW react to the stereotypical images drawn by Western media through the various alternative online news sites and magazines that are formed by some MW in the UK, the USA and many parts of Europe such as *Aquila style Magazine* which is interested in promoting an Islamic new fashion in dress and lifestyle that balances between Islamic spirituality and social engagement. There is also a magazine called *Muslima: Muslim women Arts and Voice* whose aim is “to present a groundbreaking collection of thought pieces and artwork from contemporary Muslim women who are defining their own identities and, in the process, shattering pervasive stereotypes” (Muslima, 2018). The analysis of the discourse of these new Muslim women websites and magazines would help in understanding not only the alternative discourse proposed but also the global struggle between Islamic values and Western principles of modernity and liberalism.
- d) More multi-disciplinarity should be maintained in future research on media and religious minorities' representation such as integrating CDA with corpus linguistics and visual analysis with other social theories such as feminism or post-modernity approaches.

Moreover, we would like to make some recommendations concerning the issue of MW representation in the press. First, we believe that more space has to be given to MW in the press to voice their own needs and talk about their own problems. Newspapers have to quote directly on MW especially when they deal with issues such as reports that MW are forced to wear *hijab* or *burka*, or when they are reported to be victims of their husbands/fathers in pursuing educational and professional careers. Although we believe that such practices exist in some limited contexts, it is not a widespread practice in Muslim families. Newspapers and media in general have to report on those successful

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Muslim women who are supported by their husbands, fathers and families in their way to success and progression. Second, newspapers for instance, have to employ more MW in their editorial staff to avoid reporting misleading stories, especially those related to sensitive topics such as the issue of the veil, marriage, and education where most of the time the Western media do not distinguish between what is cultural and what is Islamic. Third, there is an inconsistency while referring to the veil, hijab, burka, face-veil, niqab and headscarf. Sometimes veil is used to mean niqab or burka or vice versa. It is recommended that such misuse of these terms must be avoided.

To put it briefly, it is safe to say that the media plays a major role in how we perceive the world around us. It has the power to shape issues, agendas, stereotypes, misrepresentation and shape public discourse. Muslims in general and MW in particular are one of the most affected social minorities by the Western media misrepresentation. One of the Western media outlets that is found to discursively misrepresents MW is the influential British quality newspaper *The Telegraph*. The latter, and although it claims to be credible, informative and a force for a good British society, it does not show these qualities when dealing with MW; rather, its representation of this social minority is determined by certain ideologies that works to naturalize its negative representation. This fact is raised from the results yielded in the present doctoral thesis which tried to demonstrate, through the use of CDA, how MW are discursively represented in *The Telegraph* and to reveal the role of the newspaper's ideological beliefs in the spreading and maintaining of stereotypes about MW. Finally, although we call for more critical discourse studies on media discourse to fight prejudice and stereotypes, we think that it is equally important to use CDA to study how the stereotyped groups, in this case MW, perceive and respond to the media misrepresentations.

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Bibliography

APPENDICES

Appendices

Appendix 1 Concordance Lines of the Node “Muslim women” Sorted out by AntCon (4.33W).

1 of racism when he dared to suggest that **Muslim women** must learn English. The Prime Minister insisted MWTC corpus.txt
2 their uniform. At the time, there were six **Muslim women** working as police officers but none of MWTC corpus.txt
3 It was part of an attempt to encourage **Muslim women** to consider pursuing a career in the MWTC corpus.txt
4 have moved on. You see more burka-clad **Muslim women** in London than in Islamabad, while Bollywood MWTC corpus.txt
5 is happening right now in 21st-century Britain. **Muslim women** are far less likely to speak English MWTC corpus.txt
6 English is essential and liberating. Many thousands of **Muslim women** have had their lives transformed by tMWTC corpus.txt
7 on findings from a study suggesting that British **Muslim women** are more likely to be happily married MWTC corpus.txt
8 on findings from a study suggesting that British **Muslim women** are more likely to be happily married MWTC corpus.txt
9 TAXI driver secretly filmed himself having sex with **Muslim women** and blackmailed them into giving him money MWTC
corpus.txt
10 who cannot be identified for legal reasons, were **Muslim women** with connections to other countries. Mr Mirza MWTC
corpus.txt
11 age of 15, insisted during the meeting that many **Muslim women**, including some in abusive relationships, found sharia MWTC
corpus.txt
12 age of 15, insisted during the meeting that many **Muslim women**, including some in abusive relationships, found sharia
MWTC corpus.txt
13 trust said yesterday it would now admit women. **Muslim women's** rights groups welcomed the decision. LOAD- MWTC
corpus.txt
14 Mr Hollande later said he wanted to see **Muslim women** integrated into France, "free" from the veil. " MWTC corpus.txt
15 Mr Hollande later said he wanted to see **Muslim women** integrated into France, "free" from the veil. " MWTC corpus.txt
16 defaming the Prophet during an altercation with several **Muslim women**. A local imam who was not even WTC corpus.txt
17 Mohammad during a row with a group of **Muslim women** over a water bowl. She has been MWTC corpus.txt
18 from the well in Itan Wali village. Several **Muslim women** refused to drink from the bowl because MWTC corpus.txt
19 and order work and documenting the rape of **Muslim women**. ? 2003 Serves in Basra immediately after the invasion MWTC
corpus.txt
20 40 words SIR - Allison Pearson (Features, August 31) objects to **Muslim women** wearing gloves to shake hands with men.
MWTC corpus.txt
21 habits - or would the ban only apply to **Muslim women**? What level of exposure would be deemed MWTC corpus.txt
22 I agree that the culture that forces some **Muslim women** to cover up is not in keeping MWTC corpus.txt
23 claimed that at least this ludicrous garment affords **Muslim women** the opportunity to go swimming,
MWTC corpus.txt
when they
24 respected. Not if it ends up intimidating other **Muslim women** into feeling ashamed for exposing their
MWTC corpus.txt
own
25 who gets to draw it? Segregated sessions for **Muslim women** at a public swimming baths look harmless
MWTC corpus.txt
26 over the full-body swimsuit sometimes worn by **Muslim women** since a string of resorts on the MWTC
corpus.txt

Appendices

27Tim Coles Carlton, Bedfordshire SIR - Fines given to **Muslim women** on the beaches of France were in MWTC
corpus.txt

28was an issue of the freedom of French **Muslim women** not to wear the headscarf that was MWTC
corpus.txt

29ban is lifted; French ruling welcomed 'for giving **Muslim women** back their dignity' but it also provokes MWTC
corpus.txt

30full-body swimsuit worn by a minority of **Muslim women**. The council ruled that mayors overstepped their MWTC
corpus.txt

31Muslim group in Villeneuve-Loubet, said it "gives **Muslim women** back their dignity". Asked if it meant MWTC
corpus.txt

32 in the South of France, the fact these **Muslim women** were even allowed to go bathing or MWTC
corpus.txt

33 the garment around the world, especially to non-**Muslim women**, according to the designer of the full- MWTC
corpus.txt

34banned the full-body swimwear worn by some **Muslim women**, in a nation still on edge after MWTC
corpus.txt

35study in 2009 found more than two thirds of **Muslim women** in Germany wear no hair or face MWTC
corpus.txt

36 and they encourage killing of Muslim children and **Muslim women**." The comments were broadcast on Channel 4 last MWTC
corpus.txt

37the bans say that the garment - which some **Muslim women** wear to meet Islamic requirements to dress MWTC
corpus.txt

38costume popular among a small, devout population of **Muslim women**. This costume, Mr Lisnard declared, "ostentatiously MWTC
displays
corpus.txt

39theocratic regime, the Cannes burkini ban forces some **Muslim women** to choose between their religious and their MWTC
corpus.txt

40clothing, such as the burka worn by some **Muslim women** to cover their faces when in public. " MWTC
corpus.txt

41restricted, and the labour market participation rate among **Muslim women** from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds is MWTC
lower
corpus.txt

42 15 LENGTH: 379 words THE mayor of Cannes has banned **Muslim women** from wearing "burkinis" on the beach, a MWTC
corpus.txt

43 hands." The Collective against Islamophobia is helping 10 **Muslim women** bring a legal request to have the MWTC
corpus.txt

44 National Edition UK employers 'routinely snub' **Muslim women** in headscarves BYLINE: John Bingham SECTION: MWTC
NEWS;

45John Bingham LENGTH: 381 words **MUSLIM women** who wear headscarves are routinely being passed MWTC
corpus.txt

46In some cases, an upsurge in attacks on **Muslim women** has led many to look only for MWTC
corpus.txt

47it was seen as acceptable to discriminate against **Muslim women** and that [people] almost didn't see MWTC
corpus.txt

48of Muslims. Muhammad takes the traditional stereotypes of **Muslim women** and slashes them to bits. She is MWTC
corpus.txt

49the MP - fall to the floor. She had **Muslim women** around her trying to help. The woman MWTC
corpus.txt

50 is being "misused" and "exploited" to discriminate against **Muslim women**, Theresa May, the Home Secretary, has claimed, MWTC
corpus.txt

51 is being "misused" and "exploited" to discriminate against **Muslim women**, Theresa May, the Home Secretary, has claimed, MWTC
corpus.txt

52 BYLINE: Justin words **MUSLIM women** clutching their children's hands looked on MWTC
corpus.txt

53 control. Children in care, white workingclass boys, British **Muslim women**: in a true meritocracy they would win MWTC
corpus.txt

54believe that because I was sitting with visibly **Muslim women**, we were singled out." Their lawyer accused MWTC
corpus.txt

55 Minister is on the right track, insisting that **Muslim women** learn English so they're not prisoners MWTC
corpus.txt

56sensible innovation. It will, hopefully, enable many more **Muslim women** and girls to participate in another element MWTC
corpus.txt

Appendices

57120 words A MAN who tweeted about stopping a **Muslim "women"** (sic) in the street and challenging her MWTC corpus.txt

58highlights include two short pieces in which young **Muslim women** discuss wearing the hijab (December 2 2015); a pair MWTC corpus.txt

59 the disabled? And what about Muslim men versus **Muslim women**? Actually, I think I know the answer MWTC corpus.txt

60sorted: Muslim men are more important victims than **Muslim women**. Other questions, however, will be more complex, MWTC corpus.txt

61 buried in shallow mass graves, some 25,000 to 30,000 Bosnian **Muslim women** were forcibly removed, an act the United MWTC corpus.txt

62 wear". The clear implication being that what non-**Muslim women** wear - that's the vast majority of MWTC corpus.txt

63 strand returns with a compelling report on transgender **Muslim women** in Malaysia, who, living under Sharia law, MWTC corpus.txt

65 But they do. Take the case of those **Muslim women** who claim to have been systematically blocked MWTC corpus.txt

66 male Muslim Labour councillors. Earlier this week, the **Muslim Women's** Network UK outed this behaviour, citing MWTC corpus.txt

67 Corbyn has yet to officially comment but the **Muslim Women's** Network say it's not only MWTC corpus.txt

68National Edition Labour 'ignored misogyny against **Muslim women**' BYLINE: Steven Swinford SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 11 LENGTH: 229 MWTC corpus.txt

69blind eye to years of "systemic misogyny" against **Muslim women** who are seeking to become councillors. The MWTC corpus.txt

70women who are seeking to become councillors. The **Muslim Women's** Network UK said in a letter MWTC corpus.txt

71the organisation's chairman, said: "From our experience, **Muslim women** are most affected by Labour Muslim male MWTC corpus.txt

72 Party has been complicit at the highest levels." **Muslim women** told BBC2's Newsnight of the obstacles MWTC corpus.txt

73 to raise the issue of teaching English to **Muslim women** who have lived here for decades and MWTC corpus.txt

74 route migrants." Days earlier Mr Cameron had said **Muslim women** who refused to learn English could be MWTC corpus.txt

75 Cameron announced a new £20 million fund to teach **Muslim women** in the UK to speak English to MWTC corpus.txt

76has demolished the Prime Minister's claim that **Muslim women** who fail to learn English could be MWTC corpus.txt

77Edition 1 National Edition Not all **Muslim women** are free to make the choice to MWTC corpus.txt

78of time in evening surgeries trying to persuade **Muslim women** to learn English (Letters, January 20). Free classes MWTC corpus.txt

79 Britain "men too often do the talking for **Muslim women**". Is this also the case when it MWTC corpus.txt

80of residents don't speak English. Are many **Muslim women** disfranchised in this way too? If so, MWTC corpus.txt

81Pearson LENGTH: 7 words Only **Muslim women** can reform Islam Page 21 LOAD-DATE: January 20, 2016 MWTC corpus.txt

82the idea that schools and courts could ban **Muslim women** from wearing the veil. LOAD-DATE: January 20, 2016 MWTC corpus.txt

83; FRONT PAGE; TEASERS8 words Only **Muslim women** can reform Islam Features, Page 21 LOAD-DATE: MWTC corpus.txt

84better option than after-school English classes for **Muslim women**. In 2002, a local volunteering group put me MWTC corpus.txt

85 would support that schools and courts could ban **Muslim women** from wearing the veil. David Cameron said: " MWTC corpus.txt

86 Edition 1 National Edition **Muslim women** can change Islam for the better BYLINE: MWTC corpus.txt

87is far from unique. Some 22 per cent of **Muslim women** in the UK - around 190,000 - speak little or MWTC corpus.txt

Appendices

88 of their country. Shaista Gohir, chairman of the Muslim Women's Network UK, says women tell her corpus.txt	MWTC
89classes for immigrants and, more specifically, to bring Muslim women into mainstream society. I say cautious because corpus.txt	MWTC
90who keep them locked away is grossly unfair. Muslim women have got quite enough outrageous sexism to corpus.txt	MWTC
91 UK, men too often do the talking for Muslim women . That needs to stop. Let's ban corpus.txt	MWTC
92affect David Cameron's plans to encourage more Muslim women to speak English (report, January 18). Ruth Dowding corpus.txt	MWTC
93 Dominiczak; Steve Swinford SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1,6 LENGTH: 886 words MUSLIM women can be banned from wearing veils in corpus.txt	MWTC
94Cameron also announced that tens of thousands of Muslim women would face deportation unless they pass a corpus.txt	MWTC
95clear that individual organisations could choose to stop Muslim women wearing the veil. In 2013, The Daily Telegraph corpus.txt	MWTC
96Edition National Edition We must teach Muslim women English to free them - not beat Isil; corpus.txt	MWTC
97especially the plight of the 22 per cent of Muslim women - almost 190,00 of them - with little or no corpus.txt	MWTC
98 down by age. More than half the 40,000 British Muslim women who cannot speak English at all are corpus.txt	MWTC
99workforce is one reason only 22 per cent of Muslim women over 65 are in good health, compared with 47 corpus.txt	MWTC
100 course, there are reasons other than English that Muslim women are less likely than others to work. corpus.txt	MWTC
101 mothers should not work. Eighteen per cent of Muslim women are "looking after family" to the exclusion corpus.txt	MWTC
102 lay aside. In fact, we should want more Muslim women to work, and say so. This is corpus.txt	MWTC
103setting people free to compete. And today some Muslim women are being denied the chance even to corpus.txt	MWTC
104 is true of women of other faiths, but Muslim women face even more obstacles that Mr Cameron corpus.txt	MWTC
105 as counter-terrorism. That risks looking like helping Muslim women only as a means to an end - corpus.txt	MWTC
106 an end - that of curbing terror. But helping Muslim women purely for our sake, not theirs, would corpus.txt	MWTC
107 't really care about Muslim lives. Some British Muslim women don't speak English and even more corpus.txt	MWTC
108be reached until after his departure. Too many Muslim women today are trapped. Helping them to speak corpus.txt	MWTC
109Swinford SECTION: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1 LENGTH: 721 words MUSLIM women can be banned from wearing veils in corpus.txt	MWTC
110Cameron also announced that tens of thousands of Muslim women would face deportation unless they pass a corpus.txt	MWTC
111 clear that individual organisations could choose to stop Muslim women wearing the veil. In 2013 corpus.txt	MWTC
112; Scotland PM issues 'learn English' plea to Muslim women ; LENGTH: 98 words corpus.txt	MWTC
113words More Muslim women should learn English in the hope that corpus.txt	MWTC
114within the community. "At the moment, too many Muslim women are treated like second-class corpus.txt	MWTC
11 happy, integrated family could look like if only Muslim women were allowed to play a full part corpus.txt	MWTC
116 to cover their heads with their jackets, as Muslim women gave clothes to non-Muslim girls and corpus.txt	MWTC
117 and burkini - a modest swimsuit worn by some Muslim women - were forbidden from the area. But residents corpus.txt	MWTC
118 that many Muslim women in Britain do not know our language corpus.txt	MWTC
120 , the George Formby Society, the wrestler Giant Haystacks, muslim women praising the veil and the actress Anita corpus.txt	MWTC
121Action On Addiction and Shelina Zahra Janmohamed, a Muslim women's activist and lifelong teetotaler. Thursday	

122 " examples of the impact of Islamic law on **Muslim women** in Britain as she called for the MWTC corpus.txt
123 women of colour victimised by the police, or **Muslim women** photographing themselves proudly in their hijab.
The MWTC corpus.txt
124 at a Paris conference on the role of **Muslim women**. Inna Shevchenko, a spokesman for the feminis MWTC
corpus.txt
125 the attacks. Of course, what happens to these **Muslim women** (usually wearing a niqab or hijab) who MWTC
corpus.txt
126 last month. If Egyptian authorities do not release "**Muslim women**" they were holding, he told the camera, "
MWTC corpus.txt
127 last month. If Egyptian authorities do not release "**Muslim women**" they were holding, he told the camera, "
MWTC corpus.txt
128 (www.telegraph.co.uk, July 3) mentioned the problems **Muslim women** experience with sharia councils - but that
is MWTC corpus.txt
129 workers in Syria as "barking dogs", called on **Muslim women** to "stay at home" and prayed that MWTC corpus.txt
130 the identity of a man who was attacking **Muslim women**. There is a less obvious narrative at MWTC corpus.txt
131. And, for the first time, significant numbers of **Muslim women** and young girls in the West are MWTC
corpus.txt
132 EC's mission investigating the abuse of Bosnian **Muslim women** during the Yugoslav civil war, and in 1994 -
MWTC corpus.txt
133 audience, I strained to catch sight of any **Muslim women**. Apart from a handful of white females, MWTC
corpus.txt
134 Asian and male. Eventually, I spotted two veiled **Muslim women** in the very back row. While we MWTC
corpus.txt
135 tell Radio 4 listeners that there were just two **Muslim women** in the whole audience and that, so MWTC
corpus.txt
136 audience, I strained to catch sight of any **Muslim women**. Apart from a handful of white females, MWTC
corpus.txt
137 Asian and male. Eventually, I spotted two veiled **Muslim women** in the very back row. While we MWTC
corpus.txt
138 tell Radio 4 listeners that there were just two **Muslim women** in the whole audience and that, so MWTC
corpus.txt
139 yes, indignant - at Lord Neuberger's assertion that **Muslim women** should be allowed to wear a niqab MWTC
corpus.txt
140 yes, indignant - at Lord Neuberger's assertion that **Muslim women** should be allowed to wear a niqab MWTC
corpus.txt
141 yes, indignant - at Lord Neuberger's assertion that **Muslim women** should be allowed to wear a niqab MWTC
corpus.txt
142 yes, indignant - at Lord Neuberger's assertion that **Muslim women** should be allowed to wear a niqab MWTC
corpus.txt
143 dayEdition 1; Scotland Let **Muslim women** wear veil in court: top judge BYLINE: MWTC
corpus.txt
144 SECTION: NEWS; JUDGES should allow **Muslim women** to appear in court wearing a full- MWTC corpus.txt
145 Iraq and the Levant (Isil) in Syria. Among **Muslim women** and those under the age of 35, the MWTC corpus.txt
146 Iraq and the Levant (Isil) in Syria. Among **Muslim women** and those under the age of 35, the MWTC corpus.txt
147 the (boo-hiss!) Conservatives have resulted in a **Muslim women's** peace-camp being set up in MWTC
corpus.txt
148 forced to apologise in 2006 when he suggested that **Muslim women** who wear veils over their face could
MWTC corpus.txt
149 two women. Equalising those numbers would send another 50,000 **Muslim women** to university. And when British
Muslims do MWTC corpus.txt
150 urge all MPs to support it. Faeeza Vaid **Muslim Women's** Network UK Balvinder Kaur Sikh Women' MWTC
corpus.txt
151 Hindus has warned. More than 25 organisations - including the **Muslim Women's** Network, the Hindu Council and
the MWTC corpus.txt
152: Above: Bob Dylan; left: Russian **Muslim women** celebrate World Hijab Day in Moscow GETTY IMAGES MWTC
corpus.txt
153 been persuaded that, as one told her: "We **Muslim women** dress in a modest way, not like MWTC corpus.txt
154 the bans imposed in France and Belgium on **Muslim women** covering their faces with burkas and niqabs, MWTC
corpus.txt
155 story to highlight the problems faced by many **Muslim women** who, despite having been born and educated MWTC
corpus.txt
MWTC corpus.txt

156 "? She's challenging the stereotype of meek, reclusive **Muslim women**. "Close your eyes," she says, "and a MWTC corpus.txt

157 Mipsterz (Muslim Hipsters) and other educated, aware, young **Muslim women**. According to the last census, one in MWTC corpus.txt

158 as a Muslim. Educational statistics show that young **Muslim women** in the UK are now among the MWTC corpus.txt

159the chance to share experiences with other young **Muslim women** at home and abroad. Yet, as she MWTC corpus.txt

160 tables for decades. "It's very evident that **Muslim women** can be fashionable while also retaining their MWTC corpus.txt

161 judge has called for tougher rules on compelling **Muslim women** who wear a veil to show their MWTC corpus.txt

162 radical views on the social network, encouraging fellow **Muslim women** to urge their male relatives to fight. MWTC corpus.txt

163 revealed her radical views on the site, encouraging **Muslim women** to urge their male relatives to fight. MWTC corpus.txt

164 think tank has created a "poppy hijab" for **Muslim women**. It is backed by the Islamic Society MWTC corpus.txt

165 is feared. Academics estimate that as many as 60 **Muslim women** have left the UK in the past MWTC corpus.txt

166 worked in inner-city hospitals, have seen countless **Muslim women** forced to communicate through a relative acting MWTC corpus.txt

167 would be more profitable to work with the **Muslim women**. "It is an issue that affects the MWTC corpus.txt

168 think tank. She also topped the UK's **Muslim women** power list. That was the high point. MWTC corpus.txt

169of turn; staff who wear inappropriate dress and **Muslim women** staff who may not be sufficiently covered." MWTC corpus.txt

170 the University of Birmingham showed it is mostly **Muslim women** who are targeted in the growing number MWTC corpus.txt

171 headgear does not breach the human rights of **Muslim women**. The Strasbourg court ruled in the case MWTC corpus.txt

172 police have already sought the co-operation of **Muslim women**, to try to dissuade or inform on MWTC corpus.txt

173police have little option but to plead with **Muslim women** MWTC corpus.txt

174This explains the police's unprecedented appeal to **Muslim women**, asking them to dissuade (or inform on) MWTC corpus.txt

175 Mughal, of the JAN Trust, which works with **Muslim women**, said: "Mothers need to safeguard their child MWTC corpus.txt

176 Mughal, of the Jan Trust, which works with **Muslim women**, said: "Mothers need to safeguard their child MWTC corpus.txt

177 The feisty baroness defending 'voiceless' **Muslim women** BY Peter Stanford SECTION: FEATURES; Pg. 19 MWTC corpus.txt

178 is to rally to the defence of British **Muslim women**, spurred on by the recent decision of MWTC corpus.txt

179 , men can very easily divorce women, but for **Muslim women** it is much harder. I had a 50- MWTC corpus.txt

180 's rubbish, of course. I'm passionate about **Muslim women** and yet I am called Islamophobic." Today' MWTC corpus.txt

181Cox laughs. "That's what the Government says. **Muslim women** can choose to use British courts, but MWTC corpus.txt

182Baroness Cox of Queensbury: I'm passionate about **Muslim women** and yet I am called Islamophobic' ANDREW MWTC corpus.txt

183 stressed the "obligatory nature" of the hijab for **Muslim women** and girls. The disclosures came as Tristram MWTC corpus.txt

184 outraged Baroness Cox pointed out on Radio 4, many **Muslim women** live in this country to get away MWTC corpus.txt

185 outraged Baroness Cox pointed out on Radio 4, many **Muslim women** live in this country to get away MWTC corpus.txt

186of "great concern". A growing number of British **Muslim women** are travelling to Syria to find husbands MWTC corpus.txt

187but Fatimatu was killed, along with three other **Muslim women** and their three children, hacked to death MWTC corpus.txt

188loathing and deploring the treatment accorded **Muslim women**. Doris Lessing's greatest strength lay in MWTC corpus.txt

189 point." The Pakistani and Bangladeshi guides state that **Muslim women** may not wish to shake hands with MWTC corpus.txt

190 may not eat in daylight hours in Ramadan **Muslim women** may not wish to shake hands with MWTC corpus.txt

191 point." The Pakistani and Bangladeshi guides state that **Muslim women** may not wish to shake hands with MWTC corpus.txt

192 may not eat in daylight hours in Ramadan **Muslim women** may not wish to shake hands with MWTC corpus.txt

193 carrying it when he went in. Are strict **Muslim women** in west London really in the habit MWTC corpus.txt

194 who is caught in the middle. She wants **Muslim women** in Britain to ditch the niqab. On MWTC corpus.txt

195 SECTION: BANNING **Muslim women** from wearing the veil is "not the MWTC corpus.txt

196 when we move on to the subject of **Muslim women** and veils. "If women choose to do MWTC corpus.txt
197Scotland PM: **Muslim women** should remove their veils in court BYLINE: MWTC corpus.txt
198 Ki: 506 words **MUSLIM women** should remove veils in court because jurors MWTC corpus.txt
199713 words The debate about **Muslim women** wearing the niqab has gathered pace over MWTC corpus.txt
200-social but antisocial. Of course, there are many **Muslim women** wearing the niqab who claim to be MWTC
corpus.txt
201full-face veils, such as niqabs, and whether **Muslim women** can be ordered to remove their veils MWTC
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202 the Swiss proposal did not specifically refer to **Muslim women**, it had become known as the "anti- MWTC
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203 burkas - the full-body cloaks worn by some **Muslim women** - the initiative will also prohibit niqabs, which
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204there are about 400,000 Muslims in Switzerland, only about 100 **Muslim women** wear burkas, according to official
estimates. Several MWTC corpus.txt
205 205 words Political rows over **Muslim women** wearing veils are "overblown" and risk encouraging MWTC
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206 means something that the majority of even conservative **Muslim women** agree on and I have seen, in MWTC
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207 the niqab are making their own assumptions about **Muslim women's** motivations. The debate about the veil
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208sexual contacts." Sexual jihad is the practice of **Muslim women** offering themselves to those fighting for the
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209Umar London SW19 SIR - As I understand it, **Muslim women** are required to wear the veil so MWTC corpus.txt
210Former extremist who has joined Lib Dems says **Muslim women** are not required to cover up indoors MWTC
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211Steven Swinford SECTION: NEWS; ASKING **Muslim women** to remove their veils is not racist MWTC
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212Swinford SECTION: NEWS; FRONT **MUSLIM women** should be free to wear face veils MWTC corpus.txt
213Former extremist who has joined Lib Dems says **Muslim women** are not required to cover up indoors MWTC
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214Steven Swinford ASKING **Muslim women** to remove their veils is not racist MWTC corpus.txt
215Swinford SECTION: NEWS; **MUSLIM women** should be free to wear face veils MWTC corpus.txt
216 taking control of their body and appearance - inspired **Muslim women** to cover their faces. Religious experts also
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217to be a national debate as to whether **Muslim women** should be banned from wearing veils. MWTC corpus.txt
218 to be a national debate as to whether **Muslim women** should be banned from wearing veils. Lord MWTC
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219 taking control of their body and appearance - inspired **Muslim women** to cover their faces. Religious experts also
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220We believe it is a fundamental right for **Muslim women** to be allowed to wear the face MWTC corpus.txt
221We believe it is a fundamental right for **Muslim women** to be allowed to wear the face MWTC corpus.txt
222 a six-strong crew who posed as wealthy **Muslim women** to raid a Selfridges store in Oxford MWTC corpus.txt
223asix-strong crew who posed as wealthy **Muslim women** to raid a Self-ridges store in MWTC corpus.txt
224 in mourning Kashmiri **Muslim women** watch the funeral procession of Altaf Baba, MWTC corpus.txt
225 in mourning Kashmiri **Muslim women** watch the funeral procession of Altaf Baba, MWTC corpus.txt
226 above ground and a mass grave below it **Muslim women** would be stoned to death for trumped- MWTC
corpus.txt
227 announce Scout clothing that was appropriate for young **Muslim women** to wear when Scouting. It was a
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228befits a devout Muslim. However, there are devout **Muslim women** who practise their faith without a head
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229 law; News Bulletin **Muslim women** are "living in fear" because of the MWTC corpus.txt
230law; News Bulletin **Muslim women** are "living in fear" because of the MWTC corpus.txt
231 fathers from attending with their children to make **Muslim women** feel more comfortable is being investigated.
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232fathers from attending with their children to make **Muslim women** feel more comfortable is being investigated.
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233Messner said. Asian judo federations have previously allowed **Muslim women** to wear headscarves during major
competitions, but MWTC corpus.txt
234they be allowed to wear appropriate clothing for **Muslim women**, including a headscarf. Shahrkhani was given a
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235Messner said. Asian judo federations have previously allowed **Muslim women** to wear headscarves during major
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236 they be allowed to wear appropriate clothing for **Muslim women**, including a headscarf. Shahrkhani was given a
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237film's storyline "a patent insult to Iranian **Muslim women**" that played into the West's hands. " MWTC corpus.txt

Appendices

238West's hands."Is the symbol of Iranian Muslim women a girl who takes part in international corpus.txt	MWTC
239 film's storyline "a patent insult to Iranian Muslim women " that played into the West's hands. " corpus.txt	MWTC
240 West's hands. "Is the symbol of Iranian Muslim women a girl who takes part in international corpus.txt	MWTC
241 wanted to make a documentary overturning stereotypes about Muslim women . She stayed with a friend, Callum Paton, corpus.txt	MWTC
242four known wives, congratulated the role played by Muslim women in the Arab Spring by helping to corpus.txt	MWTC
243on the Al-Fajr website yesterday. Hassan urged Muslim women to raise their children for jihad. "I corpus.txt	MWTC
244 you will liberate Jerusalem'." The message also urged Muslim women to keep wearing the veil. "The veil corpus.txt	MWTC
245 the hijab will not hinder the participation of Muslim women in the Olympic Games," Ali, half-brother corpus.txt	MWTC
246 will be a great opportunity for Arab and Muslim women to show their capabilities." 88 The Handball Arena corpus.txt	MWTC
247 Gogh following his film about the abuse of Muslim women . It also shines a harsh light on corpus.txt	MWTC
248being unable to talk "face to face" to Muslim women when they had their full hijabs on. corpus.txt	MWTC
249 being unable to talk "face to face" to Muslim women when they had their full hijabs on. corpus.txt	MWTC
250explosion. LOAD-DATE: Muslim women walk past a hospital in Kano, Nigeria, corpus.txt	MWTC
251 society. In 1971 she made a documentary film about Muslim women , Behind the Veil. She photographed corpus.txt	MWTC
252university spokesman said that the instruction applied to Muslim women and certain people with disabilities. "Dons should corpus.txt	MWTC
253 low canopies - scarves, shoulderbags, T-shirts, full-length Muslim women's dresses, camel-tack, racks of postcards - corpus.txt	MWTC
254 deprived, gang-ridden area of Manchester, to a Muslim women's football team within a diverse ethnic corpus.txt	MWTC
255the Al-Bahdja football team, a group of Muslim women , has doubled to 50 members. "The grant has corpus.txt	MWTC
256 uncanny. I have had, among my patients, young Muslim women who attempted suicide because they were being corpus.txt	MWTC
257George Smiley to penetrate the disguise, because observant Muslim women drinking wine and ordering pork are something corpus.txt	MWTC
258 were capable of rational thinking and decision making. " Muslim women in our Islamic history have demonstrated positions corpus.txt	MWTC
259 women wearing low-cut evening dresses. By contrast, Muslim women on Zanzibar were fully veiled and covered corpus.txt	MWTC
260her friend and collaborator on a film about Muslim women - was murdered by extremists, a message affixed corpus.txt	MWTC
261BYLINE: Jonathan words MUSLIM women who refuse to remove their veils for corpus.txt	MWTC
262 the Islamic Council of New South Wales. The Muslim Women's Association said if a female officer corpus.txt	MWTC
263and their community through sport. When it involves Muslim women , there may be boundaries to cross - in corpus.txt	MWTC
264it's a great idea to encourage more Muslim women into team sports. It helps foster friendships corpus.txt	MWTC
265 police are considering using fingerprinting to identify Muslim women wearing full veils after a court cleared corpus.txt	MWTC
266She is concerned about the discrimination suffered by Muslim women in decisions made by the courts. She corpus.txt	MWTC
26723 LENGTH: 261 words A GROUP of Malaysian Muslim women is forming The Obedient Wife Club with corpus.txt	MWTC MWTC
272a blow to individual freedom. If legislators think Muslim women are oppressed, then why attack them? Also, corpus.txt	MWTC

273Peter words TWO **Muslim women** wearing face veils were arrested yesterday as MWTC
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274 ethnic minority women, and they don't want **Muslim women** living in central London." She also
 suggested MWTC
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275: **MUSLIM women** have been banned from travelling more than 48 MWTC corpus.txt

276a 'mehram' relative." The response provoked anger among **Muslim women** activists, who said it was
 based on MWTC
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277 horse in one day. Naaz Raza, of the **Muslim women's** group Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan, said: "
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278 he calls "the most moderate opinion" that all **Muslim women** should be subjected to female circumcision
 without MWTC
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279there. "We've had women-only sports clubs, **Muslim women's** swimming groups, and girls' tennis. "I
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280MP who has called for a ban on **Muslim women** wearing the burka in Britain, said Lady MWTC
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281MP who has called for a ban on **Muslim women** wearing the burka in Britain, said Lady MWTC
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282NEWS; Pg. 6 LENGTH: has defended **Muslim women** who wear a veil and insisted that MWTC
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283Minister's wife warned against the stereotyping of **Muslim women** as "oppressed". "We tend to believe
 they MWTC
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284the Spanish daily newspaper, ahead of the European **Muslim Women** of Influence conference in Madrid.
 "We use MWTC
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285 fight against certain stereotypes that affect, above all, **Muslim women**. One of the things I try to
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286London mosque, is worried about the stereotyping of **Muslim women** JULIAN SIMMONDS MWTC
 corpus.txt

287by an instinct that something was wrong. Strict **Muslim women** do not normally allow physical contact
 with MWTC
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288 half of Muslim men and three quarters of **Muslim women** are unemployed. The Equality and Human
 Rights MWTC
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289 Half of Muslim men and three quarters of **Muslim women** are unemployed. The country has a strong
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290 in Belgrade; the Sebilj (public fountain) in Sarajevo; **Muslim women** catch up in a Sarajevo teahouse
 MWTC corpus.txt

291's deputy leader Ayman al-Zawahiri has urged **Muslim women** to resist the proposed ban. MWTC
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292War.Its election broadcasts, showing burk-a-clad **Muslim women** jumping the queue to take corpus.txt

293to a solemn discourse on the role of **Muslim women**.August MWTC corpus.txt

294 burkini, a full-length swimming suit that allowed **Muslim women** to remain covered while swimming or
 competing MWTC
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295 Two **Muslim women** were ordered to leave a swimming pool MWTC corpus.txt

296 National Edition A tolerant society should integrate **Muslim women**, not ban the clothes they wear
 SECTION: MWTC
 corpus.txt

297The sad fact is that, in Europe, many **Muslim women** can only find group solidarity in an MWTC
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298to wear the burka as "empowering". For many **Muslim women**, forced to cover themselves on some
 spurious MWTC
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299enhances separateness and makes it more difficult for **Muslim women** to assimilate, leaving them
 isolateMWTC corpus.txt

300a burka can be empowering and dignified for **Muslim women**, one of the Government's most seni
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Appendices

303duty" as an MP. Shaista Gohir, from the Muslim Women's Network UK, said his comments would corpus.txt	MWTC
304through her books and speeches so that other Muslim women can win the liberation that she has corpus.txt	MWTC
305proposal to pass a law that would ban Muslim women from wearing the burka in Britain. Philip corpus.txt	MWTC
306 of churches in January, the caning of three Muslim women for adultery in February and news last corpus.txt	MWTC
307 in Islamic societies, she will also come across Muslim women who use their faith to try to corpus.txt	MWTC
308 20,000 long skirts they plan to use to cover Muslim women caught violating a strict new dress code. corpus.txt	MWTC
309 district of Aceh, on northern Sumatra, has banned Muslim women from wearing revealing clothing such corpus.txt	MWTC
310 in July by a law that will outlaw Muslim women from wearing the burka, which covers the corpus.txt	MWTC
311BMP vote did not rise significantly." Breakthrough for Muslim women Yasmin Oureshi became the first Muslim woman corpus.txt	MWTC
312South East. She was joined by two other Muslim women from the party - Shabana Mahmood in Birmingham corpus.txt	MWTC
313 South East. She was joined by two other Muslim women from the party - Shabana Mahmood in Birmingham corpus.txt	MWTC
314 help to fight terrorism and grant rights to Muslim women . Daniel Bacquelaine, one of the liberal MPs corpus.txt	MWTC
315 debate in early July on a bill banning Muslim women from wearing the full Islamic veil. International corpus.txt	MWTC
316would protect public safety or the rights of Muslim women . "Bans like this lead to a loselose corpus.txt	MWTC
317 in 2004 after making a documentary on violence against Muslim women . "It's not a threat, but it corpus.txt	MWTC
318 government is drawing up a law to ban Muslim women from wearing a full-face veil in corpus.txt	MWTC
319which it says would affect only around 2,000 French Muslim women who currently cover their faces. Most Muslim corpus.txt	MWTC
320 Muslim women who currently cover their faces. Most Muslim women in France's immigrant communities and around corpus.txt	MWTC
321 support Europe's planned bans. 2,000 the number of Muslim women that France says would be affected by corpus.txt	MWTC
322 that is worn by a small minority of Muslim women . Anyone who ignores the ban could face corpus.txt	MWTC
323 party leader, said the proposed legislation would liberate Muslim women . "Even if it's on a voluntary corpus.txt	MWTC
324had described the face coverings worn by some Muslim women as the "religious equivalent of going around corpus.txt	MWTC
325 a war president of a country that murders Muslim women and children. He is using Indonesia as corpus.txt	MWTC
326period of time." Sixty-five per cent of Muslim women said they rarely or never went to corpus.txt	MWTC
327Thursday night the subtitles said that in France, Muslim women were to be "banned from wearing the corpus.txt	MWTC
328shocking stories we sometimes hear of crimes against Muslim women who break Islamic cultural rules, it's corpus.txt	MWTC
329veils; News Bulletin SECTION: words Muslim women should be banned from covering their faces, corpus.txt	MWTC
330shocking stories we sometimes hear of crimes against Muslim women who break Islamic cultural rules, it' corpus.txt	MWTC
331 enforce a Sharia law that bullies young British Muslim women at home and persecutes Christians abroad.MWTCcorpus.txt	MWTC

APPENDIX 2: Muslim Women in *The Telegraph* Headlines Articles

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

September 29, 2016 Thursday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Muslim woman in hijab to appear in Playboy;

WORLD BULLETIN

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 17

LENGTH: 70 words

Playboy magazine is to publish photographs of a Muslim woman fully clothed and wearing a hijab.

Noor Tagouri, 22, a Muslim-American journalist of Libyan descent, will feature in next month's issue.

She will be shown wearing a leather biker jacket, black jeans, and with her head covered.

The feature is part of Playboy's "Renegade" series which focuses on people who have "risked it all, even their lives, to do what they love".

LOAD-DATE: September 29, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

September 9, 2016 Friday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Hairdresser faces jail for turning away Muslim woman

BYLINE: Jamil Mustafa

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 13

LENGTH: 328 words

A 47-YEAR-OLD hairdresser in Norway faces up to six months in prison for refusing to serve a Muslim client wearing a hijab in the country's first case to go to court over the Islamic headdress.

Merete Hodne is being tried on religious discrimination charges for turning away Malika Bayan, who was clad in a hijab, from her hair salon in Byrne in south-western Norway last year. Ms Hodne is alleged to have told Ms Bayan "she would have to find someplace else because she didn't accept (clients) like her".

On her refusal to serve Ms Bayan, she told judges: "I see it (the hijab) as a totalitarian symbol. When I see a hijab I don't think of religion, but of totalitarian ideologies and regimes." She added, "a hijab is not religious, it's political". Ms Hodne, who was described by Norwegian media as a former activist in Pegida, the Islamophobic movement, told a national news channel that the "hijab is a symbol" of what she called the "evil" Islamic "ideology" in the same way "the swastika is that of Nazism". She made the comments on the same day that a leading figure in the Pegida movement was ejected from a court in Amsterdam for wearing a shirt bearing a depiction of a swastika.

Ms Hodne also argued before judges that accepting a hijab-wearing client would force her to turn away male customers, because the woman would not bare her head in their presence. The case came before the Jaeren district court after she refused to pay a fine of 8,000 kroner (£910) for religious discrimination.

The victim, Ms Bayan, told the court she had experienced racism and discrimination before the incident, but she "never had it thrown in my face so clearly". She added: "I felt small, stupid, not integrated, in pain. I couldn't understand how a scarf on my head could provoke this." Police urged the court to increase the fine levied against Ms Hodne to 9,600 kroner, and if it was still not paid, to impose a 19 day jail sentence. A verdict on the case will be issued on Monday.

LOAD-DATE: September 9, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

August 27, 2016 Saturday

Edition 1;

Scotland

Burkinis are back on the beach as ban is lifted;

French ruling welcomed 'for giving Muslim women back their dignity' but it also provokes Right-wing backlash with Riviera mayors saying they will defy the judgment

BYLINE: David Chazan; Rory Mulholland

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 877 words

A CONTROVERSIAL ban on the burkini was overturned by France's highest administrative court yesterday, prompting a Right-wing backlash as mayors vowed to defy the ruling.

The State Council's judgment suspended a ban in the Riviera resort of Villeneuve-Loubet and set a legal precedent for about 30 other towns that have also prohibited the full-body swimsuit worn by a minority of Muslim women.

The council ruled that mayors overstepped their powers by introducing the bans this month amid growing anxiety over security after a series of terrorist attacks including the Bastille Day massacre of 86 people in Nice.

"The emotion and the anxieties resulting from the terrorist attacks and especially the one committed in Nice on July 14, are not sufficient to justify legally the prohibition," the judgment said.

The ban "constituted a serious and manifestly illegal infringement of fundamental liberties", it said, ruling that mayors "may only restrict freedoms if there are confirmed risks" to public safety, which it said was not the case with the burkini.

Lionnel Luca, the mayor of Villeneuve-Loubet, said: "This decision, far from pacifying, will serve only to heighten tensions which will carry risks of trouble which we wanted to avoid." He argued that the judgment was inconsistent as another Riviera town, Mandelieu-la-Napoule, introduced an identical ban in 2013 that was never contested.

Mr Luca said he would comply with the ruling, but other local authorities, including the mayor of Sisco, in Corsica, vowed to maintain their bans. "This judgment does not affect us here because we had a fight over it [the burkini]," said Ange-Pierre Vivoni, referring to a brawl on a beach in Sisco on Aug 13 which preceded the ban. Mayors who contest the ban will be backed by Nicolas Sarkozy, the former conservative president who introduced France's ban on the Islamic full-face veil five years ago.

He demanded a nationwide burkini ban this week, placing Islam, immigration and security at the heart of his campaign to win back power from the Socialists in elections next year. An ally of Mr Sarkozy, Guillaume Larrivé, said: "We support 100 per cent the mayors who introduced bans." He said parliament could still pass a law banning the burkini, which a poll suggested would be backed by two thirds of French people. Florian Philippot, deputy leader of the far-Right Front National, accused Mr Sarkozy of "poaching ideas from the FN to dupe our voters into backing him". Support for the bans is not confined to the Right.

The Socialist prime minister, Manuel Valls, has described the burkini as a "symbol of the enslavement of women" unacceptable under France's secular constitution. Mr Valls, who was booed in Nice after the Bastille Day slaughter amid anger that the government had not been tough enough on terrorism, said that the court's ruling would not "exhaust the debate". "Denouncing the burkini is not jeopardising an individual freedom. There is no freedom that locks up women! It's denouncing a deadly, backward Islam," he wrote on his Facebook page. However, opponents of the bans, who include the Moroccan-born education minister, Najat Vallaud-Belkacem, have argued that they only served to fuel a racist political agenda as the election campaign kicks off.

The court's decision was welcomed by the French Muslim Council, which described it as a "victory for the law and wisdom ... that should make it possible to reduce tension". Feiza Ben Mohamed of a Muslim group in Villeneuve-Loubet, said it "gives Muslim women back their dignity".

Asked if it meant burkini-clad women would throng the town's beach, she laughed and said: "There were hardly any there before the ban so I don't see why they should turn up there now." There was outrage in Britain and around the world after photographs emerged showing armed police apparently compelling a woman on a beach in Nice to remove a long-sleeved top - although she was not in a burkini.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

August 11, 2016 Thursday

Edition 1;

National Edition

UK employers 'routinely snub' Muslim women in headscarves

BYLINE: John Bingham

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 381 words

MUSLIM women who wear headscarves are routinely being passed over for jobs and sidelined in the workplace because of what is seen as one of the last forms of "acceptable" discrimination, MPs have warned.

Highly qualified women who have already overcome major barriers to train in professions such as law, are being written off because of crude assumptions that they are "submissive and weak", a Commons report found.

Some are driven to abandon wearing traditional Islamic dress in order to get a good job, an inquiry by the Commons women and equalities committee was told.

Others find themselves interrogated - illegally - at job interviews about whether they are married and have children or want to, while those already in jobs find themselves passed over for important assignments because of assumptions that they might not be "allowed" to travel.

The report calls for urgent action to tackle unemployment in the Muslim community - with rates running at more than double the rate of the general population (12.8 per cent against 5.4 per cent) - or risk seeing further division in society.

It also calls for companies to introduce "name-blind" applications to reduce "unconscious bias" against Muslim and other minority candidates, backed up by a change in the law if necessary.

The recommendation echoes remarks by President Barack Obama last year warning against "the subtle impulse to call Johnny back for a job interview but not Jamal". The inquiry, which took evidence from experts and individuals, including spending an afternoon with young Muslim students in Luton, also found women in particular facing simultaneous pressures both from their community and wider society. Hostility towards Muslims was acting as a "chill factor" that put many off even applying for jobs, they found. In some cases, an upsurge in attacks on Muslim women has led many to look only for jobs which do not involve travelling after dark.

Maria Miller, chair of the committee, said: "The evidence was very strongly that ... it was seen as acceptable to discriminate against Muslim women and that [people] almost didn't see it as discrimination." "You can't have some women more equal than others." 12.8pc Unemployment in the Muslim community, more than double the rate for the general population of the UK (5.4 per cent)

LOAD-DATE: August 11, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DT

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

February 6, 2016 Saturday

Edition 2;

National Edition

Labour 'ignored misogyny against Muslim women'

BYLINE: Steven Swinford

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 229 words

LABOUR has been accused of turning a blind eye to years of "systemic misogyny" against Muslim women who are seeking to become councillors.

The Muslim Women's Network UK said in a letter to Jeremy Corbyn that it is an "open secret" that Muslim men have barred aspiring female candidates from getting into office.

The organisation said that women seeking office were subject to repeated smears including claims that they were having affairs and criticism that they were too "Western".

Shaista Gohir, the organisation's chairman, said: "From our experience, Muslim women are most affected by Labour Muslim male councillors due to the latter's number in certain towns and cities. As this is an open secret and has been going on for decades, we can only assume that the Labour Party has been complicit at the highest levels." Muslim women told BBC2's Newsnight of the obstacles they had faced trying to stand for office.

Fozia Parveen claims her efforts to become a Labour councillor in Birmingham in 2007-8 were scuppered by men within the party: "At the time, I was aware of a smear campaign against me, they said that I was having an affair with one of the existing councillors."

A Labour spokesman said it had the best record of any party when it came to selecting ethnic minority candidates and its selection procedures included "strong positive action", such as allwomen shortlists.

LOAD-DATE: February 6, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 21, 2016 Thursday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Not all Muslim women are free to make the choice to learn English;

Letters to the Editor

SECTION: LETTERS; Pg. 17

LENGTH: 428 words

SIR - As a GP, I spent a lot of time in evening surgeries trying to persuade Muslim women to learn English (Letters, January 20). Free classes were readily available locally. As the women always came with their husbands as translators, it became increasingly obvious, by the ensuing silence, that the message was never passed on. Lynette Moss Basingstoke, Hampshire SIR - Allison Pearson (Features, January 20) highlights the consequences for society of women being prevented, by men, from learning the national language.

She mentions that in Britain "men too often do the talking for Muslim women". Is this also the case when it comes to voting? If someone doesn't speak English, how can they possibly engage in politics? It would be interesting to see some analysis of postal voting versus voting in person in communities where a high proportion of residents don't speak English. Are many Muslim women disfranchised in this way too? If so, this could have a serious impact on our democracy.

Christine Larson Long Clawson, Leicestershire SIR - David Cameron's apparent plan to "back Muslim veil ban" (report, January 18), as part of a wider campaign to prevent the radicalisation of young Muslims, is really a more watered-down proposal merely to let schools and other public authorities ban the face veil, if they want to.

Why don't we take the view, as they have done in France and Belgium, that the niqab is alien to Western culture and drives a wedge between newcomers and the native population? Other European governments have taken the bold decision to impose a full ban; we should do the same. Alan Shaw Halifax, West Yorkshire SIR - The Koran says that women should dress conservatively, not that they should cover their faces or indeed their whole bodies. It is Muslim men and elders who have hijacked a Bedouin dress culture to maintain control over their womenfolk.

It is common sense for all of us to show our faces in public, particularly in times of heightened security. Noel Charles Silverstone, Northamptonshire SIR - Peter Tozer (Letters, January 20) wonders what would happen if France kicked out English residents who refused to learn French.

France's labyrinthine bureaucracy is impossible to navigate without a knowledge of French, and no public money is spent on translation services. You can only survive in France without speaking French if you are financially self-sufficient. In Britain it seems our public services bend over backwards to help people who cannot speak English and who are not financially independent. Dr David Cottam Dormansland, Surrey

LOAD-DATE: January 21, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 20, 2016 Wednesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Muslim women can change Islam for the better

BYLINE: Allison Pearson

SECTION: Pg. 21

LENGTH: 1142 words

A lecturer friend was shocked when a student asked if she could miss class to accompany her mum to hospital. The daughter needed to translate for the mother who had lived in east London for more than 30 years. When my friend wondered how that was possible, the daughter replied: "My dad didn't want mum to learn English so she never did."

Sadly, her case is far from unique. Some 22 per cent of Muslim women in the UK - around 190,000 - speak little or no English. That's not a huge figure in itself, but multiply it by the number of their children and you have an awful lot of five-year-olds turning up at school without a clue how to talk to their teachers or classmates. Without a clue about the culture of their country.(over wording)

Shaista Gohir, chairman of the Muslim Women's Network UK, says women tell her that their husbands or in-laws don't want them to learn English because it will "disturb the status quo". So you live in the UK, where you get all the benefits of the world's fifth largest economy, but you can still treat your wives and daughters as if you were back in rural Pakistan. Result! You can ensure that women are confined mainly to the home while the men go out and speak for your community. Sometimes, there are segregated meetings where men get the chairs and women sit in the corridor. If girls attend an Islamic school, they are covered in black from head to toe from a young age.No one outside their community wants to talk to them because they look scary - and this, too, suits your purposes. They never get access to the opportunities enjoyed by other British young women. Good. Who knows what ideas that might give them...Oh, and if you want to divorce your wife, you use a sharia court where women are seen as having half the worth of men. So much nicer than British justice with its crazy insistence on equality.

Well, if Muslim men think like that, then they deserve to have their "status quo" disturbed. That is why we should give a cautious welcome to David Cameron's £20 million plan to improve English classes for immigrants and, more specifically, to bring Muslim women into mainstream society. I say cautious because any plan which threatens to deport women for failing to learn English when it's men who keep them locked away is grossly unfair. Muslim women have got quite enough outrageous sexism to deal with.

Three cheers, though, for the Prime Minister's proposed ban on women wearing veils in schools, courts and other British institutions. The niqab is just horrible. How can children learn from a teacher who can't be seen, or jurors assess a hidden woman's evidence? And I'm sorry, but no one is ever going to convince me that shrouding a woman's body and face says anything other than Subjugated Female Within.At last, our PM has had the balls to confront the "appalling practices" of a patriarchal culture which has seen discrimination against women and girls flourish.Of course, the PC mob are still in denial. Andy Burnham, the shadow home secretary, tweeted: "Cameron's simplistic, headline-driven approach to extremism risks unfairly stigmatising a whole community, thereby making the problem worse."

LOAD-DATE: January 20, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 19, 2016 Tuesday

Edition 2;

National Edition

We must teach Muslim women English to free them - not beat Isis;

The PM was wrong to link poor language skills with Islamic radicalism and terrorism

BYLINE: JAMES KIRKUP

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION COLUMNS; Pg. 16

LENGTH: 1054 words

'No one would expect or indeed want British Muslims, or any other group, to lay aside their faith, traditions or heritage. But they must not forget that for the child to prosper in Britain and to reach his or her full potential, he or she will also have to have fluent command of English.'

No, not David Cameron this week. Those are the words of John Patten, a Home Office minister under Margaret Thatcher in 1989. It is remarkable that we are still debating similar concerns, and especially the plight of the 22 per cent of Muslim women - almost 190,00 of them - with little or no English. Of course, some things have changed. Britain's 2.7 million Muslims include 330,00 full-time students, 43 per cent of them female; 18 per cent of all British Muslims are studying, almost double the rate for the population at large. Many of the boys and girls Lord Patten worried about are on the way to successful professional careers.

But many are not. Perhaps the most shocking thing about Mr Cameron's new figures is how they break down by age. More than half the 40,000 British Muslim women who cannot speak English at all are of working age, between 16 and 64. These are not elderly grandmothers from the old country who never learnt the words of their new home. These are younger women who could otherwise be enjoying all the benefits that work brings. Some 68 per cent of women who speak English fully are in work; but only 34 per cent of "nonproficient" speakers have jobs. And not only are those who work wealthier, they're also healthier. Low participation in the workforce is one reason only 22 per cent of Muslim women over 65 are in good health, compared with 47 per cent overall.

Of course, there are reasons other than English that Muslim women are less likely than others to work. They're younger on average, so more likely to have young children. And some belong to families that strongly believe mothers should not work. Eighteen per cent of Muslim women are "looking after family" to the exclusion of paid work. It's six per cent overall. Not least because of what we know about the advantages of work, should we accept that state of affairs without challenge? No. Some would argue that this is all part of the "tradition and heritage" that Lord Patten said we should not ask Muslims to lay aside. In fact, we should want more Muslim women to work, and say so. This is what Mr Cameron means when he says he wishes to promote "liberal values" more assertively.

Those values are, of course, debatable. But surely one belief broadly held in Britain is that everyone should be able to work to advance themselves and receive the rewards appropriate to their talents and efforts. This is what "equal opportunity" means: the chance to compete on equal terms, to begin the race from the same starting-line.

Yet the phrase has been toxified, polluted by years of misuse by politicians on the Left and heavy handed bureaucrats whose interventions have been aimed not at ensuring a fair contest where the best win but a fixed one where all must be helped to finish at the same time and share the spoils according to whatever quota is deemed appropriate.

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Instead of trying to eliminate handicaps like poor English, the state has too often tried to compensate for them with abundant translation services. "Equal opportunities" has been debased to mean "equal outcomes", a wholly different and far less desirable thing.

This is one of the most admirable and subtle aspects of what some are (sneeringly) referring to as Mr Cameron's "bucket list" of social reforms that he wishes to begin before leaving office. Some traditional Conservative critics worry he's following Tony Blair's example, aping opposition policies in order to "triangulate" and capture votes. But look more closely and you see that the Cameron aim is rather different and quite Tory: setting people free to compete. And today some Muslim women are being denied the chance even to enter the labour market's economic contest of talent, much less win it.

Of course, the same is true of women of other faiths, but Muslim women face even more obstacles that Mr Cameron might help to remove. Language is one, but prejudice is another: as the PM noted last year, studies show CVs from job applicants with "Muslim" names are more likely to be binned than "white" ones. That should offend anyone who believes in meritocracy. Likewise the barriers that block some women who want to reenter the labour market and earn as much as men, another issue Mr Cameron is rightly pondering for action. He might look at helping to overcome the cultural barriers to men working part-time in order to share childcare. That would increase employment among women (of all faiths) more than any other change.

If Mr Cameron struck a false note in his intervention yesterday it was his attempt to link poor English to radicalism and terrorism. The evidence for that linkage is unclear. Many jihadists were fluent members of British society; indeed, white British Muslim converts are disproportionately represented among the Islamist thugs.

Another objection is the message sent by framing the drive to speak English as counter-terrorism. That risks looking like helping Muslim women only as a means to an end - that of curbing terror. But helping Muslim women purely for our sake, not theirs, would be a gift to hate preachers who argue that the West doesn't really care about Muslim lives.

Some British Muslim women don't speak English and even more don't have jobs. That's not a scandal because it breeds extremism. Radicalisation may be a by-product of segregation but it's not the best reason to address that segregation. It's a scandal because it leaves those women poorer and sicker and denied the chance to compete and make the most of themselves. Unable to become doctors and lawyers and bankers and politicians - if that is what they want. Excluded from a comfortable middleclass that is more than capable of accommodating their faith.

Mr Cameron has started a journey whose destination will not be reached until after his departure. Too many Muslim women today are trapped. Helping them to speak English is a first step to setting them free to make themselves rich: it is a very Conservative dream.

COMMENT on James Kirkup's view at www.telegraph.co.uk/ comment or FOLLOW him on Twitter @jameskirkup

LOAD-DATE: January 19, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 18, 2016 Monday

Edition 1;

Scotland

PM issues 'learn English' plea to Muslim women;

NEWS BULLETIN

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 98 words

More Muslim women should learn English in the hope that they will turn into more powerful moderating forces, David Cameron will say today.

A Government source said: "The problems of young people being attracted by extremism will not be tackled without an element of cultural change within the community.

"At the moment, too many Muslim women are treated like second-class citizens who may speak only basic English at best, and have no jobs or independent financial standing. It means they are in no position to speak out against the influence of the radical Imams, however strongly they feel."

LOAD-DATE: January 18, 2016

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 9, 2015 Wednesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

The burka can only isolate Muslim women;

Letters to the Editor

SECTION: LETTERS; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 157 words

SIR - David Statham (Letters, December 4) is not alone in applauding France for banning the burka. This garment renders women invisible - which I, as a feminist, find deeply offensive.

We hear that many Muslim women in Britain do not know our language and customs, and are cut off from the wider community. The burka is a sign of this isolation. E J Wagstaffe Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire SIR - Peter Froggatt (Letters, December 5) condemns France's banning of the burka. However, the freedom to dress as one wants is not offered by many Muslim countries.

I have had to wear below-the-knee dresses in the era of the mini-skirt, and also an abaya (the best thing for concealing the figure of a female) when going outside the house.

I chose to go to those countries, and had no objection to complying with their dress codes. However, if we respect the dress codes of other cultures, we have a right to expect the same courtesy in return. Pam Maybury Bath

LOAD-DATE: December 9, 2015

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Culture clash? Different dress conventions on display in Hyde Park, LondonALAMY

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

April 17, 2015 Friday

Edition 1;

Scotland

Let Muslim women wear veil in court: top judge

BYLINE: John Bingham

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 221 words

JUDGES should allow Muslim women to appear in court wearing a full-face veil, Britain's most senior judge has suggested.

Lord Neuberger, the President of the Supreme Court, said it was crucial that courts and judges "show, and be seen to show" respect towards different customs. He said this included having an understanding of the "different cultural and social habits" of those appearing as witnesses, defendants or jurors in cases. His comments, in a lecture about the need for courts to be less intimidating, come at a time of uncertainty over the place of the Muslim niqab, or full face-veil, in the legal system.

In 2003 the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Thomas, said there was a need for clear guidance on the issue following controversy over the trial at London's Blackfriars Crown Court of a Muslim woman accused of witness intimidation. Rebekah Dawson was told that she would be forced to take off her full-face veil if she gave evidence, which she declined to do. She was later jailed for six months after changing her plea to guilty.

In his address to the Criminal Justice Alliance, Lord Neuberger said judges and lawyers often failed to recognise how "artificial and intimidating" courts could be for ordinary people, adding: "I sometimes wonder whether our trial procedures really are the best way of getting at the truth."

LOAD-DATE: April 17, 2015

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

October 21, 2014 Tuesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Muslim woman in a veil is shown the door by singers at Paris opera house

BYLINE: David Chazan

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 494 words

A MUSLIM woman wearing a veil covering her face was told to leave a Paris opera house, officials said yesterday.

The woman, described as "a tourist from a Gulf state", was ordered out after members of the cast refused to perform if she remained in the audience. She was sitting in the front row during a performance of La Traviata, featuring the soprano Diana Damrau, at the Opéra Bastille.

France banned the wearing in public of the full face veil, or niqab, in 2011. The ban was upheld by the European Court of Human Rights earlier this year. Jean-Philippe Thiellay, the house's deputy director, said the singers told him during the second act that they would continue only if the woman, who was with a male companion, left.

During the interval, an attendant told her she could stay if she removed her veil. "He told her that in France there is a ban of this nature," Mr Thiellay said. "He asked her either to uncover her face or leave the room. The man asked the woman to get up, they left. There was a misunderstanding of the law and the lady either had to respect it or leave."

Mr Thiellay said the opera house was now inquiring how the woman was allowed in earlier this month. "She entered without anyone noticing," he said. "This has never happened before." He said he believed that the woman was unaware of the ban and did not appear to have deliberately disregarded the law.

After news of the incident emerged yesterday, the French government said it would review its guidelines to help theatres, museums and other public institutions enforce the ban. A spokesman for the ministry of culture said it would update its instructions to the staff of public buildings to make clear that anyone whose face was covered should be refused entry and given an explanation that the full-face veil is banned in France. The law stipulates that officials can bar women wearing veils from entering public buildings but cannot compel them to uncover their faces once inside. They can ask them to leave if they refuse to remove their veils but only the police can force women to remove them. Women wearing a face veil in public may be fined as much as (EURO)150 (£120) and compelled to attend citizenship classes.

Anyone forcing others to cover their faces may be fined up to (EURO)30,000 (£23,750), or double that amount if the woman is under 18. Most women who have breached the ban have simply been warned. Few have been prosecuted.

Appendices

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Last year, a veiled woman stopped by police for an identity check was arrested after her husband allegedly attacked an officer.

The ban has led to misunderstandings over whether it also applies to headscarves, which have been banned in state schools along with other "religious symbols" since 2004.

However, headscarves are not banned in universities. The head of the Sorbonne university was forced to apologise to a female Muslim student last month after a lecturer asked her to leave his class because she refused to remove her headscarf.

LOAD-DATE: October 21, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: BERTRAND RINDOFF PETROFF /GETTY IMAGES
The cast of La Traviata at the Opéra Bastille. The singers threatened to stop their performance if a woman in a full face veil remained in the front row. The woman was subsequently ordered out of the theatre

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

April 25, 2014 Friday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Social media is now the biggest jihadi training camp of them all; Unable to control online radicalism, police have little option but to plead with Muslim women

BYLINE: FRASER NELSON

SECTION: EDITORIAL; OPINION, COLUMNS; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 1256 words

If an **Islamic terrorist** is apprehended in Detroit or blows himself up in Stockholm, it doesn't usually take long to trace their career progression back to Britain. The CIA despairingly refers to "Londonistan", but the phrase doesn't quite do justice to Britain's ability to incubate terrorism all over the country. For various reasons - chiefly our being quicker to accept asylum-seekers than expel villains - Britain has ended up as a kind of finishing school for jihadis.

So it is no great surprise to learn that an estimated 400 Brits have so far been to Syria to join the rebels - after which, it is feared, they'll return home **radicalised by Islamist insurgents**. It's a fast-growing trend. Last year, the number of Syria related arrests here was one every two weeks. So far this year, there has been one every two days. This explains the police's unprecedented appeal to Muslim women, asking them to dissuade (or inform on) menfolk who enlist. It's not clear how plausible such advice is, but there's not much else the police feel able to do.

The war on terror, in Britain, has not been about border control or keeping an eye on foreign terror plots. Our terrorists tend to be home-grown, with one or two major attacks foiled every year. Only the 2005 London bombings were successful, but MI5 still has its eye on hundreds of suspects. Over the years, police have come to work out how young men, with every opportunity in life, manage to walk down the road to radicalisation. Fighting terrorism involves a combination of policing, intelligence and psychology.

At the start, British jihadis could often be traced to foreign training camps. With 250,000 travelling to Pakistan each year, it was easy for a few to slink off undetected to al-Qaeda bases in the badlands. As the drone bombing campaign made it harder to operate such camps, they popped up in Africa - some of them dedicated to attacks on Britain. About 50 British nationals are understood to have attended the camps in Somalia, but it's a hard place to reach. There are tales of would-be terrorists having their passports confiscated, so they can never leave. For the typical jetset jihadi, the African camps are a remote and risky option. Syria is far easier. It can be reached by a fairly cheap flight to Turkey, and a handler can escort you over the border. But, as police are now pointing out, after that you have no control. Those genuinely seeking to do humanitarian work are at the mercy of whoever provides the transport. Even those seeking to fight Bashar al-Assad's forces can end up being sucked into one of the many rebel vs rebel battles. There are Jabhat al-Nusra, the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham, the Islamic Front - groups who fight each other as well as Assad. With no clear battle lines, no one who travels there can be sure whose side they'll end up on.

Most of those who return pose no threat to British national security - but a handful do. Radicalised by the horrors that they have seen, and having made a whole set of unsavoury contacts, a minority of Syria veterans could start to work against British interests. Security services believe that post-

Appendices

Syria terror plots have already started to hatch here. Shiraz Maher, a radicalisation expert at King's College in London, said yesterday that eight out of nine who return from Syria pose no threat - maybe so. But a one-in-nine ratio is bad enough when Britain is looking at hundreds of fighters coming back.

The difference this time is that there is no training camp in Syria to attract willing jihadis. There has only been the emergence of the biggest training camp of all: social media, a force which has come into its own in the conflict. The official jihadi groups tend to have their accounts closed down, but others spread the word. On YouTube, the world's biggest video website, you can see a video of a Brit showing the viewer around his makeshift garrison. "Come to the lands of jihad!" he says cheerfully at the end. "Live amongst us. By Allah, it's better than living where you are."

Such invitations have been enough to bring the number of Westerners travelling to Syria to an estimated 3,000. For once, Britain does not really stand out. Germany and the Netherlands have both seen hundreds of their citizens head there. Jihadi veterans of the Bosnia campaign are taking up arms again. In the old days, Osama bin Laden would make a home video, throw it out of a cave and hope it made its way to Al Jazeera. The Syria conflict is unlike any other because foreign fighters keep in touch via Twitter and Facebook, making their own films and their own propaganda. This is peer-to-peer indoctrination being carried out to an extent never seen in any conflict before.

As you might expect, this form of cyberjihad has been pioneered in Britain. During the Iraq war, a Londoner, Younes Tsouli, set up a website showing the best jihadi videos. He attracted the admiration of al-Qaeda leaders in Iraq, who fed him material. He ran an online message board service, where prospective suicide bombers could be linked up with al-Qaeda. ("I'm ready to run off but I'm under 18," asked one user. "Am I too young?" "They have no objection to age," came the reply). It doesn't take a counter-terrorism manual to understand how young men can be brainwashed into joining a foreign war. Take Muriel Spark's 1961 book, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*. It tells of a powerful, charismatic school teacher who has a picture of fascist troops on the wall and tries to mould the identities of her students. One of her protégées, Joyce Emily, is persuaded to "see sense" and fight with the fascists in Spain, where she dies. When one of the pupils is asked, in later life, whether her main influences had been political or religious, she replies: "There was a Miss Jean Brodie in her prime."

There are plenty of Islamists in their prime today, and it's never been easier to hear them. One is Ahmad Musa Jibril, an American who does not directly endorse violence in Syria but acts as a cheerleader for the Westerners fighting there. Another is Musa Cerantonio, an Australian who converted from Catholicism and speaks in English, and is less guarded about his support for jihad. The days where you needed to attend a hardline mosque to hear radical imams - or somehow find a contraband video - are over. The digital skills that made Younes Tsouli stand out five years ago are now everywhere. And has taken the great game of counterterrorism to another level.

The extent of all this was shown by Maher and two other academics from King's College, London, who tracked down scores of foreign fighters and analysed their Twitter and Facebook accounts. Jibril and Cerantonio were the most followed figures. Neither is doing or saying anything illegal, but both have a message that demonstrably resonates with Western fighters. Just as importantly, the influence Syria's foreign fighters have on each other is just as strong. The size of Britain's terrorism problem has, so far, been matched by the ability of security services to cope with it. That there have been 385 terrorism-related convictions since the September 11 attacks shows the scale of the battle on the home front. The threat has mutated, and the spies have adapted with it. But the idea of cutting off the supply of radicalising material is being steadily abandoned. Syria has become the first war in the era of cyber-jihad - which makes the wider battle against terrorism harder still.

LOAD-DATE: April 25, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

April 22, 2014 Tuesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

The feisty baroness defending 'voiceless' Muslim women

BYLINE: Peter Stanford

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 889 words

The House of Lords has long encouraged a spirit of imperviousness to conventional wisdom, whether because of its members' rank and wealth, or more recently when those appointed to the upper chamber have risen so high in their various careers and callings. Baroness Cox of Queensbury, its former Deputy Speaker, is a prime example of the latter.

A nurse, educationalist and human rights campaigner, she caught Margaret Thatcher's eye in 1982 and was named as a Tory working peer. "The first baroness I ever met," recalls this feisty 73-year-old, "was when I looked in the mirror that morning". Ever since, she has used the red benches to raise neglected, inconvenient and unfashionable causes.

"I prefer to think of myself," she muses over Earl Grey and scones in the House of Lords tea room, as the "voice of the voiceless". Her latest crusade is to rally to the defence of British Muslim women, spurred on by the recent decision of the Law Society to publish "good practice" notes for solicitors on making wills compliant with sharia. This can deny women equal shares of inheritance, and exclude children born out of wedlock.

"The suffragettes will be turning in their graves," says Lady Cox. "It undermines the most fundamental principles of equality enshrined in British law". Not so, claim government ministers; while the retired president of the Supreme Court, Lord Phillips, has said: "There is no reason why the principles of sharia law... should not be the basis for mediation or other forms of alternative dispute resolution." Lady Cox shakes her head: "Give me a break."

In Britain's 85 sharia courts and councils, she says, sharia "seeps" into enforcing divorce settlements, ignoring domestic violence and deciding access to children, all properly the preserve of British law. And that is why Lady Cox is determined to get her Arbitration and Mediation Services (Equality) Bill on to the statute book.

"In these sharia councils, men can very easily divorce women, but for Muslim women it is much harder. I had a 50-year-old widow come to me for help because she wanted to remarry. She was told she had to have the permission of her closest living male relative, who turned out to be an 11-year-old son, living in Jordan. She showed me where he had signed his name in childish Arabic handwriting to give permission."

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She reels off further examples. "One Muslim lady who came to meet me here suffered horrific physical abuse in her marriage, ending up in hospital, yet she was under huge pressure from her community not to involve the police because it would shame her family. So she went to a sharia court instead, which denied her a divorce and told her to go back to her abusive husband and give him another chance. He carried on abusing her. She wept as she told me about it, and I wept with her."

What she labels injustice, though, is seen by others as evidence of this devout Christian's "Islamophobia". They point out that, in 2009, she invited the banned far-Right Dutch politician, Geert Wilders, to screen his film *Fitna*, which attacked Islam, in the House of Lords.

"I believe in freedom of speech," she replies robustly. "Yes, it hurts a little, but I've been called Islamophobic many times. It's rubbish, of course. I'm passionate about Muslim women and yet I am called Islamophobic."

Today's politicians, she says, don't want to upset community leaders. "Yet this concern with cultural sensitivity seems to be justifying practices that contravene the fundamental qualities of our democracy - one law for everyone."

Lady Cox tells me that her country home is in David Cameron's Witney constituency. Is she part of his Chipping Norton Set? "I'd rather spend my time in South Sudan," she almost barks back. Indeed, she is overseas in troubled regions for six months a year as chief executive of Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust (Hart), the charity she founded in 2004.

Her Bill first surfaced in the Lords in 2011, and passed its second reading in the autumn of 2012. Yet it has been languishing since because it lacks the support of the main parties. "And it doesn't even mention sharia," she notes with a hollow laugh.

Among its proposals is that it be made clear to the bride and groom at Islamic weddings that the ceremony is not a marriage under British law, and that this has implications in terms of property and custody rights.

Another clause - "the one with the sharpest teeth" - makes it a criminal offence to operate in a way that imitates a court. "I went to a divorce hearing recently in a sharia court in the East End of London. The room was arranged just like a courtroom, with three men sitting up behind a bench looking down on us. The woman in question was intimidated into silence because, as she told me later, she believed it was to be a proper constituted court."

Because it wasn't, the woman could, of course, just take her case to a British law court. "Just?" Lady Cox laughs. "That's what the Government says. Muslim women can choose to use British courts, but that ignores the family pressures put on them to keep such matters within their community. We have all read about honour killings. These women need our support. That is what so many have told me."

And, as a voice of the voiceless, she will not refuse them. "If we don't act," she warns, "we are condoning discrimination."

Peter Stanford

LOAD-DATE: April 22, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Baroness Cox of Queensbury: I'm passionate about Muslim women and yet I am called Islamophobic'

ANDREW CROWLEY

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

April 12, 2014 Saturday

Edition 3;

National Edition

Arab women 'hit with hammer';

In Brief

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 63 words

A man was charged with the attempted murder of three wealthy women at a London hotel, police said last night.

Three women from the United Arab Emirates were bludgeoned with a hammer by an intruder at the Cumberland Hotel in the West End early last Sunday. One woman remains in a critical condition. Philip Spence, 32, of no fixed abode, was also charged with aggravated burglary.

LOAD-DATE: April 12, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DT

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 31, 2014 Friday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Veiled Muslim woman changes plea to guilty;

News Bulletin

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 115 words

A Muslim woman who was allowed to wear a full-face veil in court during her trial changed her plea and admitted witness intimidation after the jury failed to reach a verdict and was discharged.

Rebekah Dawson, 22, of Hackney, east London, returned to Blackfriars Crown Court to admit intimidating a security guard at Finsbury Park mosque. Her brother, Mattias Dawson, 32, walked free from court when the crown said it would offer no evidence following the guilty plea.

Dawson, of Hackney, east London, showed only her eyes during the seven-day trial. She waived her right to give evidence after being told she would have to show her face to the jury. She was released on bail ahead of sentencing.

LOAD-DATE: January 31, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 31, 2014 Friday

Edition 1;

Scotland

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SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 116 words

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LOAD-DATE: January 31, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTLscot

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 31, 2014 Friday

Edition 1;

Scotland

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LOAD-DATE: January 31, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTLscot

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 24, 2014 Friday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Halet Iambel; Obituaries First Muslim woman to compete at the Olympics - where she snubbed Hitler

SECTION: FEATURES; OBITUARIES; Pg. 35

LENGTH: 658 words

HALET IAMBEL, who has died aged 97, was an Olympic fencer and the first Muslim woman to compete in the Games; while she failed to take home a medal from the Berlin Olympics in 1936 she won international acclaim by refusing to meet Hitler. Post-war, she became a renowned archaeologist.

The 20-year-old Halet Iambel represented Turkey in the women's individual foil event. She already held reservations about attending the Nazi-run Games, and an introduction to the Führer was a compromise too far. "Our assigned German official asked us to meet Hitler. We actually would not have come to Germany at all if it were down to us, as we did not approve of Hitler's regime," she recalled late in life. "We firmly rejected her offer." Halet Iambel was born on August 27 1916 in Berlin, the granddaughter of Ibrahim Hakki Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador to Germany. Her father, Hasan Cemil Iambel, was the embassy's military attaché and a close associate of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of the Turkish Republic.

As she grew up in Berlin with her three siblings, her parents became concerned by her frailty (she suffered with typhoid and hepatitis). "They always looked at me as if my days were numbered," she remembered. "They would dress me up in layers of jumpers and woolly socks. As I was not happy with this, without my family knowing, I removed these heavy clothes at school and decided to increase my strength. And I also began to exercise. The German books I read contained stories about knights. I was very impressed by them, this is why I took up fencing." In the mid-1920s the family resettled in Istanbul, where, prior to the founding of the Republic, Halet Iambel was "shocked by the black shrouded women who came and visited us at home". Part of Ataturk's legacy was to expand the rights and possibilities of women. Participation in sport contributed to this emancipation.

She acknowledged the amateurism of her country's Olympic bid. "We did not prepare," she said. "Everybody would train in their own spare time." After an unhelpful spell with a Hungarian coach in Budapest, she arrived in Berlin. She was present when a furious Hitler stormed out of the Olympic Stadium after America's black athlete Jesse Owens won the 100m sprint. On her return from the Games she met Nail Iakirhan, a Communist poet and later a celebrated architect. As her family were unimpressed by Iakirhan's Marxist beliefs, the couple wed in secret. She went on to read Archaeology (along with the Hittite, Assyrian, and Hebrew languages) at the Sorbonne in Paris before gaining a doctorate at the University of Istanbul in 1940. In the immediate wake of the Second World War she studied with the German professor Helmuth Bossert, and in 1947 assisted on his excavation of the 8th-century Hittite fortress city of Karatepe in the Taurus Mountains of southern Turkey.

Karatepe was to be her life's work: for more than five decades she spent six months each year at the site. It was there that she helped to develop a greater understanding of Hittite hieroglyphics, the indigenous logographic script native to central Anatolia, and build ties between Turkish academics and the German archaeological community (Iambel was to become a member of the German Archaeology Institute). A good-looking woman, she maintained a no-nonsense approach on her pioneering digs in south-east Anatolia. "Halet was always respected by the farmers," said the Danish-German ethnologist Ulla Johansen. "She wore practical trousers and simple, high-buttoned blouses, completely covering her upper arms and a man's cap on her short cut hair." In 1960 Halet Iambel became professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at Istanbul University, where she later founded a chair dedicated to the field. In 2004 she received the Prince Claus Award, the Dutch prize in recognition of a progressive approach to culture. Her husband died in October 2008.

Halet Iambel, born August 27 1916, died January 12 2014

LOAD-DATE: January 24, 2014

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

January 23, 2014 Thursday

Edition 1;

Scotland

Muslim woman must remove veil to give evidence, judge rules

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 170 words

A judge has ordered a Muslim woman standing trial for witness intimidation to remove her veil before giving evidence.

Judge Peter Murphy said it was vital for jurors to see Rebekah Dawson's "demeanour, reaction and their expressions" while she was in the witness box.

Miss Dawson, 22, wore a niqab covering her full face for the start of her trial at Blackfriars Crown Court in London yesterday.

Her refusal to take off her veil during a pretrial hearing at the court last year provoked considerable public debate. Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister, said at the time that he felt that Parliament should not tell people how to dress.

Miss Dawson, of Hackney, east London, is accused of threatening a security guard who had a fight with her husband over the guard's decision to allow three female Portuguese tourists to visit Finsbury Park mosque in north London without wearing headscarves.

Both she and her brother, Matthias Dawson, 32, of Sydenham, south-east London, deny witness intimidation. The trial continues.

LOAD-DATE: January 23, 2014

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTLscot

PM: Muslim women should remove their veils in court

BYLINE: Peter Dominiczak; James Kirkup

SECTION: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 506 words

MUSLIM women should remove veils in court because jurors need to see the faces of witnesses, David Cameron said yesterday, as he indicated that he may strengthen national guidance on the issue.

The Prime Minister said that he will "back up" schools and courts that ask people to remove Muslim veils. He said that he does not believe there should be a ban on wearing the niqab, which conceals the whole face, in all public places. However, in an interview with the BBC's Andrew Marr programme, Mr Cameron said he would consider issuing new guidelines to judges, teachers and immigration officers telling them when they can ask people to remove their veils. A growing number of Conservative MPs want the Government to consider a full ban on the veil. "We are a free country and people should be free to wear whatever clothes they like in public or in private," Mr Cameron said.

"But we should support those institutions that need to put in place rules so that those institutions can work properly. So for instance in a school, if they want that particular dress code, I believe the Government should back them. The same for courts, the same for immigration." A London judge this month ordered a Muslim defendant to remove her veil, but asked politicians for clearer instructions on veils in court.

Asked if he would respond to a judge's suggestion that there should be national guidelines on the wearing of the niqab in court, Mr Cameron said: "I'm very happy to look at that. Obviously, in court the jury needs to be able to look at someone's face. I've sat on a jury, that's part of what you do. "When someone is coming into the country, an immigration officer needs to see someone's face. In a school, it's very difficult to teach unless you can look at your pupils in the eye.

"It's a free country and I think a free country should have free and independent institutions. No plans for anything on the street, but if the Government needs to do more to back up institutions, then I would be happy to look at that." Schools and colleges are currently given the freedom to set their own policies on uniform. Guidance from the Department for Education states that it should be possible for various religious beliefs to be accommodated within individual institutions' policies.

The right to a particular religious dress code is safeguarded by the Human Rights Act and must be followed by schools and colleges, it is claimed. But the guidance says that teachers can lawfully impose policies that "restrict the freedom of pupils to manifest their religion" - for example, by covering their face or carrying the traditional Sikh kirpan dagger - on various grounds.

Mr Cameron's latest intervention in the debate follows a political row earlier this month over a decision by Birmingham Metropolitan College to ban veils.

The college was accused of discriminating against Muslims when it ordered all students, staff and visitors to remove face coverings. It backed down after a petition attracted thousands of signatures.

Editorial Comment: Page 25

LOAD-DATE: September 30, 2013

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTLscot

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

September 18, 2013 Wednesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Asking women to remove veil 'is not racist'; Former extremist who has joined Lib Dems says **Muslim women are not required to cover up indoors and should show face in court and lessons**

BYLINE: Steven Swinford

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 419 words

ASKING Muslim women to remove their veils is not racist or Islamophobic, a former extremist who is now a Parliamentary candidate said yesterday. Maajid Nawaz, a British-born Muslim who has since renounced his views and is standing as a Liberal Democrat, said girls and women should remove their veils in classrooms, courts, and banks. His intervention came amid a growing political row over the issue.

Theresa May, the Conservative Home Secretary, also speaking yesterday, said "women should be free to decide" for themselves whether to wear a veil. She said it was not for the state to "tell people what they should be wearing", but added that in schools and courts, removing veils may be a "practical necessity".

Earlier this week, Jeremy Browne, the Lib Dem Home Office minister, told The Daily Telegraph that there should be a "national debate" about whether veils should be banned in public. MPs and senior judges subsequently called for national guidance to clarify the issue. Mrs May yesterday told Sky News that she did "not think the Government should tell women what they should be wearing". "I think it's for public bodies like the Border Force officials, it's for schools and colleges, and others like the judiciary, as we've recently seen, to make a judgment in relation to those cases as to whether it's necessary to ask somebody to remove the veil," she said.

"But in general women should be free to decide what to wear for themselves." Mr Nawaz said: "It is not racist or Islamophobic. We don't want to go down the aggressive French secularist route, but we also don't want to go down the aggressive Islamist route. There is a British way and that's the middle. In schools, colleges and universities women should have their face uncovered for the duration of the lesson. They should be required to show their attendance in class.

"It's only a tiny minority of Muslims who believe in a face veil. The books make it absolutely clear that when they are indoors they are not required to cover their face.

"Everyone must be treated fairly, so everyone must be identifiable in the classroom, courts, airport security and banks." Maajid Nawaz spent 13 years inside Hizb ut-Tahrir, the global Islamist organisation.

However, he renounced his views and called for a "secular Islam" six years ago, after serving time in an Egyptian prison. He subsequently founded an antiextremist organisation and has been selected by the Lib Dems to stand in the marginal North London constituency of Hampstead and Kilburn.

LOAD-DATE: September 18, 2013

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 13, 2012 Thursday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Muslim woman shamed over Western boyfriends leapt to death at wine bar

BYLINE: Victoria Ward

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 503 words

A MUSLIM jumped to her death from the roof of a City wine bar after being criticised on Facebook over her Western way of life, an inquest was told yesterday.

Rema Begum, 29, had been the target for an anonymous stalker who sent hate mail to her and her family.

The stalker exposed her relationships with non-Muslim men to her strictly religious parents. She felt guilty and believed she was leading an impure lifestyle, a friend said. She had also lost her job as a manager at the British Library and her health had begun to deteriorate so badly that she struggled to leave the house.

On Sept 4, Miss Begum had a glass of wine on the terrace of Sir Terence Conran's Coq D'Argent restaurant before "calmly" jumping 80ft to her death. Police found antidepressants and a note with contact details for her family in a handbag she left on the ledge. Avril Atkins, who had known her since university, said her friend had been having "some problems" with Facebook. "Somebody - she didn't know who - had been sending letters to her parents about her lifestyle and relationships," she said.

"She was getting quite a lot of hate mail - both she and her parents." Miss Atkins said that although her friend followed some Muslim practices and had religious beliefs, she lived a "Western lifestyle" and had non-Muslim boyfriends. "I don't think it was something she openly told [her parents] about, however. I believe they found out she had been seeing someone who wasn't Muslim," she told City of London coroner's court. "She said she hadn't been living a good Muslim life. She wanted to live a more Muslim-based life." Miss Begum reported the online abuse to the police before deleting her Facebook account.

After losing her job, she left her rented flat in Islington to move in with her parents in Manor Park, east London. But the once "happy and bubbly" young woman became depressed and sought medical help. The day before her death she had tried to hang herself at the family home but was taken to hospital by her parents. She was discharged after refusing treatment and promising never to try harming herself again. Dr Sara Dimic, a psychiatrist who had seen her two months earlier, said she had been suffering with depression but was "guarded" and feared about the confidentiality of the appointment.

"She revealed to me that she had been feeling guilty for not leading her life according to her family's values and her religion," she said.

LOAD-DATE: December 13, 2012

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

April 23, 2011 Saturday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Girl gang hunted over attack on Muslim woman;

In Brief

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 64 words

Police are looking for four teenage girls who mocked a Muslim women about her religion before kicking and punching her to the ground as they tried to pull her headscarf off. The attack on the 26-year-old woman in North Cheam, Surrey, on April 13 stopped only when a motorist pulled up. Officers, who are appealing for witnesses, say two of the girls were wearing a white and blue uniform.

LOAD-DATE: April 23, 2011

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DT

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

October 15, 2010 Friday

Edition 3;

National Edition

Pensioner 'ripped veil from the face of Muslim woman'

BYLINE: Henry Samuel

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 303 words

A PENSIONER chased a Muslim woman around a shop in France and ripped her niqab from her face claiming they should be banned in the country, a court has heard.

Jeanne Ruby, 63, a retired English teacher, told police that she "snapped" when she saw the woman from the United Arab Emirates, whose face was covered, in a home furnishings shop in Paris's 15th arrondissement.

The case came a week after France's Constitutional Court gave its seal of approval to a law banning face-covering veils from all public places.

Mrs Ruby, who was not present in court yesterday, told police she had begun by asking Shaika al-Suwaidi, 26, to remove the veil because it was "offensive". "For me, wearing the veil is an act of aggression. I felt attacked as a woman," she said.

Mrs Suwaidi allegedly refused to remove the veil and continued shopping. When Mrs Ruby saw she was still wearing the veil a few minutes later, she allegedly "snapped". Rushing at Mrs al-Suwaidi, she tore off her niqab and scratched and slapped her, the court heard.

Mrs Suwaidi claimed the pensioner then bit her right hand and cried: "Now I can see your face." In an interview with Le Parisien newspaper before the trial, Mrs Ruby said: "I find it unacceptable that someone should be wearing a niqab in this country of human rights. It's no more than a muzzle and all that's missing is the reins. It's the negation of womanhood. I've taught in Morocco and Saudi Arabia and I have seen how these women walk three paces behind their husbands."

Mrs Suwaidi's lawyer said her client had suffered "psychological shock" after the incident. The prosecution called for a two-month suspended sentence against Mrs Ruby for "aggravated voluntary assault" and a (EURO)750 (£660) fine. The plaintiff's lawyers demanded a total of (EURO)15,000 in damages. The trial continues.

LOAD-DATE: October 15, 2010

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DT

Copyright 2010 Telegraph Media Group Limited

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

July 21, 2010 Wednesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

A tolerant society should integrate Muslim women, not ban the clothes they wear

SECTION: LETTERS; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 430 words

SIR - Your leading article, "Behind the veil" (July 19), drew the right balance in supporting Damian Green, the immigration minister who is unwilling to ban the burka, while rejecting Caroline Spelman's unexpected enthusiasm for it.

While many of us find the wearing of the burka or the niqab alarming, to ban them would be both illiberal and alien to all British tradition. We are a tolerant nation. Such a law would address a very limited symptom of a very big problem.

Worthwhile government action should focus on real problems, not clothing. In Britain, it should oblige all children to be educated in a broadly similar fashion, which would imbue in them a sense of the history and traditions of our nation, among which the emancipation of women is an important chapter. It should attack forced marriages, and ensure that Muslim British women have the same rights as all other British women. These are the ways to address Muslim extremism, whether in Britain or in France: not through the oppression of a small group of downtrodden women, many of whom have probably been forced into their anonymous clothing by their husbands, fathers or brothers. Gregory Shenkman London W8 SIR - I have been involved in Middle Eastern women's culture for over 20 years. I despair that Mrs Spelman, who is in a responsible government position, can make such ill-informed comments.

As one ex burka-wearing woman once said to me: "It's true that inside a burka you are released from the fear of violence and the invasive ogling of men, and this leads you to a feeling of safety. But this is illusory. Rather than being empowering, it prevents you from developing confidence. It becomes a crutch. You know that without it you cannot relax." The sad fact is that, in Europe, many Muslim women can only find group solidarity in an alien society by donning the veil, in all its different forms, and even claim this as a "feminist" statement. Very often, their families simply do not understand why they are doing this and become, as a consequence, alienated from their own daughters. Wendy Buonaventura Bristol SIR - I visited Afghanistan in 1973, travelling across the country from Herat in the west through Kandahar and Kabul and into Pakistan via the Khyber Pass.

Women in Afghanistan dressed without the veil. I met many obviously well educated women, who came up to speak to me in the streets. The burka was imposed on them subsequently by the Taliban. Wearing the burka is a foreign imposition on the women of Afghanistan, and it is an alien provocation in our society.

Iris Dainton Louth, Lincolnshire

LOAD-DATE: July 21, 2010

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

May 15, 2010 Saturday

Edition 1;

National Edition

MP stabbed by Muslim woman at surgery

BYLINE: Duncan Gardham;Nick Collins

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 313 words

A FORMER Labour minister was stabbed by a woman in Muslim dress during a constituency surgery yesterday.

Stephen Timms, 54, the financial secretary to the Treasury in the last government, was stabbed in the abdomen at the Beckton Globe Library in east London, where he holds a monthly surgery. A police spokesman said his injuries were not life-threatening and a 21-year-old woman was arrested. Mr Timms describes himself as a Christian Socialist and is Labour's vice-chairman for faith groups.

A witness described seeing a young woman in a Muslim headscarf detained by a security guard. Sagal Ahmed, 16, said: "There was a woman with a baby in a buggy screaming and crying because she saw what happened. I walked into the community centre and about 20 people were standing around screaming. There was a little bit of blood on the floor and the MP had blood on the front of his shirt." Shahid Mursaleen, a spokesman for the Islamic group Minhaj-ul-Quran, said: "Mr Timms has always been close to his constituency and a friend of Muslims living in east London. We wish him well and for his recovery to be soon, and hope that he can resume his position as MP of East Ham soon."

Sir Robin Wales, the Mayor of Newham, the constituency borough, said: "My understanding is that there was an appointment made for the woman. It was right at the beginning of what would have been the interview that she stabbed him. I am told he did not know who she was." He said it was his understanding that Mr Timms would be undergoing surgery. A spokesman for Newham council, which runs the library, said it had security measures but there was a limited amount it could do to protect the MP when he met members of the public. The attack has echoes of an incident in 2000 in which Andrew Pennington, a Lib Dem councillor, was killed during an attack with a samurai sword at a constituency surgery in Cheltenham.

LOAD-DATE: May 15, 2010

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Stephen Timms, a former Labour minister, was taken to hospital after the attack in Beckton, east London

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

March 26, 2010 Friday

Edition 3;

National Edition

Robber dressed as Muslim woman;

News Bulletin

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 97 words

A 6ft tall man robbed a bank dressed as a woman wearing a Muslim style head scarf. The man walked into the HSBC branch and demanded money from the cashier. He threatened staff with violence. Witnesses realised the robber, pictured, was a man only when he spoke. He escaped with cash.

The robber wore what appeared to be a hijab-style head scarf and a full length robe. He was said to be white and in his thirties. The British Bankers' Association is offering a reward of up to £25,000 for information to help trace the robber.

The incident happened on Tuesday morning in Bournemouth, Dorset.

LOAD-DATE: March 27, 2010

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DT

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The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

March 4, 2010 Thursday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Muslim woman is barred from flight after refusing body scan

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 16

LENGTH: 216 words

A Muslim woman is thought to have become the first passenger to be stopped from boarding a flight after refusing to go through a full body scanner for religious reasons.

She was at Manchester Airport for a flight to Islamabad when she was selected at random to pass through the security screen.

She was told she could not board the Pakistan International Airlines flight if she refused, but decided to forfeit her ticket. Her female travelling companion also left the airport, citing "medical reasons" for not being scanned.

More than 15,000 people have already passed through the £80,000 X-ray scanner which was introduced in Manchester last month, when the system was also installed at Heathrow. It is used to check for any concealed weapons or explosives but it has attracted criticism for showing clear outlines of passengers' genitals. Civil liberties groups say it is an invasion of privacy.

Last month, the Transport Secretary, Lord Adonis, stressed the images are deleted straight after the passenger has gone through, and security staff are properly trained and supervised. A British Airways call centre worker has been arrested in Newcastle on suspicion of raising funds for a terrorist attack. The British man, thought to be from an Asian background and aged 30, is in custody in London.

LOAD-DATE: March 4, 2010

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: DTL

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Critical Discourse Analysis of Newspaper Articles: Muslim Women Representation in the Daily Telegraph

المخلص

تستخدم هذه الدراسة تحليل الخطاب النقدي لفهم كيفية تمثيل المرأة المسلمة في إحدى أشهر الصحف في إنجلترا ، الديلي تلغراف *The Daily Telegraph*. يتم تحليل النصوص على أساس نموذج فيركلوف (Fairclough) ثلاثي الأبعاد باستخدام الوصف والتفسير والتعليل والأدوات اللغوية للجسم. يكشف تحليل الخطاب النقدي عن العلاقة الجدلية بين النص والخطاب والمجتمع، ويُظهر أن صورة المرأة المسلمة مشوهة في الخطاب. وذكرت صحيفة الديلي أن المرأة المسلمة ضحية لدينها لا صوت لها، ضعيفة وخائفة، بل وتهدد أسلوب الحياة البريطاني. تعكس الصور النمطية السلبية الأيديولوجيات المحافظة والعلمانية الليبرالية والمستشرقة لدى صحيفة التلغراف.

كلمات مفتاحية: المرأة المسلمة، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، الديلي *The Telegraph* ، الصور النمطية

Summary

This study uses critical discourse analysis to understand how Muslim women are portrayed in one of England's best-known newspapers, *The Daily Telegraph*. The texts are analyzed on the basis of Fairclough's three-dimensional model using description, interpretation and explanation and linguistic tools of the corpus. Critical Discourse Analysis will unveil the dialectical relationship between text, discourse and society. The analysis showed that the image of the Muslim woman is discursively distorted. *The Daily Telegraph* reports that she is a voiceless victim of her religion, weak and submissive and even a threat to the British way of life. Negative stereotypes reflect the conservative, secular-liberal and orientalist ideologies of *The Telegraph*.

Keywords: Muslim Women, Critical Discourse Analysis, *The Telegraph*, stereotypes,

Résumé

Cette étude utilise l'analyse discursive du discours pour comprendre comment les femmes musulmanes sont représentées dans l'un des journaux les plus connus d'Angleterre, *The Daily Telegraph*. Les textes sont analysés sur la base du modèle tridimensionnel de Fairclough en utilisant la description, l'interprétation et l'explication, ainsi que les outils linguistiques du corpus. L'analyse du discours critique dévoilera la relation dialectique entre le texte, le discours et la société. L'analyse a montré que l'image de la femme musulmane est déformée sur le plan discursif. *The Daily Telegraph* rapporte qu'elle est une victime sans voix de sa religion, faible et soumise, voire une menace pour le mode de vie britannique. Les stéréotypes négatifs reflètent les idéologies conservatrices, laïques-libérales et orientalistes du journal.

Mots-clés: Femmes musulmanes, Analyse du Discours, *The Telegraph*, stéréotypes,

Academic Year 2019

SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION

Hardly anyone would deny the role the media play in today's life. Modern societies are built on individual freedom and social liberties. This is best reflected in the media in general and newspapers in particular. The right of journalists to discuss and report anything they think important is preserved by law and constitution especially in liberal democracies. This freedom has given newspapers a remarkable influence over individuals and communities which has led some to regard the press as the fourth power in addition to the judicial, executive and legislative power of the modern political systems. The success of newspapers in gaining such an influence and importance in societies is credited to their incredible use of the most vivid, complex and creative human capacity: language.

No doubt then that the language of the press is different from the one used in our everyday life. It seems that journalists recognize the power of language not only to criticize and control unjust political or economical systems in order to spread democracy and freedom of speech but also to propagate the ideology of the powerful groups, to oppress some ethnic and religious minorities and even to create hate and antagonism between people and between nations in order to fulfill hidden and vicious objectives. A good example of such impact is the 2015 terrorist attack led by French militants on *Charlie Hebdo* newspaper over some mocking stories and drawings about the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). This incident has created antagonistic and hostile reactions from the West against the Muslim world and stirred a clash of civilizations between Islam and the West.

However, the relationship between journalism and society is not always in one direction; rather, it is bidirectional where society also influences newspaper discourse. Most researchers, among them Richardson (2008), argue

that news manufacturing and sourcing is strongly related to the business, beliefs and agenda of the dominant groups. Thus newspaper discourse is likely to use specific textual and semiotic features to promote the views of the powerful group and disregard or play down that of minorities. In return, this can create social problems between the different social classes in a given society.

The present study proposes the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze newspapers' discourse in relation to Muslim women in a Western society. The primary concern of CDA is in social problems; more precisely, it focuses on the relationships between discourse and social power. CDA tries to explain and describe how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by text and talks of dominant groups and institutions (Van Dijk 2003). The social issue this thesis aims to investigate is whether the British press reporting about Muslim women (MW) emphasizes specific stereotypical images. According to Abbas (2000), there is a widespread common feeling among British Muslims that Islam and Muslims are negatively stereotyped in news reports. Does this apply to MW as well?

Although the methods and approaches to analyze the language of the press are varied, CDA seems to be more appropriate to analyze and describe the textual features of journalistic discourse. It goes beyond the normative and evaluative analysis to interpret and explain the complex relationship between text, context and social events.

The issue of Muslim women has always been a disputable topic in the British media in general and newspapers in particular first, after the 9/11 events and then the 7/7 attacks in Britain and reaching its climax in recent years. For various reasons, many newspapers use attractive headlines or provocative stories about Muslim women living in the West or any part of the world. Among the various British newspapers that deal with Muslim women issues is the *Daily Telegraph* (hereafter DT), usually referred to as *The Telegraph*. It is regarded among the most influential, serious and unbiased broadsheets not only

in Britain but also in many parts of the world. It is a daily morning UK English language newspaper, published in London by the Telegraph Media Group and it is known by its Right Conservative political and economical views. However, *The Telegraph* may not show the same features when it deals with issues related to Muslim women. While reading its articles and headlines that point to Muslim women, one cannot but feel that Muslim women practices represent a serious problem that must be dealt with within and outside the UK. Moreover, and although Muslim women have a long tradition in the British community, *The Telegraph* seems to regard them as *others* who may threaten the British multicultural values.

Along this line, this study uses CDA to investigate how Muslim women are represented discursively and socially in *The Telegraph* articles from 2010 till 2014. This period witnessed striking incidents related to Muslim women in many parts of the world such as the rise of Political Islam in some Arab countries after the Arab Spring Revolution in 2011 and the dispute it created over the role that would be played by women in such post-revolution countries, the kidnapping of Nigerian schoolgirls by the militants of Boko Haram, shouting of schoolgirl Malala Yusufezay by Taliban militants, the rise of what is called British Jihadi schoolgirls who joined the fight with the so-called Islamic State in Syria and Iraq in 2014, and many other Muslim women topics that have dominated the news reports in recent years. Accordingly, this study strives to answer the following questions:

1. How are Muslim women discursively and linguistically represented in *The Telegraph*?
2. Can CDA as a research method help dissect the relationship between *The* ideological background and the discursive features of its texts?
3. Who speaks for Muslim women? Do they have a voice?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media has been a topic of considerable discussion and contentious debates since the start of the third millennium AD. As one of the most controversial minorities in the West, Islam and Muslim issues have attracted the attention of a number of researchers (Akbarzadeh and Smith, 2005; Kabir, 2006 ; Saeed,2007). Most of these studies argue that Islam and Muslims are negatively represented in the Western media. Among the various Muslim issues that have attracted researchers' interest is the topic of Muslim women in the media. A number of researchers have tried to unveil the way some Western media outlets tend to represent Muslim women such as Falah's (2005), Posetti (2006) and Ozcan (2012) but hardly any of them covered the topic of the burka in press. The reason this paper focuses on the burka is because it is seen even by Muslims as an extreme form of modest dressing especially in the context of modern ideals of liberal secularism human rights, and the rise of nationalistic movements in the West.

3. DATA AND METHODS

The online newspaper database Lexis Library was used to collect *The Telegraph* articles that point to the phrase "Muslim women". The following search terms were used to query the daily, weekly and online versions of *The Telegraph* held in the archive between 1 January 2010 and 31 December 2016: *Muslim women OR Arab women OR Muslim woman OR Arab woman*. The search term has to appear anywhere in the article which means that any article where one of the search terms appears at least once is included, even if the article is not about Muslim women.

The primary research tool of this study is CDA particularly, Fairclough's three dimensional approach (1989, 1995, 2015). Critical Language Study (CLS) is an approach to CDA developed by the British linguist and discourse analyst Norman Fairclough. It consists of three main steps of analysis: description, interpretation and explanation. In addition to Fairclough's model, we draw from Systemic Functional Grammar and its

transitivity systems. The latter reveals how subjects are talked about, how they are regarded and what they have to do or not have to do. Finally, corpus linguistics is used to transform texts into corpus ready for analysis. Corpus linguistics is also useful for obtaining information about words co-occurrences and their collocations, which in turn enlightens the description step.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The tools used to answer the research questions and to analyze the data were selected carefully. We have used corpus linguistics, transitivity analysis and Fairclough's three dimensional model involving description, interpretation, and explanation. The data are studied from two perspectives: macro analysis and micro analysis. For this purpose, two different corpora were compiled. The first is the Muslim women Telegraph Corpus MWTC, that is, a general corpus compiled of 280 articles. The second one is the Muslim women in headlines corpus MWHC which is a sub-corpus compiled from the MWTC made of articles that include the term "Muslim women" in their headlines.

At the macro analysis level, we attempt to reveal how MW are represented discursively in *The Telegraph* articles. Corpus linguistics tools such as keyword analysis, concordances, and collocation tool are applied on the general corpus MWTC. Also, we have combined concordance analysis with transitivity analysis in order to analyze quantitatively and qualitatively the concordance of the cluster "Muslim women".

The keyword analysis we employed on the MWTC is used to reveal the key topics *The Telegraph* addresses when dealing with Muslim women. The analysis has revealed that this conservative broadsheet associates MW with three main negative topics: Muslim women dress mainly veil and burka, court and law, and terrorism. The keyword analysis shows *The Telegraph* obsession with the Muslim women dress through reporting extensively about it as a symbol of Islamic culture that, as Hage (1998, p.37) asserts, is seen in the Western communities as "a harmful presence that affect their (Muslim women)

own well being”. It also reveals that *The Telegraph* depicts MW as source of problem and trouble through its focus on reporting them in court and law contexts. Moreover, the topic of religion is also considered as a negative theme as Pool (2002) asserts that religion is seen in secularist societies and institutions to reflect a primitive way of life. Hence, associating MW with religion and religious practices may distort their image. Accordingly, these three main negative topics contribute to the negative representation of MW in *The Telegraph* articles.

For a further examination of the key topics in their context, a concordance analysis of those topics has been undertaken. For instance, the keyword “burka” which pertains to the topic of veiling and dress has three patterns of occurrence: neutral, negative and positive. The analysis has shown that the negative burka presentation is the most frequent pattern. In the key topic of court and law, the analysis of the word “ban”, the strongest keyword that pertains to this topic, has shown that *The Telegraph* is indirectly supporting “the burka” ban through giving much space to those who call for banning this Islamic dress within and outside Britain. It also shows how this conservative newspaper is trying to portray MW as “stubborn” and “very religious” who are challenging laws and regulations despite being warned and, sometimes fined by governments in many European countries. Finally, the concordance analysis of the last key topic “terrorism” indicates that *The Telegraph* portrays MW in relation to this topic in two negative ways: they are reported either as victims of the deadly terrorist groups such as ISIL or as active participants in such terrorist organizations. The Daily Telegraph focuses on the stories of the so-called “Jihadi brides” who join the war in Iraq and Syria to work as “sex slaves” for ISIL fighters or reporting them as active members in recruiting extremists through the use of various social media sites.

The concordance tool was also used to analyze the occurrence of the cluster “Muslim women” in all the clauses in the Muslim women Telegraph corpus. We have used transitivity analysis to analyze these clauses. From a

quantitative point of view, we have found that the most frequent process types (of clauses) are the material, verbal and mental processes. These processes are analyzed from a participant's point of view, i.e., which participants' role Muslim women are assigned in these clauses.

The analysis of material clauses has shown that MW appear both in happening and doing clauses with a tendency to appear more in the latter process type. MW appear as Actors and Goals in the "doing clauses" with the same frequency. Both MW participant roles are analyzed. The analysis found that when MW are assigned the role of Actors in clauses they are reported to engage in negative actions such as joining conflicts, wars, and terrorist groups deliberately or they are portrayed to assign passive social roles such as reporting them choosing to stay dependent house wives over going for paid work. When MW are assigned the role of Goals (objects) there appear two different patterns of representations: when MW are Goals for British Actors such as government and Parliamentary Members and so on, these latter are reported to positively affect MW. However, when MW are Goals of Islamic or Muslim Actors, they are reported to be affected negatively to the extent that they seem to be victims of their culture and religion. The use of Fairclough's model of Description, Interpretation and Explanation was mainly on the Daily Telegraph articles that include MW in their headlines. The Description stage dealt with the articles formal properties in terms of the choices made at the level of grammar and vocabulary.

As far as lexical choices are concerned, it is found that there are some ideologically contested words. The Daily Telegraph tried many times, through using words that belong to liberal literature, to show that it supports freedom and the rights of individual to wear whatever they want. Yet, when it deals with the Islamic dress that is associated with MW it shows another face. The Daily Telegraph criticism of the veil and burka puts its secular and liberal views into question.

Also, *The Telegraph* tends to use words that belong to negative topics to schematically frame issues related to MW. It draws on negative topics, such as war and violence, to deal with the issue of veil and burka taken from jargon of violence and war. The negative grammatical and lexical choices that are revealed in the description stage form the discursive patterns that are found in the interpretation stage where text is linked to context. The three main discursive patterns that were identified in this stage are:

- MW are a religious. They cannot integrate into secular societies.
- MW are weak and submissive. They are victims of their cultures and religion.
- MW are regarded as the “other” whose practices can threaten the British values.

Compared to what we have discussed in Chapter Two (section) about the representation of MW in some Western media, *The Telegraph* tends to use similar discursive patterns and brings no novelty to the way Mw are represented. Hence, it uses a discourse that maintains the same negative stereotypical images about MW.

The maintained stereotypical images *The Telegraph* is using to represent MW are in fact a reflection of three main ideologies:

- *Orientalist* ideology that sees MW as backward and victims of their religion.
- *Secularist* ideology that regards MW as religious minority unable to be integrated in the British society
- *Conservative* ideology that supports integration and regards social minority groups as “others” and a threat to British values.

Although the research methods and procedures used to analyze the research data reflect some point of strength and proved to be appropriate to the

nature of the study, there are some limitations that need to be acknowledged as follows:

* a) in order to analyze the study corpus from a quantitative and qualitative point of view, we have integrated transitivity analysis with corpus linguistics though partially. Yet, we believe that corpus linguistics tools would be more fruitful if integrated with Fairclough's CDA model where the analysis would oscillate between the quantitative corpus tools and the CDA's interpretative procedures. Integrating CDA with CL is beyond our reach because it entails a very advanced level in both methods;

* b) this study would also benefit from a multi-model analysis that goes beyond the analysis of texts to consider other semiotic elements, in this case the use of images, visuals and colors. We believe that the analysis patterns of the visual images that are chosen by *The Telegraph* journalists while reporting about MW would tell us more about how this newspaper perceives and represents MW. In this case, Van Leeuwen's (2001) multimodal analysis would be of great importance

* c) the interpretative nature of CDA has made it difficult for us to totally avoid subjectivity. However, our study also has many points of strengths as well. To avoid the inherent subjectivity of the CDA approach, we have used, though separately, the quantitative corpus linguistics tools especially in identifying the key topics in *The Telegraph* articles that form the corpus of the study. The keywords analysis is done automatically through the use of the AntConc software. Other studies might just choose certain topics over others based on preconceived ideas that they are important. So, the use of this corpus tool has helped us objectively to identify the topics *The Telegraph* focuses on while reporting on MW. Moreover, the compilation of the corpus of the study was done in a way that generates articles that include MW even just in passing. Moreover, the data were selected objectively since both keyword analysis and concordance are based on statistical criteria. In addition to that, one of the main strengths of this study is its twofold data analysis orientation: a macro-

global analysis of the whole articles organized in the Muslim women Telegraph corpus and a more focused micro-analysis carried out through Fairclough's CDA model of a sub-corpus made of headlines. This has allowed us to achieve a thorough and comprehensive analysis of our data by shedding light on various aspects which could not be possible if not done this way.

Although the data and methodology used in this study have revealed how MW are represented in one of the most circulated broadsheets in Britain and the world, there are some avenues that remain open for further investigations:

- a) a very deep understanding of how MW are represented in newspaper articles would be achieved through extending the context of investigation to include not only the paper or online version of newspaper editions but also their social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter where comments and news about MW would reach more audience and receive more interaction thanks to the widespread use of these two social media platforms.
- b) Another interesting area of research on MW is to investigate how MW react to the stereotypical images drawn by Western media through the various alternative online news sites and magazines that are formed by some MW in the UK, the USA and many parts of Europe such as *Aquila style Magazine* which is interested in promoting an Islamic new fashion in dress and lifestyle that balances between Islamic spirituality and social engagement. There is also a magazine called *Muslima: Muslim women Arts and voice* whose aim is "to present a groundbreaking collection of thought pieces and artwork from contemporary Muslim women who are defining their own identities and, in the process, shattering pervasive stereotypes" (Muslima, 2018). The analysis of the discourse of these new Muslim women websites and magazines would help in understanding not only the alternative

discourse proposed but also the global struggle between Islamic values and Western principles of modernity and liberalism.

- c) More multidisciplinary should be maintained in future research on media and religious minorities' representation such as integrating CDA with corpus linguistics and visual analysis with other social theories such as feminism or post-modernity approaches.

5. CONCLUSION

Finally, we would like to make some recommendations concerning the issue of MW representation in the press. First, we believe that more space has to be given to MW in the press to voice their own needs and talk about their own problems. Newspapers have to quote directly on MW especially when they deal with issues such as reports that MW are forced to wear *hijab* or *burka*, or when they are reported to be victims of their husbands/fathers in pursuing educational and professional careers. Although we believe that such practices exist in some limited contexts, it is not a widespread practice in Muslim families. Newspapers and media in general have to report on those successful Muslim women who are supported by their husbands, fathers and families in their way to success and progression. Second, newspapers for instance, have to employ more MW in their edition staff to avoid reporting misleading stories, especially those related to sensitive topics such as the issue of the veil, marriage, and education where most of the time the Western media do not distinguish between what is cultural and what is Islamic. Third, there is an inconsistency while referring to the veil, hijab, burka, face-veil, niqab and headscarf. Sometimes veil is used to mean niqab or burka or vice versa. We recommend that this misuse of these terms has to be avoided.

MUSLIM WOMEN ISSUES IN THE PRESS: A CORPUS LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE BURKA'S REPRESENTATION IN THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an investigation of media representation of Muslim women (MW) issues. The study tries to examine the way in which the controversial Islamic dress, the burka, is represented in one of UK's most circulated newspapers, the Daily Telegraph, and to identify the key topics the Daily Telegraph uses to address Muslim women issues and how they are represented in those topics. The paper is informed by Baker's (2004) framework of Corpus-Assisted discourse analysis which has recently been widely integrated in discourse studies of newspaper articles. The corpus tools used to realize this research are: keyword analysis, concordance analysis and collocation. The analysis has focused on the burka representation as it has recently been one of the most salient topics in the Telegraph concerning Muslim women. The concordance analysis has revealed the basic patterns the Telegraph uses to deal with the topic of burka in particular and Muslim women in general. It is found that in the majority of cases the Telegraph negatively represents the burka, occasionally shows it neutrally, and only rarely presents it positively. The paper concludes with a discussion of the main findings by highlighting the Telegraph's discourse that turns around the topic of burka.

Keywords: Burka, concordance, corpus linguistics, keyword tool, Muslim women.

INTRODUCTION

The events of 9/11 and the aftermaths of the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003 respectively by the US Army and its allied forces are considered a landmark in the new history of the relationships between Islam and the West. Since that date, Islam has been put under the lights of Western media and soon it has become the new enemy of Western and global values, sometimes viewed as an extremist violent religion that pushes its followers to terrorism and violence and other times as a symbol of intolerance, dictatorship and misogyny (Abbas, 2000; Pool, 2002). Topics like terrorism, Islamic intolerance, Muslim women dress such as hijab and burka are among the most discussed topics.

This paper is part of a larger study that adopts mixed research methods informed by the use of quantitative Corpus linguistics and the qualitative interpretations of text production and consumption proposed by Baker (2004). Using such techniques the paper aims to answer the following question: How are Muslim women discursively represented in one of Britain's most prominent newspapers, The Daily Telegraph? Studying media discourse and its effect on the way the public in the West perceives reality and events is a topic that has been called for by many researchers in the fields of media and discourse, notably by Bell (1991), Van Dijk (1998), and Richardson (2007).

Using the potential of corpus linguistics in investigating the lexis used in a given corpus through its various corpus tools, this paper is an attempt to identify the key topics the Telegraph focuses when reporting on Muslim women and to reveal if Muslim women and their issues are represented positively or negatively.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media has been a topic of considerable discussion and contentious debates since the start of the third millennium AD. As one of the most controversial minorities in the West, Islam and Muslim issues have attracted the attention of a number of researchers (Akbarzadeh and Smith, 2005; Kabir, 2006 ; Saeed, 2007). Most of these studies argue that Islam and Muslims are negatively represented in the Western media. Among the various Muslim issues that have attracted researchers' interest is the topic of Muslim women in the media. A number of researchers have tried to unveil the way some Western media outlets tend to represent Muslim women such as Falah's (2005), Posetti (2006) and Ozcan (2012) but hardly any of them covered the topic of the burka in press. The reason this paper focuses on the burka is because it is seen even by Muslims as an extreme form of modest dressing especially in the context of modern ideals of liberal secularism, human rights, and the rise of nationalistic movements in the West.

Muslim Women in the Press

Studies about Muslim women representation in the media take different orientations and various approaches. Some researchers focus on the visual representation of Muslim women and how media, and especially newspapers, tend to visualize Muslim women. For instance, Fahmi's study (2004) on Associated Press images of Afghan women and Falah's (2005) research on the visual representation of Muslim/Arab women in some U.S daily newspapers are two studies that show how US media leans towards a simplistic negative representation of Muslim women and reports them as victims. They also use some positive, unrealistic portrayal of Muslim women in order to justify the liberating missions landed by the US forces in the Middle East and Afghanistan (Fahmy, 2004; Faleh, 2005). In addition to that, other studies may focus on some issues that relate to Muslim women especially the topic of veil or hijab. These latter issues have drawn the attention of many researchers such as MacDonald (2006), Posetti (2006), and Ozcan (2012).

Posetti (2006) argues that the two basic patterns the Western media use to portray Muslim women through the veil are either as a threat to Western secular societies or as passive victims of their native societies. In addition, Ozcan's (2012) study on the visual depiction of Muslim women in the German media shows that although the German media deals extensively with the issue of Muslim women dress, it does not aim to provide information about this migrant minority but to show how incompatible and inconsistent they are with the German modern life. Accordingly, this paper aims to reveal whether the Daily Telegraph follows Western media in dealing with the same topics in similar way or if there are some new patterns.

METHODOLOGY

This section is set to discuss the method that was used to collect articles from the Daily Telegraph and the process of corpus compilation. Also, it discusses the methodological framework used to analyze and interpret the newspaper articles.

Data

The main corpus of this study consists of articles compiled from the UK's newspaper, the Daily Telegraph. This latter was chosen because of its large readership and circulation as it was the most circulated daily newspaper within the UK in 2010 and the second most circulated UK newspaper after the Guardian worldwide in the same year (National Readership Survey, 2010). The news articles included are those that appeared from 2010 to 2016. The search terms used for the compilation were: Muslim woma(e)n and Arab woma(e)n. Another reference corpus has been compiled from the Guardian newspaper using the same search terms as the Telegraph corpus and from the same period. The purpose of this latter corpus is to be used in the keyword analysis as a reference corpus to sort out the main topics appearing in the Daily Telegraph corpus.

Research Questions

In order to reveal how Muslim women issues are represented in the Daily Telegraph and show how Muslim women are represented in those topics, this study puts forward some questions for the purpose of framing our research and obtaining unbiased results. These questions are:

RQ1: What are the key topics used to address Muslim women issues?

RQ2: Are those topics positive or negative?

RQ3: How are Muslim women represented in those topics?

Analytical Framework

In order to answer the above questions, a research method was designed which is informed by the use of corpus linguistic quantitative and qualitative analyses that are based on the process of text production and consumption (Baker, 2004). The corpus linguistic tools that are used for the data analysis are the keyword analysis tool, concordance and collocation tools.

Keyword analysis

keywords are “words which appear in a text or a corpus that are statistically more frequent than would be expected by chance when compared to a corpus which is larger or of equal size” (Cvrček, 2016). However, Keyness is not measured through high frequency of words but through their statistical significance when compared with other words in another corpus. The mathematical formula that is used to calculate Keyword analysis is used in this study in order to identify the key topics that are addressed by the Daily Telegraph when it reports about Muslim women. According to Rayson, P., Berridge, D., & Francis, B. (2004) Keyness E_i is calculated by following formula:

$$E_i = \frac{N_i \sum_i O_i}{\sum_i N_i}$$

Note that the N values corresponds to the number of words in corpus one ‘c’ and the number of words in corpus two ‘d’. The Observed value (O) corresponds to the frequency of word in corpus one ‘a’ and frequency of word in corpus two ‘b’.

Concordance analysis

Concordance allows researchers to study the use of words in context in order to make statements about the overall discourse by revealing the various semantic relationships that exist between words (Scott, 1996). This tool is used in the present paper in order to make a

further analysis of the keyword terms that were generated through the keyword analysis process. Concordance analysis is able to show how words are used in a specific context.

Collocation

It is a combination of words in a language that occurs very often and more frequently than would take place due to chance only (Scott, 1996). Native speakers of a language tend to use one word instead of another to the extent that using one in the place of the other is considered as wrong or inappropriate. Collocation helps in identifying the context where words appear which is considered as vital for understanding their meaning and discourse.

Each of these tools has its function. Keyword analysis is used to identify the most salient topics in the studied corpus while collocation and concordance analyses are used to reveal the discourse around these salient topics through the textual information and use of those topics. Fortunately, keywords and concordances are not counted manually as some corpus linguists have developed software to do an automatic fast calculation such as Laurance Antony's (2014) AntConc (3.3.4W) software which is used in this study.

RESULTS

In this section, corpus linguistics tools of keyword analysis, concordance and collocation are applied in order to identify the main topics in the Muslim Women Telegraph Corpus (MWTC) and reveal the discourse that turn around MW from an analysis of the strongest key topic in the main corpus. The study starts first with the keyword analysis, then concordance analysis and finally with a discussion of the results.

Keyword Analysis

The keyword analysis is set to identify key themes in the Muslim Women Telegraph corpus MWTC. It is worth mentioning that frequent words in a corpus do not necessarily constitute the key topics in a text (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnnery, 2012). For this purpose, Corpus Linguistic (CL) uses a mathematical algorithm to count keyness in a text based on a probability value given to each word in a text and its likelihood to appear more or less frequently in a corpus when compared with another reference corpus. As mentioned above, the reference corpus that is used to sort out keywords in the Telegraph's main corpus is compiled from the Guardian newspaper articles. The two corpora were compiled and preserved in a txt form and in separate files called the Muslim women Telegraph Corpus (MWTC) and the Guardian Reference Corpus (GRC).

Using AntConc (3.4.4W) software, the two corpora were first downloaded into the software, the Log-Likelihood option was then chosen to compare between the two corpora, and finally, a list of 100 keywords ranked by their keyness was created.

After filtering the list and removing irrelevant words that are related to the newspaper information such as *telegraph*, *edition*, *pg*, *dnl*, *cent*, *graphic*, *London*, *page*, *daily*, *national*...etc, a table is set up to show the top 20 keywords in the MWTC to try and provide an analysis of the words that appear to be key terms in MWTC. Table 4.1 shows the top 20 keywords in the MWTC. The words are classified according to their strength in keyness. The first thing that attracts the researcher's attention is that keyness is not identified by frequency; the most frequent words are not necessarily the key words in that corpus. For instance, the word *burka* appears less than the word *ban* (159, and 271 times respectively) yet, *burka* is ranked above *ban* and it is likely to have more keyness value.

Table1 Top 10 keywords in MWTC.

Rank	keyword	Frequency	Keyness
11	burka	159	436.724
13	veil	280	337.983
15	veils	163	2.44.769
20	Face	336	234.609
21	Miss	123	230.470
23	remove	107	204.710
24	niqab	125	203.251
29	code	411	195.647
30	Ban	271	195.453
37	Mrs	74	174.037

As Table 4.1 indicates, words such as *burqa*, *veil* and *niqab* are the top keywords in the MWTC. This means that the topic of veiling and Muslim women dress continues to dominate the news reports about MW in the Western media and the Telegraph shows no exception. Although Muslim practices have existed in Europe for a long time, the issue of *hijab* or the *veil* is still something Britain seems to regard as alien and incompatible with Western ideas and values.

Since the basic aim of making a keyword analysis of the MWTC is to identify key topics in the corpus, it was decided to group words from the same lexical field into different semantic categories because it was noticed that some words that are used to talk about the same topic such as veils, veil, burka, niqab can be grouped in the semantic category of veiling or hijab. Henceforth, the 200 keywords are grouped into different semantic categories. Each semantic category is said to be a key topic in the MWTC. Table 4.2 summarizes the key topics or semantic macrostructures of the MWTC.

Table.2 Semantic topics in the MWTC

Semantic category	Keywords
Veiling and Dress	burka, veil, veils, niqab, face, remove, code, wearing, wear, burkas, dress, burkini, veiled, facial, breasts, covering, eyes
Court and law	Judge, court, trial, defendant, jury, guilty, witness, evidence, ordered, banned, ban , plea, allowed, stabbed, police, killed
Religion	Faith, sheikh, god, religious, Islamist, Muslim, Sharia, Church, Islamic, Koran, Christian, guidance
Terrorism	Isil, quada (they use Al Qaeda?), knife, Seleka, jihadist, Chabab, fighters, front, Islamist

Keywords are grouped into four semantic categories which are: *Veiling & dress*, *court & law*, *religion*, and *terrorism*.

A preliminary reading of the key topics in the MWTC reveals that the Telegraph tends to regard the issue of MW veil and dress a prominent topic and something that needs a lot of coverage and discussion. Although the presence of Islam and Muslims has a long tradition in

the British society and MW are known by their veils since a long time ago, something that should be seen normal because of its long existence, the Telegraph seems to report the Muslim veil and MW dress as something in odds with multicultural British values and traditions. However, the researchers do not claim that reporting about veil and MW dress is all negative. This issue needs further analysis. The other topics include court, religion and terrorism. It is believed that these three topics are controversial and always reflect heated debates especially religion and terrorism. The latter is said to be a very negative topic in the West since the 9/11 attacks to the extent that Muslim and terrorist are almost synonymous words nowadays. The topic of *court & law* reflects the various difficulties Muslims in general and MW in particular are facing in the West in legalizing their religious practices. In this respect, the topic of veiling appears to be the dominant topic of law and court debates. One can refer to the various laws that have been issued in many parts of Europe that call for banning the wearing of hijab in public spaces, especially in France. All in all, the researchers believe that these topics are negative topics. Hence, the Daily Telegraph tends to report MW in association with negative themes.

Although the keyword analysis is a practical step toward tracing the properties of the discourse of the Daily Telegraph about MW and revealing some basic elements of this discourse (e.g. identifying the key topics in the MWTC and see whether the topics are negative, positive or neutral), keyword analysis alone cannot reveal how such topics are dealt with in context. For instance, although it is believed that associating MW with topics such as terrorism and war is something that would make readers formulate a negative perception about MW, the researchers believe that a further analysis of the context where such topics and keywords appear is needed. In this respect, Baker (2004) asserts that keyword analysis is not a complete process unless when those keywords are studied in context. He stresses that “Examining how such keywords occur in context, which grammatical categories they appear in and looking at their common patterns of co-occurrence should therefore be revealing” (Baker, p.3, 2004). Since concordance analysis shows how keywords are used in context, it is also called keyword in context (KWIC) by some corpus linguists such as Baker (2004). It reflects whether the key topics are negatively or positively reported in the context where they appear in the MW articles. The current study tackles the most salient topic in the Telegraph corpus which is veil & dress.

Keywords in Context: a Concordance Analysis

This section is set to analyze the key topics in the MWTC in the context where they appear in the corpus. The concordance analysis shows all the sentences where such keywords appear and the researcher’s work is to analyze these sentences from a lexico-grammatical point of view. The analysis is meant to reveal the discourse that turns around such topics. The analysis will include only the strongest key topic which is veil and dress.

Veil and Dress

The analysis of keywords in contexts starts with the most prominent topic in the MWTC. As seen in *Table 4.1* words pertaining to the topic of MW veiling and dress are the strongest key words in the corpus under investigation with the words burka, veil, and niqab occupying the top of the list. Yet, the analysis will only consider the strongest keyword in this topic, the word *burka*.

Burka

It is the strongest keyword in the corpus and in the topic of veiling. It appears 159 times and only 147 times when removing duplicates. The word burka (also **burkha**, **burqa**)

pronounced /'burka/ as defined in Oxford Online Dictionary (2017) is “an Arab word used to refer to a long, loose garment covering the whole body from head to feet, worn in public by women in many Muslim countries”. After scanning the 147 concordance lines as displayed by AntConc (3.44), it is found that the Daily Telegraph uses three main patterns to represent this issue. These patterns are summarized in Table 4.3

Table 3 burka's representation patterns

Pattern	N ^o of Lines	Percentage
Positive	13	8.84%
Negative	93	63.29%
Neutral	41	27.89%
Total	147	100%

Figure 1 illustrates the first twenty concordance lines as they are displayed in AntConc (3.4.4). The software organizes word concordance as they appear in the corpus. It is up to the researcher to group the different lines that point to the same thing into topics.

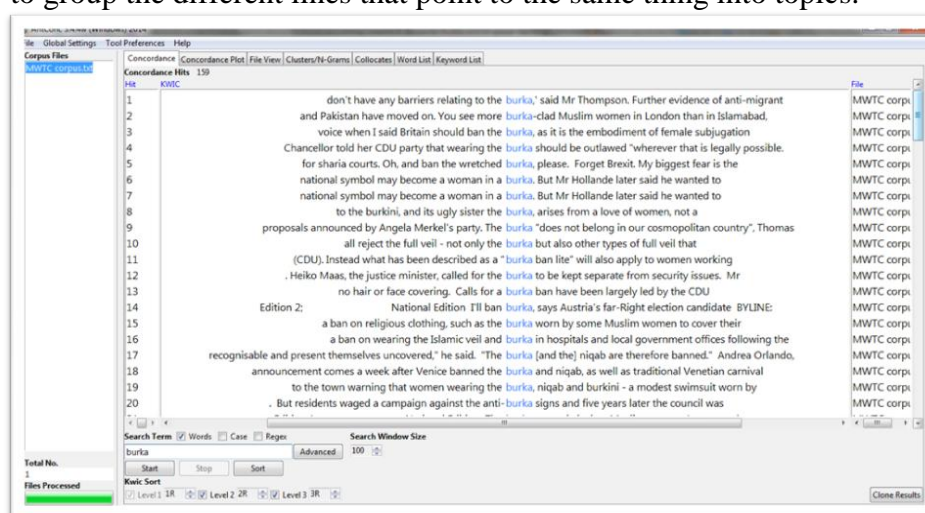


Figure 1 Burka negative concordances

The negative representation of the topic of burka by the Telegraph has two main patterns: a) giving much space to the voices of burka ban and b) reporting the burka as a primitive dress that threatens the Western values and identity.

Lines number 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18 in figure 1 all point to the same topic which is the *burka ban*. This latter is regarded as the most negative topic in the Telegraph's pattern of burka representation. Line 3 as shown in Figure 4.1 for instance is an explicit and direct call for banning the burka in Britain because, according to the writer, the burka embodies female subjugation. Moreover, the burka is something *wretched* that should be outlawed (lines 4 and 5). The following lines are some other examples about *burka ban*:

“Oh, and ban the wretched **burka**” (The Telegraph, December 7, 2016)

“told her CDU party that wearing the **burka** should be outlawed, wherever that is legal” (Telegraph, December 7, 2016).

“Call for burka ban has been largely led by the CDU” (Telegraph, August 20, 2016)

Other lines refer to the burka ban that is being called for in some European countries including Germany (line 13), Austria (line 14), Italy (line 17) France and Belgium (line 51) as the following lines show:

I'll **ban burka**, says Austria's far-right election candidate (Telegraph, August 15, 2016).
comes a week after Venice **banned** the **burka** and niqab, as well as traditional Venetian carnival (Telegraph, December 12, 2015).
France became the first European country to **ban** the **burka** in public in 2011. (Telegraph, September 17, 2013).
Belgium moves closer to **banning** the **burka** (Telegraph, April 1, 2010).

Lines number 2, 6, 9, and 10 in figure 1 are about burka and European national identity. For instance, the newspaper reports about the German Chancellor Angela Merkle's party saying: "the burka does not belong to our cosmopolitan country" (line 9). Lines 2 and 6 show how the burka is portrayed as invading Europe to the extent that women in burka are reportedly seen more in London than in Islamabad, and where the burka is going to be the national symbol of France because many Muslim women tend to wear it. The following are some examples:

"You see more **burka**-clad Muslim women in London than in Islamabad" (Telegraph, December 8, 2016). For me this line strikes some fear in the hearts of the readers.
"national symbol may become a woman in a **burka**" (Telegraph, October 13, 2016).
"formal resolution describing the **burka** as an affront to French values" (Telegraph, May 12, 2010).
"a devout Muslim and she wears the **burka** and niqab in accordance with her religious faith" (Telegraph, July 2, 2014).

As the concordance lines show, the reporting of the Muslim women burka and its representation turn around two major negative themes: first, the call for a European campaign towards a ban of this Islamic, 'anti-Western' dress that "denigrates women"; second, the burka is reported purely as an Islamic practice that threatens the European identity menacing its very existence because of the growing number of Muslim women who come to Europe with their religious rituals and cultural practices. Hence, an indirect but a strong Islamophobic discourse is being propagated by the Daily Telegraph via the issue of the Muslim burka, despite the knowledge that the majority of Muslims do not regard wearing the burka as a religious obligation. This claim is supported by a collocation analysis showing that *burka* collocates with verbs such as *ban* and *banning*, and with countries such as France and Britain that refer to Europe where the debate over the *burka* and the European identity is so heated, especially in France.

Neutral presentation of the topic of burka in the Telegraph appears in a few instances where it reports some stories of burka ban in some European countries and the battle being fought by Muslims in order to legalize this dress. Moreover, the Telegraph reports on stories to define the burka as a dress, how it is required in some Islamic schools and countries and how some Muslims look at this dress. Some examples below reflect this pattern:

53 "no right to evaluate culture," he said. "A **burka** is not better or worse than a short" (Telegraph, September 19, 2013).
54 yesterday, requires all pupils to wear a **burka**, or a full-face veil and a long black (September 19, 2013)

55 Islamic schools, require pupils to wear a **burka** or *jilbab* (headscarf) The Ayesha (The Telegraph, September 19, 2013).

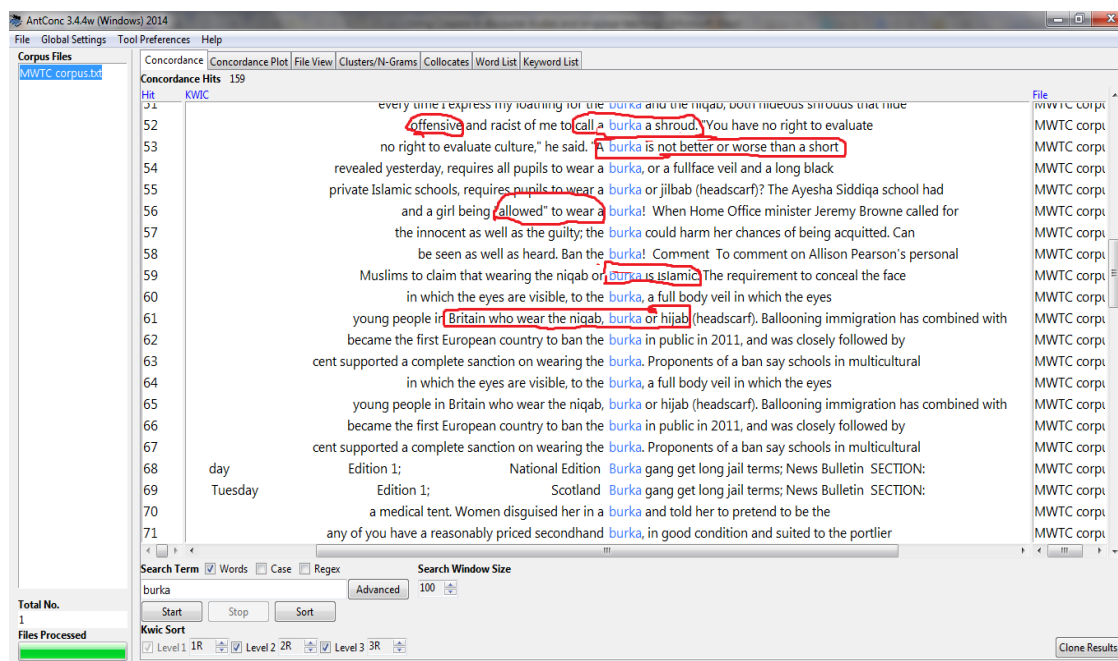


Figure2 Burka neutral concordances

As far as the positive depiction of the burka is concerned, stories about this pattern include some instances where the burka is shown as a free choice made by some Muslim women. In addition to that, the positive representation of the burka is reflected in rare instances where the burka is said to be another way of presenting the beauty of women but from a different perspective. The following are examples of this pattern:

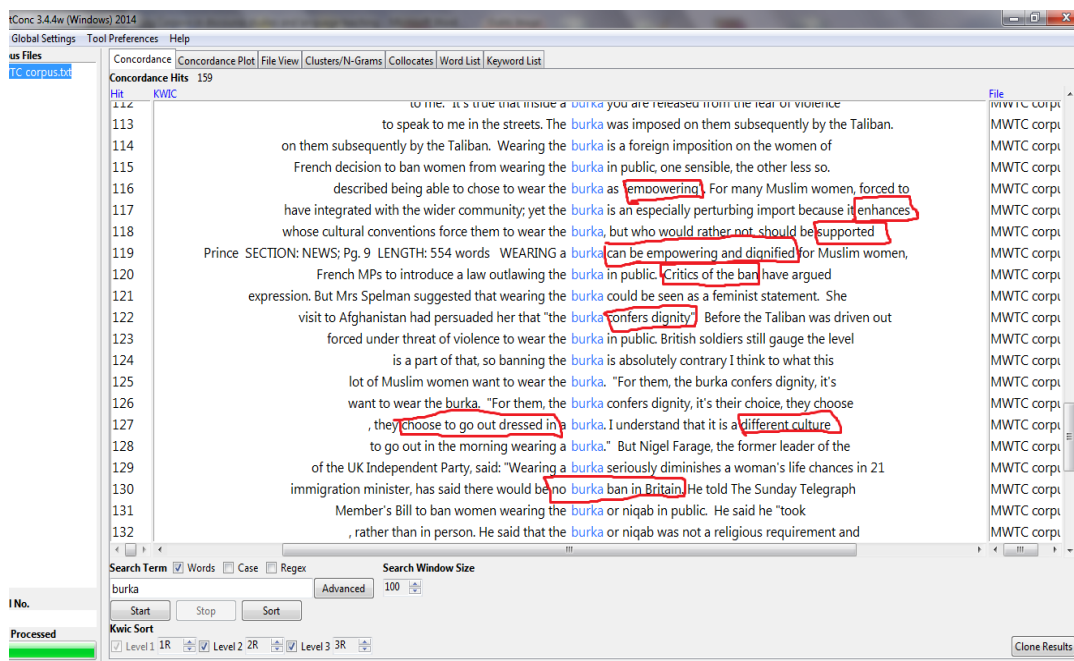


Figure3 burka positive concordances

116 described being able to choose to wear the burka as "empowering".(Telegraph July 19, 2010)

122 Visit to Afghanistan persuaded her that "the burka confers dignity" (Telegraph, July19, 2010).

125 They choose to go out dressed in a **burka**, I understand that it is a different culture (Telegraph, July19, 2010).

DISCUSSION

The data analysis has revealed that in general the Daily Telegraph focuses on negative topics when it deals with issues related to Muslim women. The keyword analysis of the MWTC has shown that these topics are *burka* and *veil*, court & law, and religion. It is claimed that these topics reflect how the Daily Telegraph uses cliché topics such as women dress to report on Muslim women in a superficial negative way. Thus, the newspaper is clearly missing the opportunity (intentional or otherwise) to inform and enlighten its readers about the real issues and challenges Muslim women face within and outside the UK and Europe, knowing that dress has never been a real obstacle for Muslim women to achieve success and development. Examples of very successful veiled Muslim women are numbered, and among them are: the American activist and writer Linda Sarsour who has been named as the Time Magazine's 100 most influential people in 2017 (The Times, 2017), the Yemeni journalist and human rights activist Tawakol Kerman, who was a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in 2011.

Moreover, when the Telegraph deals with Muslim women dress, it focuses on the burka or the full face veil although a very tiny minority of Muslim women tends to wear it, not only in Europe and the UK but also in many Arab and Islamic countries. The Telegraph reports and supports the views of those against the burka by giving them much more space to spell out their negative views about it and to spread their exaggerated fear of a Europe with more Muslim women wearing burka in Europe than in Islamabad. On the contrary, it gives very little space for Muslim women to voice their views about the burka and other Islamic dress although they are the first who should be concerned about their issues. Consequently, the Muslim veil, or the *hijab*, is no longer a key topic in the Western media as shown in previous studies (Al Hejin 2012; Ozcan 2012). The focus seems to have shifted toward the controversial burka.

However, the Telegraph representation of Muslim women issues is not all gloomy and negative. Sometimes, the newspaper gives space to Muslim women to talk positively about their issues and show their capacity to defend themselves and fight the stereotypical images that surround them. It is hoped that the Daily Telegraph and other Western media outlets will do more to promote positive images about Muslim women and Islam for a world free from prejudice and conflicts between cultures and religions.

CONCLUSION

This paper has tried to investigate a British depiction of MW through an analysis of news articles that appear in the Daily Telegraph, one of the most circulated quality newspaper in the UK and worldwide. The study is an attempt to enrich the literature being produced about Islam and Muslims in general and MW in particular in order to unveil the spreading clash of civilization between Islam and the West since 9/11 attacks.

The framework adopted for this study is a mixed method proposed by Baker (2004) which consists of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. The main corpus tools used are keyword and concordance analysis integrated with an interpretation of text production.

The keyword analysis has revealed the salient topic in the MWTC. The Daily Telegraph's topics that dominated the news about MW were negative topics including veil and dress, court and law and terrorism. The concordance analysis of the strongest key topic of veil and dress has shown that the pattern of burka's negative presentation was a dominant theme especially when the topic of burka ban is provoked. Examples of such negative pattern have shown that The Daily Telegraph uses a negative and Islamophobic discourse to report MW burka. Yet, it also gives some little space for neutral and positive representation of this controversial dress, something that would not be expected from a supposedly unbiased, high quality broadsheet newspaper.

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