

Title: Framing Immigration: The Portrayal of Immigration and Terrorism by the British Media and The Scholars after London Bombing

Semester: 10th

Semester theme: Master's Thesis

Project period: Winter 2021

ECTS: 30

Supervisor: Martin Bak Jørgensen

SYNOPSIS:

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Number printed: [-]

Pages: 45 Pages

Appendix: []

Enclosures: [-]



AALBORG UNIVERSITET

Framing Immigration: The Portrayal of Immigration and Terrorism by
the British Media and The Scholars after London Bombing

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my supervisor Martin Bak Jørgensen, for all his help provided throughout the process of writing this master's thesis. His patience, encouragement, valuable feedback, and support helped me to design a good master's thesis

Abstract

Great Britain has seen the largest flow of immigrants since the Second World War. The flow of refugees, asylum seekers and economic immigrants has caused dramatic transformation in British economy, society and politics. Besides, the recent terror attacks in Europe and the London bombing committed by Islamist terrorist raised the tension in Europe regarding the Muslim immigrants. The news media and the scholars have chosen their distinctive paths to address the event. The purpose of the thesis is to analyse the discourse of media and the findings of research articles to discern how the two different sources address the relationship between immigration and terrorism in Britain.

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1. Problem Formulation

Terrorism is one of the significant concerns of the government of Great Britain as the land has been hit by several terror attacks since 11 September 2001. The involvement of radical Islamists has been found in every terror attack occurred in Great Britain (Huysmans & Buonfino, 2008). Therefore, both news media and the academic researchers have paid special attention to investigate if there is any connection between the influx of Muslim immigrants to Britain and terrorism. The purpose of the thesis is to analyse how the leading British newspapers and the academic scholars examine the implications of immigration and terrorism. To explore the affair in an elaborated manner the thesis proposes the following research questions:

- How has the problem been represented by British print media?
- How do the scholars analyse the relationship between immigration and terrorism?

2. Methodology

This thesis aims at analysing the discrepancies between the scholarly articles and the British print media contemplating the affiliation between Muslim immigrants and terrorism in Britain. The study has selected two dominant British newspapers, the Daily Mail and The Guardian. The thesis will analyse their news articles regarding the annexation between immigration and terrorism to investigate how that particular phenomenon has been constructed by the British press. The study will also analyse how the problem of terrorism and Muslim immigration to Britain has been discussed in the research articles.

The thesis will compare the news discourse of two newspapers by following Laclau and Mouffe's concept of antagonism. The same method will also be applied to discuss the findings of research articles.

2.1 Selection Criteria of the Newspapers

The newspapers have been chosen based on their circulation, social media followings and online readership and political stance. The thesis analyses 12 news stories from each newspaper from the day of London bombing. The news have been selected by maintaining a gap of around six months. It is important to maintain a timeframe to understand the development of the problem. It also reduces the chance of choosing the news articles that conveys the same meaning. To select the news articles, I used the LexisNexis which is a data mining platform. The service of LexisNexis is authorized by Aalborg University Library. Different frames have been used to select the news articles which will be described in the later parts of the methodology section.

2.1.1 The Daily Mail

According to the British media trade magazine Press Gazette (2021), Daily Mail had an average circulation of 933,730 daily circulation in July 2021, The Daily Mail has 16 million followers on Facebook, 540,650 on Twitter, and 1.3 million followers on Instagram. According to Newsworks (2021) The Daily mail has average monthly online readership of 30.4 million.

2.1.2 The Guardian

According to Press Gazette (2021) the Guardian had 105,134 daily circulations in July 2021. The Guardian has 8.4 million followers on Facebook, 9.9 million followers on

Twitter and 4.6 million followers on Instagram. According to Newsworks (2021) The Guardian has monthly online readership of 26 million.

2.1.3 Framing

Framing of news stories can be compared to how Jorgensen and Phillips (2011) described social constructivism. According to their study the understanding of the reality can be different when it is explained by different explanations. Norris (1995) believes actors who are in favor of a social phenomenon and those who operate against a social phenomenon can frame the incident differently.

From this angle an individual object does not have any specific meaning as long as it is not coming to an interaction with the other social objects. Blumer (1969) explains when different social objects come into the same interaction with other social objects or actors. Blumer added that when different social actors interact the meaning of a phenomenon is modified, remodified or sometimes changed.

The theory of framing shows that reporters typically paintings with information frames to simplify, prioritize, and shape the narrative glide of activities; information frames additionally package deal key concepts, inventory phrases, and stereotyped pictures to enhance positive not unusual place approaches of decoding activities and/or issues (Norris 1995). Reporters can “inform it find it irresistible is” inside a restrained time-frame, withinside the case of tv information, or word-count, withinside the case of newspaper tales, through sorting key activities or factors of the tale through drawing on “reservoirs” of acquainted tales to cue readers (Norris 1995; Pan & Kosicki 1993)

After careful investigation the thesis selected four key frames:

Immigrants as Criminal/Terrorist Frame

This framework highlights the potential and sensationalism of past crimes involving immigrants. This structure focuses primarily on immigrants and portrays them as individuals at higher risk of crime. the government gives immigrants "special treatment". Proposed policy changes include automatic deportation for arrest and increased tracking of immigrants from certain countries that are considered “terrorist hideouts”.

Immigrants in Socio-economic Frame:

In this frame, immigrant culture, education, and ability units are visible as the problem. From this angle maximum immigrants are visible as poorly educated, non-professional people who're taking jobs that used be performed by local people and suppressing wages for local people in "low professional" regions of employment. They also are visible as now not interested to learn English and being unwilling to assimilate to "British" culture. From this angle border security is vital, mainly to maintain undocumented people who're feared to take advantage of the social services while their contribution is nothing or limited to the British economy.

Immigration Restriction Frame

In this body immigration legal guidelines are portrayed as too lenient. The borders are considered too vulnerable which is permitting too many unskilled people into the country, that proves weak border safety. The border security has lost its control over the border that increases the chance for the potential terrorists to enter the country.

Multicultural Frame

This framework views cultural diversity as an way of enriching the society, these structures often focus on the economic and cultural advantages of a multicultural society. It emphasizes the need to reduce inequality and exploitation. which ensures full participation in politics, the labor market and education to facilitate socio-economic mobility. The frame emphasizes the political activity of the immigrants.

[2.2 Selection Criteria of the Research Articles](#)

To select the research articles, I used search platform of Aalborg University website. Unlike the news articles it is not possible to choose research articles form the date of the London bombing. In terms of research articles researchers analyse the involvement of different actors in a phenomenon by using different methodologies. I selected 12 research articles that analyse the influx of Muslim immigrants in Britain. As it is not possible to find articles that had been published immediately after London bombing, I have started with the articles published after the London bombing regarding the affiliation between Muslim immigrants to Britain and terrorism. Like the news stories I used some specific frames to find out the research articles which will also be elaborated in methodology.

2.2.1 Framing

The goal of the thesis is to stay unbiased in terms of choosing data. I have prepared this thesis to find out the differences between the discourse of the research articles and the news stories. Therefore, I have looked into research articles that analyse the causes of terrorism in Britain. I have chosen both types of research articles that gives decision in favor of the immigrants and against the immigrants. The thesis follows the same framings that used to select the news articles. It will help the thesis to understand the similarities and dissimilarities between the discourse of the news articles and the research analysis.

Immigrants in Social-Political Frame

In this frame the researchers analyse the immigration policy of the British government. The researchers investigate the role of the British society regarding the Muslim immigrants.

Immigration restriction frame

Research within this frame focuses on if the restriction of the immigration can reduce the chance of terrorism in Britain. To give a decision in this term the research investigated the past terror attacks and the origin of their participants. The articles also investigate if the immigrants have adverse impact on the host employment market. The articles investigate the phenomenon which says the acceptance of the low wage by the unskilled immigrants increases the unemployment ratio among the native British workers.

Multicultural Frame

Under this framework the research analysis focuses on if the immigrants get a systematic opportunity to involve themselves in the host society. The research articles investigate the role of the government's integration policy for the immigrants. They also look for the reasons that may cause grief among the immigrants which may later result in crime and terrorism.

Immigrants as Criminal/Terrorist Frame

The frame explores why the connection is made between immigration and terrorism. To deconstruct this idea the articles investigated the religious minority, they also look into the understanding and the explanation Islam and multicultural phenomena that encourages crime and terrorism among the immigrants.

2.3 Potential Problems and solutions

This part of methodology narrates what problems may arise and their solutions while choosing and analysing the data. The part explains the problems and solutions for both news discourse and research analysis.

In terms of selecting the sources of data biasness arises from the fact that they do not cover all the events that actually happened, leading to inappropriate coverage (Earl, 2004). Although biasness has been shown to influence reported events, what impact can an ongoing research project expect? Due to the bias towards previous research on this topic.

The best way to avoid article selection bias is to simply look at all articles published in the area of interest for a given period of time. While this is the method that requires the most time and resources, it is also the method that is least likely to miss items of interest. There are several ways to accomplish this. It can be verified, usually on microfilm, that, depending on the period of time and the number of articles, each newspaper is printed in a certain period of time. This is the most time-consuming method.

Dimitrova and Stormback (2005) used LexisNexis to filter data using different keywords which has also been followed in the thesis. LexisNexis also provides research data where it is possible to find a research paper by filtering the names of the publishers as well as keywords. But I used the search tool of Aalborg University library as I used it in my previous projects. Aalborg University Library also provides the filtering option where one can search research article by using keywords and publisher names.

Descriptive bias in data sources is problematic for those who study these events; however, it does provide an opportunity to explore the presentation of the news itself, and this is the perspective that this project takes. This descriptive bias makes it difficult to analyze in depth any aspect of social movement that they study (Smith et al. 2001). social movements. because your other data options are limited or missing. However, the methodology used in this project has a built-in expectation that there is descriptor bias in analysis field.

Selection bias for part of the data selection process presents a greater dilemma for this research project than selection bias for what to report on. A keyword search method of collecting data is the easiest and the most time efficient. While this method leaves open

the possibility of excluding certain articles related to immigrants and immigrants, it does not allow the exclusion of articles directly related to the topic in question; the ones most likely to leak are those that address the problem indirectly.

2.4 Explaining the Use of Social Constructivism with WPR method and Discourse Theory

The thesis follows Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory to analyze the news regarding immigration and terrorism in the UK from the above-mentioned three newspapers. Discourse theory explains the social activities as discursive where the approach is primarily linguistic and aims at determining a social construction by analyzing texts. Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is more theoretical which exposes the contradictions and uses these contradictions as the tools to further analysis. According to Jørgensen and Philips (2011:4), the approach is post-structuralist which questions how a problem derives. Therefore, the thesis will use the WPR method which investigates how the activities in a particular social phenomenon introduce a problem (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016:14). Besides the theory of Laclau and Mouffe starts with language but theoretically covers the entire social phenomenon. According to Jørgensen and Philips (2011:2), Laclau and Mouffe believe in social phenomena the meanings are never fixed. As a result, the thesis will apply WPR to make it suitable for the social constructionist approach. Because social constructivism stresses that social actors in a given reality have roles to play and a problem is constructed through the actions of the social actors (Bryman, 2012:33).

Discourse theory can be used as a base for an analysis where the understandings of the discourses can be interpreted differently by different individuals. According to Jørgensen and Philips (2011:2) These understandings struggle among themselves which produces distinctive ways of understanding a particular phenomenon. The approach of discourse is the starting point of the post-structural analysis where the language is the access to reality. With language, discourse theory not only presents an existing reality but also constructs reality (Jørgensen & Philips, 2011:8).

Laclau and Mouffe suggest the use of poststructuralist theory while considering discourse as the base of the research. Because discourse theory does not fix any meaning and the meanings keep transforming with the connection of other discourses.

As the poststructuralist theory the thesis will use the WPR method. The WPR method starts with identifying the problem and investigates the problem according to the map provided by the discourse analysis (Jørgensen & Philips, 2011; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). According to the WPR method, social reality is not fixed, and we cannot pull a perfect conclusion of a reality. WPR describes reality as the combination, pattern, and arrangement which is considered as the converging point.

Both discourse theory and the WPR method depend on social constructionism to fulfill their meanings as social constructionism is the idea that constructs a phenomenon by using WPR and discourse analysis. According to Burr (1995:4), our understanding of society is formed through social interactions. Burr suggests through social interactions we explore the meanings, and the meanings compete each other for dominance. There can be the difference in understandings of social reality which may lead to different social understandings. Therefore Burr (1995:5) suggests that the social construction of knowledge has social consequences.

The first research question of this paper investigates the problem according to the WPR method (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). To start with we need to find a problem and the representation of the problem will be determined according to the WPR method at the end of the first research question. Instead of analyzing the ways of solving problems WPR investigates the social and governmental practices that produce the problem where it questions what problem is produced, how it is produced, and what can be the effects of the problem (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016:14).

2.5 Answering the First Research Question

The first research question has been prepared by following the WPR format given by Bacchi and Goodwin (2016:20). Bacchi and Goodwin suggested that according to the WPR method the first question should ask what the problem is being represented in a specific phenomenon. It needs to remember that the WPR method questions how rational the liaison between the governmental organs is where the answer lies in presenting the precise problem. Bacchi and Goodwin (2016:14) suggest the WPR method questions what the problem is, how it has become the problem and what effect it has. The first research question answers what the problem is.

WPR starts with the idea of what we want to do and to implement that we need a relevant problem. According to Bacchi (2009), the WPR method consists of the representation of

the problem, seeking the archaeology of the problem, and analyzing the exercise that sustains the problem. One of the goals of WPR is to investigate the politics involved in the build-up of the problem. Tanesini (1994) described the idea as working backward from a proposed issue which opens the path to a creative investigation.

To execute the WPR method a written text can be considered as the starting point (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016: 18). Bacchi and Goodwin suggest the WPR method is not interested in analyzing the rhetoric or language where it emphasizes what constructed that particular form of language. The first research question of this paper has been constructed by following question 1 of the WPR question format (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016:20) which represents the problem. To identify the problem the thesis will work backward where Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) compared the problem representation to the “springboard” of the analysis. According to their study, the intention of the first question is not to indicate the purpose behind the problem or to find a solution, but it starts from the solution to reach the problem.

In the first research question, the phenomena have been established as a social reality which can be interpreted by using the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe. In this research question WPR method will be used on the base of discourse analysis to establish the problem.

In the first research question, the discourse analysis will be performed to understand the pattern of the language of the newspapers. Here Laclau and Mouffe emphasize the practice of articulation. Articulation forms a relationship between the social aspects in a way that the identity of the aspects is determined by the articulation practice (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:105).

Jørgensen and Philips (2011) suggest ascertaining the meaning is the key to understand the discourse. For example, when the researchers say that immigration is not the actual reason for terrorism, they analyze the political strategy, border security, the social status of the terrorists, and the activities of the intelligence agencies (Bonner, 2007: 487). Here the issues are different and bear different meanings. The study analyses the difference in meaning and makes the connection between them (Jørgensen and Philips 2011).

According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985:112), a discourse is formed by determining the meanings of social activities around a certain nodal point. The activities achieve their

meanings through their relationship with the nodal point. In this thesis, the ultimate finding of the study will be the nodal point. But Laclau (1990:28) came up with the statement that different discourses are competing among themselves by investing their meanings to be the nodal point. Laclau suggests discourses that are contesting to be the nodal point are called floating signifiers. The discourses are floating signifiers before being considered as the nodal point. Jørgensen and Philips (2011:6) to be considered as the contenders of the nodal point discourses have to have “privileged status”. According to their study, to identify the struggle between the meanings of discourses we have to examine the contents of the discourses. Thus, we can find which meanings are forming the partial structure of a phenomenon and which discourses have meanings that cannot be disputed and ready to be the nodal point.

Jørgensen and Philips (2011) describe when a meaning becomes the nodal point we take it for granted or we believe it as the objective truth. Here taking for granted and objective truth mean the meaning or truths we accept without any dispute. Although, Burr (1995:3) nothing should be taken for granted or as objective truth because the reality is not pre-given, it is determined according to the acts of the social actors.

Discourse theory investigates “for granted” structures by taking the discursive incidents into account. When a researcher starts working by using discourse analysis, he cannot reach the floating signifiers directly, so he needs “deconstruction” of that particular idea he is investigating. By considering deconstruction as the starting of the research Wolfreys (1998) believe the goal of deconstruction is not to destroy the idea but to analyse the idea while living into it.

2.6 Answering the Second Research Question

The second research question investigates the reasons for terrorism in the UK according to the scholars which also needs a social constructivist approach. Because the scholars through their research articles tried to describe the idea in a specific manner where the decision can be different from what the media says. But the scholarly articles are also the source of knowledge for a large group of people and those articles also contribute to form a certain dogma.

The second research question applies social constructivism to interpret a social reality through the analysis of research articles. In other words, social constructivism clarifies

the activities of social actors towards social development. Bryman (2012:36) believes that social circumstances are the result of the continuous behavior of the social actors.

According to Jørgensen and Philips (2011: 6), relativism is constitutional in the social constructivist approach. Relativism says the theories and principles chosen by a researcher will have consequences throughout the project. Jørgensen and Philips claim in social constructivism that reality is what is interpreted by the interpreter. Here the meanings are contingent, and the change of meanings opens the opportunities for other possibilities to be meaningful. But the authors also stress that some changes cannot be accepted by the surroundings easily; for example, any change in yearlong practice or change in any old law.

There can be a question that if the social constructivist approach can be used as a way of making the circumstances better or with a positive interpretation. Jørgensen and Philips explain that some meanings are understood naturally and cannot be changed in a certain direction. Their study says the naturalized understanding of an activity or an ideology is not the understanding of reality, but it is the reality. Laclau and Mouffe through poststructuralist theory suggest that social reality is the outcome of reaction of processes through which meaning is determined. Here media plays the role to shape up the standpoint of the civilians. Although the job of media, in this case, is considered discursive according to Laclau and Mouffe the statement of Jørgensen and Philips needs to be kept in mind that an idea nurtured throughout the years cannot be changed easily.

The process that leads to discourse is considered discursivity. Jørgensen and Philips (2011) suggest that discourse is constructed with a connection to what is happening around it. They also think the meaning of discursive elements has multiple meanings and are not determined which can overlap the meaning of the actual discourse. Discourse analysis endeavors to reduce polysemy or the potential meanings to a fixed meaning. Discourse tries to transform the discursivity into moments that may stop the variations in meanings. But Laclau and Mouffe (1985:110) think the transformation of discursivity into moments is never fulfilled and the meanings can change always.

It is important to remember that there are meanings that are struggling to be the hegemonic discourse. Here the hegemonic discourse means the discourse which constructs a social view. Jørgensen and Philips (2011) believe that the hegemonic

discourse contributes to the structure of our knowledge. The study also thinks although the discourse is hegemonic the meaning is contingent, and they can take any particular form at any time. Jørgensen and Philips also believe the hegemony of discourse also lies in eliminating a social ideology and replacing it with another.

Discourse analysis is criticized for questioning the practicality of society (Hajer & Versteeg, 2006:181). Hajer and Versteeg also complain discourse analysis does not offer any criteria to judge the quality of the discourse. Habermas (1994) blamed the discourse theory to be judgemental only in terms of hegemony. He explains in theory of discourse represents the knowledge and power are associated. Hajer and Versteeg think it makes the knowledge grow by following the power as guidance which reduces the accessibility to knowledge. Baron (2018) question the democracy of the discourse by stating that if the reality is constructed through discourse, then it is more institutionalized which curtails the discursive interaction. Politics is one of the key concepts in the theory of Laclough and Mouffe, and their understanding of this concept is closely related to the assumption that the discursive structure is always an indefinite topography. According to Laclau and Mouffe, politics is the way we choose to organize society.; if the meanings of social phenomena were already fixed, there would be no place for politics.

2.7 Laclau and Mouffe's Theory of Politics and Antagonism

According to Laclough and Mouffe, political processes are the most important factor in building social peace, because political (not economic, as in the Marxist sense) joints determine how we act and think, and therefore how we organize society (Andersen, 1999:92). In political processes, disputes often arise between different discourses about how to establish the structures of society, when presentations are conflicting statements about how we should act in a particular area. Laclough and Mouffe use the term antagonism to refer to conflict between different discourses, and then antagonism occurs when different identities collide and become obstacles to each other (Laclau 1990: 33-34). The concepts of politics and antagonism fit very well with this project's focus on the controversial struggle between discourses on how to establish the meaning of discourse. hence, this will apply in the discussion parts where we will analyze the contradictions between media outlets. The same theory will also be applicable to the analysis of the differences between research articles.

3. Analysis

The thesis investigates the news concerning the affiliation between immigration and terrorism in Britain from the two British newspapers – The Daily Mail and The Guardian. We will analyze the news stories from which have been published after the incident of London bombing on 7 July 2005. Because this thesis will analyze how British immigrants have been portrayed in newspapers and research articles in terms of terrorist activities.

3.1 Representing the Problem

The first research question of the thesis analyses the representation of the problem. According to WPR method, the construction of the problem is identified by analyzing the social structure, government policies, political and media discourse (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016:21). This analysis shapes the problematization and predicts the potential governmental operations (Bachi & Goodwin, 2016).

3.2 Media Portrayal of the Immigrant Affiliation to Terrorism After London Bombing 2005

3.2.1 Immigration and Terrorism Frame

The number of news articles blaming the immigrants after the London terror attack increased significantly where the news put attention to the asylum seekers and border security.

“YESTERDAY’S sickening atrocities were shockingly all too predictable. The former Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Lord Stevens, warned long ago that they were ‘inevitable’. Clearly, we do not know whether those responsible were foreign nationals or home-grown terrorists. But in the light of the clear danger from terrorists slipping into this country from abroad, the Government’s failure to secure our borders defies belief. Because of the shambles of our immigration and asylum system and the chronic inability by successive governments to police it properly, the astonishing fact is that faced with an unprecedented threat to our security, the Government simply lost control of our borders.”

(Daily Mail 8/7/2005)

The article claims it does not know if the terrorists were home-grown or foreign. But in the next sentence the news claims “terrorists slipping into this country from abroad” which seems to be a blaming to the potential immigrants and foreign nationals. The news discursively tried to construct the reality that immigrant arrival was the reason for bombing in London. Although the news voiced the anti-immigrant political stance the

attack was committed by the homegrown terrorist. The article used the words “chronic inability” to address the capacity of the then British government to secure the border. According to the article the government has lost control over the borders which presents the perspective that regaining control over border means dealing with the immigration system by removing the immigrants.

The London bombers – Hasib Hussain, Siddique Khan, Shehzad Tanweer and Germaine Lindsay aka Abdullah Shaheed Jamal possessed Muslim identity. The bombers except Germaine Lindsay were British born but their parents had been migrated to the UK from Pakistan. In spite of being homegrown their Muslim identity and immigrant ancestry caused the news media to think about immigration and Islam.

Most news articles mention the immigration policy and Islam at the same time:

The government's response to every terrorist event is to propose new tougher anti-terrorist laws. However we do not lack anti-terrorist laws. I do not believe that the recent London bombs were the result of any deficiencies in our legal system.

But this is all part of a much bigger picture. The problem of our relationship with the Muslim community both internationally and domestically is now one of the major political problems that British governments are going to have to face for many years to come. There will be more terrorist outrages and more international crises before anyone can hope to resolve it. Having made one catastrophic error in putting our troops into Iraq we must seek to avoid further mistakes at home and abroad.

immigration issues can divert attention from the question of the fractured communities that exist in many towns and cities in our country. We are not just talking about divisions between white, brown and black here but as much about divisions between different generations of ethnic minorities and between the genders.

(The Guardian, 1/09/2005)

This article does not blame the immigrants and the Muslims directly for the terrorism. Here the author wants to point out the problem of disintegration of the Muslim community in the British society. The article suggests an important aspect that the disintegration of a religious minority may result extremism. Here the government has a

role to play with effective integration policy. The article makes it clear that a disintegrated minority group regardless of Muslims or immigrants is in higher risk of committing terrorist activities.

After around seven months of London bombing the Daily Mail published a news blaming the asylum policy of the Labour government.

Does anyone seriously believe for a moment that the 20 other Captain Hooks we are reliably informed are still at large in Britain will suddenly cease their activities for fear of falling foul of the new law against glorifying terrorism?

Of course not, any more than they will be deterred by Hookie himself being sent down for an ultra-lenient couple of years under the existing legislation.

If the Government was serious about tackling terrorism, it would repeal the 'Human Rights' Act and do something about the abuse of the asylum and immigration system.

(The Daily Mail, 17.02.2006)

The news believes that abolishing the human rights act and reforming the asylum system can save Britain from terrorism. The last terror attack before publishing the news was committed by the homegrown. Besides, the news does not present any evidence that shows that the asylum seekers are responsible for terrorism in Britain. There is always a chance for the misuse of asylum benefits, but the government can handle the problem with further scrutiny of the asylum seekers' background. However, asylum policy truly saves them whose lives are in danger because of the civil war or the oppressive regime in their home countries.

Contradictory opinion can be found in The Guardian regarding same issue of preventing the glorification of terrorism:

"one of the most important voting weeks in recent memory", Mr Blair urged the Tories to think again about their opposition to ID cards and measures to ban the glorification of terrorism, saying that "failure to act will only let extremists take control of the agenda". He argued: "These votes are not just crucial in themselves. They will send a signal one way or other of our intent on this issue."

Mr Blair is cutting short a weekend trip to South Africa to be present for the votes on Monday and Wednesday. His remarks suggest that the government fears it may lose on ID cards on Monday even though it has made two major compromises on regularly reporting on the cost of the scheme and the need for fresh legislation if cards become compulsory.

It is unusual for Mr Blair to devote so much of a set-piece speech, normally a chance to set out a long-term vision, to winning over his own side for a set of key Commons votes. The speech had originally been planned as a chance to set out the theme of people empowerment in the centenary year of Labour.

He argued: "The advent of biometric technology in a world of increased identity fraud, illegal immigration, organised crime and especially terrorism makes our proposals for ID cards not only sensible but vital for Britain's security in the 21st century.

(The Guardian, 11.02.2006)

Interestingly The Guardian voiced in favor of the policy of Tony Blair to check the spreading of terrorism. The article mostly covers the positive aspects of this particular legislation where the negative side of the law is overshadowed. Thus, the news loses its impartial standpoint.

The Daily Mail criticises the immigration policy of the then Labour government while stating that it had no control over the law:

A senior source said: 'The Immigration Service was what we were called until a few years ago, now it looks like we can go back to our old name.

Massive migration and movement of peoples, the development of international terrorism, organised crime on an international scale and, of course, the expansion of the European Union eastwards.' Critics are likely to say that, while the end of the Cold War was a monumental event, Labour was not forced to adopt a policy of 'open door' immigration.

For example, ministers here unlike most of their EU counterparts refused to put any restrictions on the movement of people.

(The Daily Mail, 19.07.2006)

The article suggests the immigration should not be considered as a service. This conveys the meaning that immigration authority should work more like a law enforcement agency

and their main focus would be detaining the immigrants. From the perspective of this news the immigration policy of Labour party is responsible for the terrorism in Britain as they are not willing to restrict the immigrant movement.

Unlike The Daily Mail, The Guardian thinks the anti-terrorism law is stricter than it should be:

Control orders - one of the most controversial parts of the government's anti-terror legislation - were imposed after courts forced the closure of the "Belmarsh system", which allowed foreign terror suspects to be held in Belmarsh prison indefinitely.

The orders allow the home secretary to impose restrictions including house arrest, stringent rules on contact with outsiders and reporting to police, without having to prove allegations against terror suspects in court.

(The Guardian, 3. 07. 2006)

The article is critical over the fact that the anti-terrorism law can keep a suspect in prison for an indefinite period. The criticism is relevant as the person is still a suspect and it is not yet proved that he has been involved in terrorism. The law also intervenes the personal daily life of an individual as it strictly observes the interaction of that individual with other people.

3.2.2 Immigration and Multiculturalism

The guardian presents a liberal view in terms of multiculturalism. According to one of the news articles multiculturalism is vital to British society:

Fear of foreigners is nothing new, yet rarely has panic about immigration been so feverish. It tops voters' list of concerns, jangling raw nerves about jobs, public services, race and terrorism. The new bogeyman is a Muslim asylum seeker. Yet, contrary to tabloid hysteria, we are not being swamped with immigrants - nor are they a threat. Fewer than 10% of people in Britain were born abroad. Asylum applications were a mere 25,710 in 2005, while

15,685 failed asylum seekers were deported; the refusal rate exceeds 80%. Britain, a soft touch? Hardly.

Undeniably, learning to live together can be tough. Yet closing our borders would not reduce the terrorist threat from a tiny home-grown minority, while anti-immigrant rhetoric fuels hatred towards existing ethnic minorities. While concern about entrenched segregation is understandable, the real issue is not multiculturalism, but social exclusion. Nobody is terrified of rich whites clustering in Chelsea.

(The Guardian, 15.01.2007)

The article says the British society is intimidated by the foreigners. It means that the British civilians have a perspective that the immigrants only bring adversity to the country which is mainly crime and terrorism. This type of viewpoint hinders the natives to accept the foreign individuals in their society. The denial and unwelcoming attitude of the native society causes disintegration of the immigrants.

This article claims that the border control is not enough to reduce terrorism. The rhetoric of the article is not relevant in the case of the London bombing where the participants were homegrown. The article warns the readers about the British social elites who are trying to build their own society amidst the society. The author is concerned that the disintegration between mass people and elites will have more adverse effects than immigration flow.

The Daily Mail narrates the English skill of the immigrants as a way of integrating themselves to the British society:

NEW migrants should be tested on their ability to speak English before they are allowed into the country, a Government report said yesterday.

This could mean that men or women arriving as spouses of people already living here could be asked to show they have a mastery of the language.

The Commission was established by Communities Secretary Ruth Kelly to deal with concerns about the effects of immigration and growing fears about the spread of Islamist radicalism and terrorism.

Yesterday's report formally ditched the term multiculturalism, which is now blamed for encouraging separatism among different groups.

(The Daily Mail, 22.02.2007)

In the context of being integrated to the British society it is objective to learn English. But the article does not specify anything about those who flee their homeland in fear of their life. The language skill is relevant for those who arrive Britain through systematic immigration process. But judging those on the basis of language skill who badly need shelter or asylum to save their lives can be an ultimate breach of human rights.

The mention of terrorism in the same article sounds like imposing requirement of the language skill on the immigrants can check terrorism. But as homegrown terrorists the London bombers undoubtedly possessed good English language skill.

The Guardian believes that after London bombing Muslim immigrants gained more attention due to their religion:

Oddly, at a recent debate on multiculturalism I attended, a black member of the audience said she felt bad for being relieved that the negative media spotlight had moved on. "Muslims are the new blacks," she said.

BBC2's recently announced season on the white working class is curiously full of dramas and documentaries concerning Muslims and immigration. Is that central to exploring the disenfranchisement of a demographic? Or are Muslims being used to spice up any issue almost to the exclusion of other minority groups?

The BBC is not the only culprit. Commenting on Channel 4's drama Britz, the writer Sarfraz Manzoor said it was "entirely typical" that "every dramatist and documentary-maker in search of their next commission leaps on to the Muslim bandwagon".

Do some in the media believe that lavishing British Muslims with attention will solve terrorism? Someone who works in the theatre told me that since 7/7 he had received a lot more attention, which felt patronising since he wanted to be judged on his work, not his religion.

(The Guardian, 3.12.2007)

The rhetoric of the news implies that the Muslims after 7/7 have been treated like the Black community of Britain. Black people in Britain have a long history of sufferings and discriminations. Gaining negative attention for following a particular religion means that the society could not accept the presence of the people who follow that religion. It conveys the sense that the British society considers all the Muslims as terrorists and tries to keep a safe distance from them.

In May 2013 the Daily Mail published an editorial written by British author and journalist Melanie Phillips that explains it is the duty of the immigrants to integrate themselves to the host society:

Like most people, I did not see 9/11 coming. But the moment the Twin Towers collapsed, I realised the West was facing something different from ordinary terrorism or war by one state on another.

As far back as 1989, I'd grasped that the drive towards multiculturalism (the doctrine which held no culture could be considered superior to any other because that was 'racist') could well be a threat to liberty. At the time, the Church of England was proposing that the blasphemy law, which applied only to Christianity, should be replaced by a new offence of insulting or outraging the religious feelings of any group in the community.

This was very pertinent to me. I come from immigrant stock. My parents were from poor Jewish families who arrived in Britain from Russia and Poland at the beginning of the 20th century. My father's father was given the name Phillips because the immigration officer couldn't pronounce his Polish name.

o, too, has another disturbing aspect of our drift into multiculturalism and relativism - a sinister but pervasive change in attitudes to racism.

(Daily Mail, 8/05/2013)

The author emphasizes that her immigrant family stepped forward to assimilate with the society of Britain. From the previous articles included in this thesis it can be said that the Muslim immigrants try to do the same. It is the stereotype of the members of the host society that hinders the integration of the immigrants. Typically, after 9/11 and 7/7 there is a stereotype that Muslims may spread the ideology of extremism in the society. The

author narrates how her Jewish ancestors assimilated with the British society. But she does not elaborate how difficult the process can be for the Muslims when the society holds a negative standpoint against them.

The Guardian elaborates the stereotype against Muslims and Muslim immigrants:

Somewhere out there is the Muslim that the British government seeks. Like all religious people he (the government is more likely to talk about Muslim women than to them) supports gay rights, racial equality, women's rights, tolerance and parliamentary democracy. He abhors the murder of innocent civilians without qualification - unless they are in Palestine, Afghanistan or Iraq. He wants to be treated as a regular British citizen - but not by the police, immigration or airport security. He wants the best for his children and if that means unemployment, racism and bad schools, then so be it.

On his slender shoulders lies Britain's domestic anti-terror campaign. And as soon as the government finds him things are going to start turning around. Until then we are resigned to the fact that we will be about as successful at fighting terrorism at home as we are abroad and for the same reason. Unburdened by any desire to forge consensus or engage in negotiation, the government seeks to craft new realities out of whole cloth and then wonders why no one wants to wear them. And so it is that the mythical Muslim will prove as elusive as weapons of mass destruction or the beacons of democracy that Iraq and Afghanistan were supposed to become.

The trouble with those who rail against multiculturalism is that they invariably struggle to articulate the kind of monoculture they would like to replace it with, let alone how they would enforce it. And when they do, things rapidly start to fall apart.

(The Guardian, 30.03.2009)

According to the article the British government wants to mould the ideology of Islam according to the dogma of British society. If a religious community commits a crime that is punishable by the law the governmental organizations must take step. But it sounds irrelevant when the governments impose what to think and what not, what to wear and what not. In such a way a state loses its multicultural perspective. The author has seen

the governmental endeavour of bounding the religion by the law a beginning of generic society that will not present any diverse principle.

The Daily Mail thinks completely opposite in terms of multi-culturalism:

Freedom of speech, for those who don't accept multiculturalism or the sexual revolution, is increasingly limited, mainly by threats to the jobs of those who speak out of turn.

Mr Cameron is also plain wrong when he says our freedom stems from democracy. Democracy these days involves agreeing with whatever slogans the Murdoch press is fr

Mr Cameron and Mr Blair, and their predecessors over decades, have gone a long way towards Islamising this country through uncontrolled immigration and state multiculturalism. They have begun to panic, because they at last realise what they have done, and rightly fear they cannot stop it.

(Daily Mail, 26.07.2015)

The article believes multiculturalism in Britain is accelerating terrorism. The article directly compares Islam to terrorism. The author blames the religion and the followers of the religion squarely that they support extremism.

The author finds that there is limitation to freedom of speech for those who do not believe in multiculturalism although he criticised a religion and the former prime ministers in a national newspaper.

3.2.3 Immigration in Socio-Economic Frame

Immigration in this frame by the newspapers used mostly to address Eastern European immigrants and Muslim immigrants. In terms of Eastern European immigrants, the newspapers focused on how the arrival of unskilled Eastern Europeans putting the labour market at stake for the native employees. While addressing the Muslim immigrants The articles used the frame to describe how the arrival of Muslim immigrants increases the risk of chance of social instability in Britain. It should be noted that this frame not only includes the prediction of terrorism by the immigrants but also discusses the impact of immigrants on British economy:

LEGAL aid for asylum and immigration cases has increased almost eightfold since Labour came to power. The bill rose from Pounds 26.1million in 1997 to Pounds 203million in 2004, according to the Department for Constitutional Affairs. It released the figures last night in

a written parliamentary reply to a question by Shadow Home Secretary David Davis. They are sure to reignite concerns over the soaring cost of handling asylum claims. In a recent report, MPs warned that the scale of legal aid for asylum seekers means those from this country are missing out on help. Judges have blamed lawyers for pursuing hopeless but expensive legal challenges. Almost everyone who claims asylum is entitled to free legal advice, even though most claims are eventually rejected.

(Daily Mail, 7/07/2005)

This article highlights the amount of money spends on the legal help of the asylum seekers. It is humane of the British government that it offers the asylum seekers legal assistance free of cost. But the news relevantly focuses on the rate of rejections of asylum applications. As most of the applications are rejected the fund provided by the government are being wasted. The free legal assistance may also be a reason for the flow of immigrants to Britain. The news indirectly offers the solution to asylum problem that stopping or reducing the free legal assistance can reduce the immigrant influx. This measurement is admissible as it will lower the number of asylum seekers who only look for the asylum to enjoy the social benefits. In that case, the government has to find another way out to identify those who genuinely needs asylum assistance.

Although Daily Mail has relevant outlook in terms of governmental policies regarding the immigration it renders outright blaming to the Muslim immigrants in terms of extremism:

In Britain, British Muslims turned themselves into human bombs last July to murder as many of their fellow citizens as they could. We are told this was because of the war in Iraq. But France was a principal opponent of that war and yet it is now being torched from Normandy to the Mediterranean.

For every country, a different reason can be found to blame it for the attacks being mounted upon it. Yet the common factor is the hostility of Muslims to the countries in which they have settled. Even now Britain, France and the rest of Europe are still in varying stages of denial over Muslim unrest.

(Daily Mail, 7.11.2005)

From this point of view, Muslims should not be trusted, as they represent a potential threat to the security of Great Britain, as well as that of other European countries. Another implication is that Muslim immigrants do not wish to integrate into British society, but rather want to change the rules and laws of their host countries. There has been no citation of opposing views, and the author presents his point as if it is a commonly accepted belief and society would be better off if only the UK government recognized the problem.

In another article Daily Mail criticises the immigration policy of the former governments *Rejecting suggestions that it had been a mistake to open the door to migrants. Mr Blair said: "People look back and say you should have done more to restrict immigration."*

Of course it has to be controlled, and illegal immigration has to be tackled head on. But overall I think immigration has been good for Britain and most immigrants have assimilated well. So don't make them a scapegoat for our problems.' Mr Blair also insisted it was 'obvious' that major changes needed to be made to sickness benefits and suggested the ageing population meant a fundamental reassessment of the post-war welfare state was necessary.

But he added: 'It is just important that people remember that at the time our country was facing a very severe threat from terrorism, and we were trying to protect our people and our troops.

(Daily Mail, 19.12.2012)

Daily Mail emphasizes restriction on immigration. But restricting immigration can have adversely affect the human rights of the immigrants from war torn Middle East. The article Denies the claims of Tony Blair and connects terrorism with immigration. The article criticises the immigration policy of the former Labour government by using the words "open door". The article represents the entire immigrant group as threat that may have a negative impact on the readers' mind regarding the immigrants.

The Guardian points out the problems that can arise with the restriction on immigration: *The west is being destroyed, not by migrants, but by the fear of migrants. In country after country, the ghosts of the fascists have rematerialised and are sitting in parliaments in Germany, in Austria, in Italy. They have successfully convinced their populations that the*

greatest threat to their nations isn't government tyranny or inequality or climate change, but immigration. And that, to stop this wave of migrants, everyone's civil liberties must be curtailed. Surveillance cameras must be installed everywhere. Passports must be produced for the most routine of tasks, like buying a mobile phone.

It was fear of migrants, principally, that led the British to vote for Brexit, the biggest own goal in the UK's history. A YouGov poll in the days before Brexit found that 56% of Britons named "immigration and asylum" as the biggest issue facing the country. Tabloids with headlines such as "Migrants Rob Young Britons of Jobs" and "Britain's 40% Surge in Ethnic Numbers" stoked fear of outsiders, day after day. From 2010 to 2016, the Daily Express ran 179 front-page anti-immigration stories and the Daily Mail 122 similar front-page jeremiads.

(The Guardian, 27.08.2019)

The article implies that the fear of immigrants causes more damage to the society and economy than the actual immigrants. Sometimes it is not possible for the government to impose restrictions to services enjoyed by the immigrants. As a result, it forces the government to allow restriction on the entire population. If the government wants to restrict the voice of the immigrants there is possibility of communal clash. It compels the government to impose the ban on the entire nation which may label the government undemocratic. The article suggests if a government starts taking every step by keeping the threat of immigrants in mind it will collapse the whole governmental operation.

The Daily Mail believes immigration is an incident that Britain is highly "worried" about: *Britain is the country most worried about mass immigration, a survey of 25 major nations reveals today.*

The study by Ipsos MORI found more than 42 per cent of Britons put immigration in the list of issues which most concerns them.

By contrast, it did not figure in the global list of top five worries.

The poll is setback to big business in its demands for continued mass immigration.

The pro-Brussels CBI lobby group claims that continued access to low-skilled EU migrants is vital for the economy.

Today, the Institute of Directors calls on Theresa May to abandon the Government's commitment to reduce net migration to the 'tens of thousands'.

The IoD is also urging ministers to announce that any EU migrant already living and working in the UK should be allowed to stay.

IoD spokesman Seamus Nevin said: 'The Leave majority was, in part, a vote of no confidence in how successive governments have managed immigration.'

(Daily Mail, 13.10. 2016)

The news with its statistics can easily scares the readers that immigration is a disaster. Like the other news stories this news depicts the inability of the government to restrict the immigrants. With the use of the words "mass immigration" the news implies the idea immigrants are coming to take over the jobs and other benefits of the native British natives. The words convey that it is a problem that the government cannot solve. This type of rhetoric increases the distrust of civilians on the government. The rhetoric may also contribute to originate the animosity between the natives and foreigners.

The Guardian did some research on where the terrorist threat is coming from and what the British people should be worried about:

Now we know that what happened on July 7 was not just the worst terrorist attack in British history, it was also a first: the first suicide bombing on British soil. That is especially depressing for a reason Israelis, Iraqis, Indians and Russians will understand well. For the suicide bomber represents a unique kind of threat; an enemy that does not fear being captured or killed is always bound to be more potent. To give one practical example, warnings about suspect packages on the tube are futile against a man ready to detonate a bomb in his lap.

But there can be no such comfort if these killers were British citizens. We could shut out every last asylum seeker, expel every illegal immigrant, and it would make us no safer. This attack came from within.

But the truth is, it is still too early to tell what exactly it is we are dealing with. Is this a one-off, as 9/11 and Madrid turned out to be? Or is this the beginning of a campaign of suicide

bombing, like the one waged on Israel for nearly 10 years? My hunch is that the much-discussed stoicism and resilience so far displayed by Londoners is the fruit of the first assumption: that this is a horrible event, never to be repeated.

(The Guardian, 13/07/2005)

The author of the article knowingly or unknowingly applies the method of representing the problem. The news implies it is important to know where exactly the threat is coming from. If the threat is internal, then it is not possible to prevent it by controlling the immigrants. The article also believes that the government and the civilians are still living through assumptions that can be fatal for the internal security. The article analyses the stereotype that immigrants are terrorists. It also proves the claim wrong and explains if the government enforces a policy based on the assumption it will be impose a bigger threat to Britain.

3.2.4 Immigration Restriction Frame

In this frame the news stories covered the border and immigration policy of the government. The news articles looked into the connection of refugees with the rate of crime and terrorism in the UK.

THERE is a fundamental paradox at the heart of British society. Never before in history have our civic institutions laid such emphasis on compassion. The eagerness to show empathy and concern is a central theme of the state, running through everything from the justice system to the Armed Forces.

It is 'niceness' towards Islamist extremism that has allowed home-grown terrorism to take root within Britain.

Even the Conservatives have sometimes fallen into this trap, most notably in 2002 when the then chairman, Theresa May, suggested that many people regarded the Tories as 'the nasty party' because they wanted to restrict immigration, uphold British sovereignty, punish criminals, maintain the family and encourage the work ethic.

(Daily Mail, 28.03.2009)

The positive aspect of this article is it admits that terrorism and crime is the outcome of British problematic society. But the later part of the story suggests the sympathetic behaviour of British government towards the immigrants and the Muslims is encouraging

homegrown terrorism. The story from Daily Mail is different from the other articles of the same newspaper as it accepts that the terrorists are homegrown.

There is a lack of coherence in the story. At first, it says the terrorists are homegrown. But later it blames the immigrants to stimulate terrorism without any concrete evidence. Like the previous news stories, it blames the Muslims for terrorism. The article conveys the standpoint that the whole Muslim society in Britain is involved in terrorism. The use of the word “niceness” in terms Labour’s immigration policy in the news suggests that the government should be strict specifically towards the Muslims or the Muslim immigrants.

In another news the Daily Mail suggests that the immigrants are increasing the instability of the society:

Yet suddenly, and as so often happens after a man retires, Lord Carey has found a voice. Speaking on Radio 4's Sunday programme, he urged Gordon Brown as Prime Minister to restrict immigration.

Restriction At present, they are arriving in numbers which threaten our social stability and the capacity of communities to absorb them, and indeed promise to change the character of this country.

The Government professes to believe in restricting entry, but refuses to enforce effective controls. It is unnecessary to be a conspiracy theorist to believe that many Labour ministers and MPs simply do not mind.

For the new Prime Minister to act convincingly on immigration will require a huge investment of political capital, and a row with the liberal establishment which it is doubtful Brown has the stomach for.

Lord Carey's remarks on Sunday should achieve one important purpose. They show that it is not extremist, or fascist, or even illiberal to demand vastly more stringent immigration controls. It is vital common sense.

(Daily Mail, 26.06.2007)

From the perspective of the news the British governments are allowing the criminals to enter Britain in disguise of the immigrants as it says the immigrants will ruin the stability

of the British society. The article presents multiculturalism negatively and criticises inclusive outlook of British civil society. This kind of discourse may create uneasiness and distrust towards the government among the readers.

The article also mentions political investments for the immigrants. It sounds like the politicians are using the immigrants to materialize their political interest. It also stimulates the sense among the native readers that, they are being deprived of the governmental benefits.

The Guardian investigated why the Muslims and the Muslim immigrants are being the victim of discrimination:

The figure of the Muslim is vital for today's post-racial racism without racists. As we are told again and again, Muslims are not a race; thus all openly-stated politically sanctioned discrimination directed at Muslims becomes thinkable and doable.

For years Muslims have been relentlessly scrutinised for signs of "disloyalty" or alien attitudes to the point where it is acceptable to openly discuss ending or restricting Muslim immigration, or to raise spurious links between Halal certification and terrorism - or even refugees and terrorism, as was the case during the Tampa crisis.

(The Guardian, 15.09.2015)

The article deconstructs the problem of discrimination towards Muslim immigrants. According to the story discrimination towards Muslims should not be considered as racial as Islam is not a race. It means the Muslim identity of the extremists is the reasons for sufferings of the entire Muslim community. The extreme behaviour of some Muslims causes fear among the civilians and fear results into restrictions.

The article also implies that some strict religious customs generate distance between the Muslim community and the host society. But discriminating a religious group on the basis of the customs may cause disintegration that results in extreme behaviour of some members of the group.

In one of the news The Guardian prioritize the religious identity of the politicians:

Javid would want to make his mark in the Home Office, he said. "He is utterly decent, a high-flyer who has not forgotten his roots," Halfon said.

"He will have his own vision for the Home Office. It's a counter-intuitive appointment in some ways but it is a very important symbol because of his background, his humble origins and as the first Muslim home secretary."

Like the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, he is a Muslim son of a bus driver who has risen to the top of British politics. His parents were born in India, but fled to Pakistan while small children. His father arrived in Britain in the 1960s - Javid has said he came with £1 in his pocket.

However, there is little hard evidence that he is preparing to dismantle May's strategy in principle, saying previously there is "nothing racist about managed migration". In parliament, he has consistently backed the government's policies to enforce tighter restrictions on immigration.

On migration, his main interest is integration, a subject on which he oversaw a government green paper at the former Department for Communities and Local Government.

(The Guardian, 30.04.2018)

The article starts with the short biography of the British home secretary Sajid Javid and the London mayor Sadiq Khan. The news prioritized their religious belief over their achievements. The news sounds like it is still unusual to be Muslim and achieving a top political post in Britain.

The article logically claimed controlled immigration is positive for integration. It is relevant in the sense that when the arrival of immigrants will be limited it will be easier for the government it will be harder for the government to accommodate the immigrants in massive numbers. The increasing number of immigrants also have negative impact on employment market. Besides, the unemployed immigrants are in high risk of committing crime and terrorism.

The Daily Mail believes Muslim immigrants should be restricted as they cannot assimilate:

Yet it would have been very much in the interests of integration and real equality in Bradford if his warnings had been heeded and acted upon. As it is, as any observant visitor finds, Bradford's Muslim citizens and its non-Muslim citizens live in two separate solitudes,

barely in contact with each other. Much of the Islamic community is profoundly out of step with modern Britain.

Migrationwatch UK, a body calling for immigration restrictions, says 36 per cent of housing demand is created by immigrants - 200 new homes a day over the next 25 years. It says the UK will have a population of 70%omillion by 2028 (it is now 61m), needing a new Birmingham-sized city every three years.

(Daily Mail, 31.03.2013)

The article says the Muslim immigrants barely interacts with their Non-Muslim neighbours which is a clear indication of disintegration. But the article did not quote any social group so that the readers can clearly understand who is responsible.

The article quotes Migrationwatch an organization supports immigration restriction. The organization presents how the demand of accommodation has risen due to the immigration influx. It should be considered as a positive aspect for the real estate business.

The Guardian believes immigration restriction will have negative outcome in post-Brexit era:

Business thinks curbing immigration after Brexit will harm the economy, government report says The migration advisory committee was asked last year to produce a report on how much immigration the UK would need after Brexit. It has published an interim report this morning.

Employers in all sectors are concerned about the prospects of future restrictions on EEA migration. The high-skilled are concerned about having EEA workers subject to the current non-EEA system, which they do not hold in high regard. The lower-skilled 6 are concerned that the impact of restrictions is likely to be greatest on them. Any proposals for restrictions are likely to be opposed by many employers as increasing costs and bureaucracy.

(The Guardian, 27.03.2018)

The restriction on immigrants will stress the employers. The immigrants are mostly unskilled and ready work for a minimum wage. Immigration restriction may collapse the businesses in Britain which are highly dependent on low-salaried immigrants. The

rhetoric conveys that, The government needs to be more conscious about the interest of the business holders as it may lose support of the business of the business owners due to the strict immigration rules.

3.2.5 Discussion

The first research question analyses how the problem of immigration and terrorism has been represented in two leading British newspapers. There are definitely more articles published on this topic. But due to limitation of time and length of the thesis it is not possible to analyse each and every news article. The thesis applied Laclau and Mouffe's antagonism theory to understand the differences between the news discourse of the newspapers.

In the frame of terrorism and immigration both the Daily mail and The Guardian addressed the British Muslims and Muslim immigrants. The Daily Mail has blamed the Muslim immigrants directly to commit crime and terrorism. On the contrary, The Guardian presented the disintegration of the Muslim immigrants as a reason for their involvement in terrorism. The Daily mail criticises the human rights act of the British governments and suggests the act should be abolished to save Britain from the Islamist terrorists. The Guardian looked into how the government can operate against terrorism while maintaining the human rights. The Daily Mail denounces the Labour government by stating that, the government is responsible for the vulnerable border security and suggests the Labour government are allowing the terrorists into Britain. The Guardian voiced the border policy of the Labour government but criticises the integration policy of the government. The Guardian specifies that, poor integration measures taken by the government is making it difficult for the immigrants to assimilate the host society that increases their chance to commit terror and crime.

In the Multicultural frame The Guardian thinks it is the civilians who are unwilling to allow the immigrants to assimilate in the society. The Daily Mail believes it is the right of the civilians if they do not want to adapt multiculturalism. Similarities can be found in the rhetoric of both newspapers when they investigate why the natives do not want to merge with the Muslim immigrants. Most civil society members are worried that Muslims may bring extremist ideology in the society as they were involved in the past terror attacks in Britain. According to the news discourse of both newspapers British civilians also believe

that Muslims do not have liberal mentality to adopt the host cultural that causes division in the society.

In the socio-economic frame the news articles cover the negativity of immigration flow on the employment and the fear of terrorism. The employment and social benefit issue have been connected to the unskilled Eastern European immigrants. Daily Mail presented that the flow of immigrants will occupy the jobs which will result in the unemployment of the native workers. In terms of Muslim immigrants, the Daily mail accused them of glorifying extremism. The Daily Mail suggests that the solution to this problem is restricting the immigrants from entering Britain. The Guardian explains that restricting the immigrants from the war-torn areas will be a massive violation of human rights. The newspaper also suggests it is not the immigrants but the fear of the immigrants that is preventing the British socio-economic process from operating normally.

The news articles within the frame of immigration restriction focuses on the immigration policy of the government. The Daily Mail believes not only the Labour government but also the Conservative government is not aware of the immigrants. It allows the terrorists to enter Britain easily. The Daily Mail openly criticises the Labour Party that they helped the terrorists to arrive Britain under the cover of immigrants. According to The Guardian, the restriction of immigrants also shows concern about the immigrant ancestry and Muslim identity of some British politicians. The Guardian emphasizes the exceptionality of a Muslim being the top political individual. But The Guardian thinks it will be devastating for Britain to ban the immigrants completely. The businesses highly rely on the low wage-earning immigrants. Besides, it will cause disappointment among the already existing immigrants in Britain which may result in communal clash.

Antagonism is found in the manner of addressing the native Brits and the Muslim immigrants in both newspapers.

Table 3.1: The Presentation of Muslim immigrants and Native Brits by the Daily mail within different frames

Frames	Muslim Immigrants	Native Brits
Terrorism frame	Extremists	Victims of extremism by the Muslims
Multicultural frame	Unwilling to integrate into the society	Afraid of Muslim terrorists in the society

Socio-economic frame	Unskilled and prone to crime	Losing employment and threatened socially by the Muslims
Restriction frame	Restriction should be imposed as homegrown terrorists have immigrant parents	Immigration restriction is vital to save British society

Table 3.2: The Presentation of Muslim immigrants and Native Brits by The Guardian within different frames:

Frames	Muslim immigrants	Native Brits
Terrorism frame	Victims of anti-terrorism law	Stereotypical about Muslims
Multicultural frame	Willing to integrate	Unwilling to accept the Muslims
Socio-economic frame	Cheap labour and diverse society	Being unemployed and crisis in national identity
Restriction frame	Victim of political discrimination	Welcoming to controlled immigration

Both the Daily Mail and The Guardian published their fair share of news regarding Muslim immigrants or immigrants. Both newspapers have their distinguished ways of presenting the problem. The Daily Mail presents more rigorous stance regarding the immigrants while The Guardian has a lenient point of view. But both newspapers connected the immigrants with negative phenomena like terrorism, crime, unemployment and social disintegration. Therefore, the nodal point of the first research question is both newspapers have negative representation of the immigrants that increases the uneasiness of the readers regarding the immigrants.

4. Presentation of Muslim immigrants in the Research Articles After London Bombing

This part of the thesis answers the second research question of the thesis. I used the frames described in methodology to search relevant research article. The Aalborg University website has been used as the search platform for the research journals:

4.1 Immigration and Terrorism Frame

After London Bombing research articles have been published analysing British Government's war on terror and its effects on human rights. Javaid Rehman published an article in Human Rights Quarterly in November 2007. Rehman (2007: 834) describes Islam as a peaceful religion. He stresses that the terrorist attacks committed by the Muslim extremists are the reason that critics consider the religion as aggressive. Rehman considers the London bombing a follow up attack of 9/11.

Rehman (2007: 843) extends that, the Muslim immigrants in Britain face more challenge in terms of integration and multiculturalism. The British government do not have any specific integration policy that includes the Muslim minority in the systematic process of integration. The article explains the desire of British government to build a multicultural society without any specific planning failed to meet up the expectation of the local and foreign people.

The article implies that when the immigrants arrive in the UK, they have to face unemployment, racial abuse and discrimination. Rehman (2007: 844) elaborates it is easier for an individual who is hit heavily by unemployment and cultural prejudices to involve in extremism. The radical groups look for the young unemployed people as it is easier to motivate them to take part in terrorist activities (Rehman 2007).

According to Rehman (2007:836) religious intolerance plays a vital role in terrorism. He blames the mis explanation of the Islamic discourse. According to his research the wars and other activities during the medieval period of Islam have been explained wrongly without the deep investigation. It presents Islam as a violent religion in front of its followers. Rehman (2007:838) blames some fundamentalist Islamic scholars like Ayman Al Zawahiri, Anjem Chowdhry, Abu Hamza who are pre-determined to explain Islamic discourse as a tool to spread terrorism.

From the point of view of Bonino (2013) Muslim immigrants to Britain are not interested in following some rules imposed by the government. Therefore, the government has to apply force to control the immigrants. Bonino (2013: 386) calls this process “muscular liberalism” where the government is inclusive to the immigrants but force them to abide by the law.

Bonino thinks the law-breaking mentality of the Muslim immigrants has stimulated the British government to impose a counter terrorism act that targets the Muslims specifically. Bonino also adds (2013:388) the British government uses the counter-terrorism act as a tool to reshape the Muslim society not to prevent the terrorists in the Muslim society. Bonino (213:388) with the reference of British Muslim organizations describes that the police force has been advised to perform a stricter policing in Muslim neighbourhoods.

Bonino (2013) thinks the special attention paid by the police to the Muslim community erupts the sense among the Muslims that they are being discriminated religiously and ethnically. The research adds the extra policing on the Muslim minority groups creates fear among the natives.

Huysmans and Buonfino (2008:768) find that the British politicians connect terrorism with immigration. They elaborate that some politicians believe British government should start war against terrorism by controlling immigration. Their research believes when the politicians are more aware of the immigrant terrorists, they pay less attention to the homegrown extremists. Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001 (ATCS) that was passed after 9/11 allows a suspect foreigner to detain unlimitedly without any concrete evidence which is a violation of human rights (Huysmans & Buonfino: 2008). The study (P, 769) also finds the anti-terrorism act targeting the immigrants ruins the relationship between the natives and immigrant society.

Huysmans and Buonfino (2008: 786) believe while being conscious about the overseas terrorists it is also important to be aware of internal security. They suggest the government to investigate if the immigrants are actually committing terrorism. The research stresses that if government finds terrorism activities among the immigrants it is vital to find out why the immigrants are involving in terrorism.

4.2 Multiculturalism Frame

In this frame the study will look into the academic literature that investigates the immigration arrival and multiculturalism in Britain.

Ulla Rehbek (2017) in her research offers deep conversation on the multicultural Britain and its dilemmas. Rehbek (2017:115) believes that the misinterpretation or misapplication of the term multiculturalism by politics causes extremism among the younger generation. Rehbek explains that the political process divides the members of culturally different societies according to their habits. The determination of cultural division by the politics of limits the freedom of thought and expression. Rehbek discovered that in British society, the discussion of religious diversity was limited to some of the strict Islamic Sharia laws of Great Britain. Rehbek in his study portrays the violent behavior of British Sikh communities in order to stop interfaith marriages in their temples. The study testified that in Britain crimes committed by members of other religious groups are considered as hate crimes while a crime committed by a Muslim is treated as terrorism. Rehbek believes that designating the younger Muslim generations according to their ethnic identity causes them to suffer from an identity crisis and makes them more inclined to choose the path of extremism.

Warikoo (2020:58) received mixed response from her investigation on British university students about multiculturalism. Warikoo selected 52 students of which 6 white British students think multiculturalism and integration is the outcome of the compromise of both the native and the immigrant groups. 11 students said they are intrigued by the variation of cultures and customs in British society. 18 native students think multiculturalism can cause a fragmented society which brings their national identity under threat. 12 students think Britain still has a lot to do with multiculturalism. They elaborate that British government do not work enough to assimilate the immigrant religious minorities that causes communal clash in some areas in the UK. Multiple students (Warikoo, 2020:62) Britain is overwhelmed with religious minority groups that the religious identity of natives is at stake. They stress that the British government is sheltering the followers of Islamic Shariah. It has affected the British society negatively as those minority groups are trying to impose their own rules and regulations in some parts of Britain.

Warikoo (2020:65) from her study found that the British immigration policy causes cultural division among the society. She also gives importance on the practice of cultural diversity in education and other social institutions.

Some researchers have found that European Muslim immigrants are more satisfied with social security and government benefits than Muslims in traditional Islamic countries (Joppke, 2009: 453). Joppke (2009: 456) also mentions that British Muslims are the most negatively exposed minority in Britain. But an investigation by the British Muslims and Islamophobia Commission (2004) found that British civilians convey positive thoughts about the Muslim minority and Muslim immigrants to Britain. The survey also notes that ethnic Germans have a hostile mentality towards Muslims, although the survey identified the Muslim community in Germany as compliant. The poll also reveals a surprising fact, in France, Muslims and non-Muslims communities have a favorable attitude towards each other, even though tension has increased within the French Muslim community over the headscarf ban.

Joppke (2009: 452) in his study reveals that Muslims in Europe (native and immigrant) are rational and eager to integrate into the host society. 70% of British Muslim leaders support the execution of legal dualism in Britain. Legal dualism means the application of Islamic 'Sharia' rules in marriage and divorce laws, even if it will only be applied in terms of Muslim marriages (Joppke, 2009: 454). Joppke (2009: 454) from the perspective of Britain Joppke explains that the difference between Muslims and Non-Muslims will exist and it cannot be removed permanently because of religious customs and beliefs.

4.3 Immigration Restriction Frame

Research articles in this frame investigate the border strategy of British government. The research in this frame focuses on the relevance of preventing crime and terrorism by controlling immigration. The literature also covers if the immigration strategy is influenced by the situation of British economy.

According to Bosworth and Guild (2008:708) before 9/11 the motive of the false asylum seekers in Britain was to gain the economic benefit but after the attack on September 11, 2001 the asylum seekers are more likely to commit terrorist activities. Bosworth and Guild find that the 2002 Nationality, Asylum and Immigration act was passed to check the terrorism while controlling the access of immigrants in the field of British economy. It is

important to control the potential immigrants to deter crime among the already existing immigrants in Britain (Bosworth & Guild, 2008: 708-709).

Bosworth and Guild (2008: 709) finds a negative aspect of controlled immigration. When the immigrants or the failed asylum seekers are restricted to have an employment, they are more in risk of committing crime and extremism. They also believe preventing the non-citizens from having a legitimate employment may result in wastage of merit.

Although the government is more aware of controlling the immigrants after London Bombing, the threat indeed was internal (Bosworth & Guild 2008: 710). Therefore, the problem of homegrown terrorism may be overlooked. Bosworth and Guild are also concerned the anti-immigrant rhetoric of the government legislation may offends the existing of immigrants in Britain while imposing a high risk of homegrown terrorist activities (Bosworth & Guild: 2008, 710-711).

Erica Consterdine (2015:1438) believes the Labour government has seen immigration as a way of economic growth. Consterdine (2015) finds two different agendas of Labour government. Labour emphasized the economic immigration to meet up the target of economic growth but imposed restrictions on immigrants who seek refuge or asylum in Britain. The study elaborates that the immigration of policy of Britain is influenced by the political elites. These political elites determine immigration legislation to materialize the interest of the large business conglomerates.

Abbas (2019:2453) finds that the Muslim immigrants are the troubled ones in the integration politics of British government. According to her study the British immigration politics is influenced by the anti-immigrant social groups. Here the problem is the anti-immigrant society targets the Muslims as the Muslim immigrants have a conservative outlook in terms adapting the British culture. After London bombing the loyalty of British Muslims was under pressure as some members of the British Muslim community travelled the war prone Middle Eastern states to join the Islamic terrorist groups (Abbas, 2019:2454). According to the study this kind of act by the British Muslims feared the British civilians and resulted in the restriction on Muslim refugees. The radicalized view of the terrorists is used to address the entire Muslim community not the individuals who have been involved in terrorism (Abbas, 2019:2457). The research stresses that in

Europe the concept Muslim is not used to address an individual, but it is considered as a potential threat.

Abbas (2019) finds that, in Britain Muslim immigrants are considered as “racially othered”. This stereotype deprives the Muslims from their basic human rights. She adds this type of rhetoric puts the Muslims under pressure as the general people have a thinking that the Muslims deny the law and order of Britain and highly likely to execute their own rules and regulations. But the research (P. 2463) believes that the discriminatory act by the British society provokes the Muslims to be violent to achieve their rights that may end up in religious extremism.

4.4 Socio-Political Frame

Research in this frame analyses the struggle to implement government policies for the immigrants. The literature focuses on the immigrants based on their religious and ethnic identity. The articles investigate the possibility of the Muslim immigrants to become a national threat as they find themselves in trouble to cope with the British socio-political condition.

According to Shah (2009:530) the British society has established its identity as multi-faith and multi-ethnic, but it is still a challenge to apply an inclusive social policy. Shah elaborates The British policies are still not considered matured enough to compromise with the religious beliefs and ethnic ideology. Shah (2009:531) in her research finds that the detachment of the second-generation Muslim immigrants from the society causing damage to their sense of inclusiveness and social engagement.

Shah (2009:532) considers the identity of Muslim as a sensitive issue. She believes the establishment of social identity in a multi-ethnic society is fulfilled with the collaboration of the other ethnic groups of the society. According to the study the first generation of the Muslim immigrants or the parents try to create a distance between their children and the ethnic groups. Some parents live with the stereotype that coherence with the social and religious group other than Islam is a disgrace to their religion. Shah explains the problem in the sense that there is lack of respect or will of coherence among the other social groups which causes segregation among the society (p.532).

Shah (2009: 533) believes the sense of segregation from the society has a negative influence among the second-generation immigrants. The exclusion from the society

prompts them to form their own identity without any deep learning of the religion and culture. It leads them in their way to “homegrown” extremists. Shah (2009) finds the fault of both native and immigrant social groups in this case and explains that it is the lack of respect among the social groups that causes the identity crisis.

One of the unsolved barriers that presents Muslim immigrants as threat to the host society is Islamophobia. According to Klausen (2005: 58) the word of islamophobia is used to summarise the troubles Muslims face in and outside of Britain. Kluasen (2005:22) addresses Islamophobia as the distorted explanation of Islam. The mis explanation of Islam leads to hostility towards the other religions while stigmatising its followers. Kluasen suggests the Danish cartoon that created rage among the Muslims was not permitted to be published in British newspapers. According to Klausen the restrain orders regarding the publication of Anti-Islamic materials is against the freedom of press which also erupts Islamophobia. Klausen (2005: 74) believes the homophobic characteristics of Islam is one of the reasons Islam suffers hatred in the Western world. Kluasen found that according to the demand of the British Muslim leaders a clause was included in the 2003 UK Employment Equality Regulations that allows the religious organizations to refuse employment to homosexuals. Klausen (2005: 74) also quoted ‘Gay rights campaigners have been snubbed by the government for fear of upsetting Muslim voters who are regarded as more important to Labour’s election campaign.

According to Hopkins (2011:264) the British Muslims try to be Muslim in the British way. Hopkins performed interviews with the members of British Muslim community where the respondents interpreted Islam as a contribution to Britishness. They interpreted Britishness as a model of their Islamic identity. Moreover, this national dimension to the religious identification of Muslims has been interpreted as a positive contribution: far from subverting it, it has helped to realize the Muslim identity. Again, this is important for what the interviewees did to establish commonalities between Muslims and non-Muslim Britons. More obviously, it helps counter the argument that Muslims and their faith are essentially external.

Hopkins’ (2011:265) interviewees reveal something of Muslims’ desire to contribute and participate in the British national community, and to do so as Muslims in the public sphere. Hopkins explains the recognition of this Muslim identity not only affirmed their

religious identity but also the recognition of the relevance of a Muslim perspective to Britain (Hopkins, 2011).

4.5 Discussion

The second research question discusses the findings of the academic research in the frames described in the section of methodology. The discussion of this section is performed by applying the political and antagonism theory of Laclau and Mouffe. The thesis investigated how the researchers constructed the reality of immigration issue in Britain.

In terrorism frame the researchers find that the involvement of the immigrants in terrorism occurs through a process. Rehman (2007) deny that the religion of Islam provokes its followers to commit extremism. He criticises the integration process of Muslim immigrants to British society. He also finds that unemployment is an issue that leads the immigrants to terrorism. Bonino (2013) explains Muslim immigrants do not show interest in integrating themselves to the society therefore the government has to come forward with the integration plan that targets the Muslim community. He also extends that the counter-terrorism act specifically targets Muslims. Huysmans and buonfino (2008) believes that the idea of controlling immigration to prevent terrorism implies that the immigrants are terrorists. The counterterrorism law also violates human rights while detaining the foreigners for unlimited time without any concrete evidence.

Research findings within the frame of immigration and terrorism have both similarities and dissimilarities. No research article claims Islam as a hostile religion. But in terms of social integration research articles contradict. Some articles believe the integration policy of the government is faulty that does not help the immigrants to integrate properly. Some research findings believe it is the Muslims who do not want to integrate. Therefore, government has to impose compelling integration policy targeting the Muslims that presents negative image of the Muslim immigrants. The articles have similar findings on the point that drawback in integration process that includes unemployment and lack of education leads the immigrants to terrorism.

In multiculturalism frame the articles collide in terms of attitude of the British natives towards the multicultural society. Rahbek (2017) and Joppke (2009) think the Europeans and British are nor welcoming to the Muslim immigrants and believe multiculturalism is a threat to their national identity. But Joppke thinks some native communities in Europe

are Muslim friendly and have accept multiculturalism positively. Rahbek (2017) and Warikoo (2020) have opposite stances. Rahbek utterly believes that Muslims are discriminated in British society that leads them to crime and terrorism. But Warikoo from her interviews find that most British do not think Multiculturalism is a threat to their identity.

In immigration restriction frame the researchers agree that the controlled immigration policy could not prevent London bombing as the attackers were homegrown. In this frame the findings of the research are basically positive Although Bosworth and Guid (2008) think it is important to control immigration as it will be difficult to accommodate more immigrants. Excessive number of immigrants is also threat to the job market. But Consterdine (2015) believes immigrants work for a lower salary which help the employers to grow their business.

There are two different opinions in the socio-political frame. Shah (2009) thinks British government do not have a suitable policy for the Muslim immigrants. The Muslims are eager to assimilate but the native society is not cooperative enough. Hopkins (2011) also think the Muslims in Britain are in favor of adopting the “Britishness”. Kalusen (2005) believes it is the religious belief of the Muslims that do not let them assimilate. The British government also cooperates with the Muslim community by bringing changes in laws. Klausen thinks it is Islamophobia in the civil society that rises due to how Muslims react to British social customs does not let the Muslims integrate in the society.

Table 4.1: The Presentation of Muslim immigrants and Native Brits by the scholars within different frames:

Frames	Muslim immigrants	Natives
Terrorism frame	Lack of integration policy leads to terrorism	Victim of lack of internal security
Multicultural frame	Willing to integrate	Positive about multicultural society
Restriction frame	Restriction leads to crime	Threatened by homegrown terrorism

Socio-Political frame	Grows economy	Feared by the conservative Muslims
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The research articles look into both negative and positive aspects immigration. The articles discussed different implications while analysing the Muslim immigration to Britain. Finally, most of the articles did not just portray only the negative or positive side of the phenomenon but they voiced both characteristics of the case.

5. Conclusion

For the purpose of the study, I analysed the news articles from two leading British newspapers, the Daily Mail and The Guardian. I compared the discourse of the research articles to the findings of the research analysis.

In the first research question I applied WPR method to study how the problem of immigration is represented in the British newspapers. The news articles followed a distinguished form. While discussing an issue most of the news do not analyse the contradictions. Therefore, it is easier for media to influence people. The news that covers the positive aspects of immigration does not cover what problems the civilians and government face due to the immigration influx. News articles that depict the immigrants negatively hold the negative stance throughout the article. The media has a stronger base of audience. In this case media has the chance to play both positive and negative role to shape the opinion of the civil society in terms of British immigration.

The second research question applies social constructivism to understand how the researchers analysed the problem. The thesis finds the formation of the research articles more systematic in the sense that they investigate all the possible implications of the term immigration in Britain. While doing this the articles also cover issues regarding the positivity and negativity immigrants have in terms of employment, integration and ethnic division. The articles maintained a hegemonic structure to identify why and how the immigrants get involved in terrorism.

It is interesting to witness the antagonism between the Daily Mail and The Guardian. The Daily Mail (Table 3.1) and the Guardian (Table 3.2) disagree almost in every frame except in the socio-economic frame. In the socio-economic frame both newspapers agree that

the British civil society feel threatened that the high influx of Muslim immigrants will result in crisis of national identity.

The research articles (Table 4.1) do not polarize the immigrants and natives directly. Instead, the research scholars hold more objective and impartial frame. The research articles decorate their discourse in a manner that, the sufferings of the immigrants and native society can be solved with the collaboration of the government, the immigrants and the civil society.

The limitation of this thesis is it only studies the news and research articles that covers the Muslim immigrants. There are also immigrants to Britain from origins like Eastern Europe, Africa and South America. Therefore, it will be intriguing to perform analysis in future what the media and the scholars think about them in terms of terrorism and crime. There can also be research in future regarding what interests the news media fulfil with their distinctive forms of discourse. Research can also be performed on if the journalists who prepare these news stories also believe in that particular ideology, or they just do it to manage their livelihood.

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