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Diplomová práce

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Securitization of Muslim populations following the Charlie Hebdo attacks: Comparison of media discourse in France and Great Britain

Diplomová práce

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Anotace

Diplomová práce má za cíl zanalyzovat mediální diskurz čtyrech printových médií vo Velké Británii a ve Francii v období mezi lednem 2014 a listopadem 2015 a určit jaké změny se udály v mediálním diskurzu po teroristických útocích na kancelář týdenníku Charlie Hebdo v Paříži a jak byli domácí moslimské komunity v těhle dvěch zemích ovplyvněny. Diplomová práce vychází z teorií sekuritizace, Kritické diskurzivní analýzy, Diskurzivní historické analýzy a mediálních studií. Tyhle dvě krajiny jsou porovnány v zmyslu jejich přístupu k integrácii (multikulturalizmus a asimilace). Korpus pozostáva z článku získaných z online databazí dvou francouzských a dvou britských národních médií, které tvoří zdroje pro analýzu.

Annotation

The thesis seeks to analyse media discourse of four print media in Great Britain and in France in the time period between January 2014 and November 2015 to determine what changes in media discourse occurred after the terrorist attacks on the Charlie Hebdo offices in Paris and how were the domestic Muslim communities affected. Thesis draws on the theories of securitization, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Analysis and media studies. The two countries are contrasted in terms of their approaches to integration (multiculturalism and assimilation). Corpus consisting of articles drawn from online databases of two French and two British national newspapers is analysed.

Klíčová slova

Sekuritizace, moslimské komunity, kritická diskurzivní analýza, mediální studia, Francie, Velká Británie

Keywords

Securitization, Muslim communities, Critical Discourse Analysis, media studies, France, Great Britain

Title/název práce

Sekuritizace moslimských komunit po útocích na Charlie Hebdo: zrovnání mediálního diskurzu ve Francii a Velké Británií.

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Introduction to the topic

Events, especially violent ones that target civilian populations, upheave societies and before the dust settles, the order needs to be restructured. Terrorist attacks are such extraordinary events that disturb order as normal and their consequences to societies can be subtler and further reaching than first expected.

The attacks on the offices of a popular French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in January 2015 were such important, paradigm-shifting events for Europe in multitude of ways. It was the deadliest terrorist attack in Europe since Anders Breivik killed 77 young people on the Norwegian island of Utoya on 22 July 2011. It was the first of what had become a string of terrorist attacks across multiple European countries (including, in particular, France and Paris itself) in the two years that followed. And it was the first major attack since 2005 that was committed by second generation citizens issued from non-white immigrant population.

There are other characteristics that make the Charlie Hebdo attacks unique. It was an attack specifically aimed against offices of a magazine and largely seen as direct retribution for that magazine's content and, unlike many of the attacks that followed, an attack aimed at a specific institution rather than against the general public. It was also largely interpreted in France as an attack against its values and discourse that followed echoed the rhetoric of "the clash of civilizations". It was not only the values of the magazine that were attacked, but the values of the French republic, and, based on the massive outpouring of solidarity across the West, emblematized in the words "Je suis Charlie", against the values of the modern Western world.

The summer of 2015 was also the year when Europe was forced to deal with the most mediatised refugee crisis in recent European history; crisis that polarized the European Union and led to adoption of a quota system for refugee resettlement across the member countries. The issue is still unresolved as of writing two years later, at the end of 2017. Interwoven in the discourse, inescapably, is the issue of Islam that gets mythologized and misinterpreted in public, political and media discourse, especially online. In the midst of these events and their repercussions, there are caught the domestic Muslim populations of Western European countries. It is my goal in this work to empirically assess and analyze how these minority populations are treated in the print media of their home countries – whether they are acknowledged, implicated, defended, listened to, ignored or vilified – turned into an enemy within; and what impact (if any) do events like the Charlie Hebdo attacks have on the way they are treated and the way the discourse around them is shaped.

BACKGROUND & OUTLINE

Charlie Hebdo is a French weekly satirical newspaper founded in 1970 and re-launched in 1992. It is strongly secularist, anti-religious and left-wing, and was subject to several controversies over the years as well as death threats issued to the writers and the editors. The most prominent of these controversies was its republishing of the infamous caricatures of prophet Muhammad originally published in the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten. In 2011, the Charlie Hebdo offices were bombed after the release of an issue of the magazine renamed Charia Hebdo featuring a caricature of Prophet Muhammad on the cover. On the 7th of January 2015, two brothers Chérif and Said Kouachi entered the Charlie Hebdo offices with assault rifles and killed 11 people and left another 11 injured. The victims were mostly the magazine's editorial team. According to French media, the younger of the two brothers, Chérif Kouachi, was previously convicted as an Islamist and was jailed in 2008. The two brothers identified themselves as belonging to the Yemeni branch of Al-Qaeda which claimed responsibility for the attacks. Two additional connected attacks took place in the next couple of days, leaving a French policewoman, as well as several customers and employees of a Parisian kosher supermarket dead. The attacks on Charlie Hebdo provoked mass outpouring of solidarity across Europe and the Western world with mass rallies in the streets, using the phrase "Je suis Charlie" as a symbol of unity, protection of free speech and denouncement of terrorism. However, what also followed was a sharp increase in the number of attacks on French Muslims across the country.

The thesis will look at the political and media discourse following the Charlie Hebdo attacks, in particular its treatment of home-grown terrorism and its causes, and discourse that surrounded the respective Muslim communities of France and United Kingdom. How were they linguistically constructed? Were there attempts by the press to alienate them, construe them as "enemy within" or otherwise securitize them? If so, how did the reporting differ between the two countries and between newspapers of differing political leanings? The analysis of discourse in British media will serve for comparison with France as the United Kingdom is a country with comparable history of colonialism, immigration and sizeable Muslim communities.

Hypothesis is that after such attacks in a country's capital and at a place that symbolized for many France's core values, as well as the outpouring of solidarity that attracted millions to the streets; the security and prevention measures will be robust, evident and severe. The question is whether the French Muslim population got swept in, in the process and became enemies by association. **The research questions** asked in this study are as follows: what is the overall discourse theme when covering domestic Muslim communities in France and Britain before, immediately following, and after the Charlie Hebdo attacks and is there any significant change?

To see how and to what extent the attacks influenced reporting on and portrayals of domestic Muslim communities in the press; the corpus analyzed here consists of articles collected during the time period from January 2014 through to November 2015, beginning one year before the attacks occurred and ending in November 2015 before another major terrorist attack hit Paris. This was the shooting at a music venue Bataclan and adjacent restaurants and clubs that left 137 people dead and more than 300 injured. The reasoning behind the decision to stop collecting articles prior to January 2016 as originally intended (one year after the Charlie Hebdo attacks) was that the Bataclan attack was an event of such scale that it would significantly skew the analysis.

INTEGRATION: FRANCE VS BRITAIN

As mentioned above, the thesis will have a comparative aspect as well, between British and French press. Great Britain was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, the country has experienced terrorist attacks on its soil in the past (on 7 July 2005 when 56 people were killed in bomb attacks on London Underground; the attack was perpetrated by Al Qaeda terrorists); secondly, Britain and France have several traits in common, such as both are established European democracies and (during the timeframe discussed here) "old" members of the European Union and NATO; both have colonial past; and both have significant Muslim minorities often issued from their former colonies; and thirdly, while similar in many aspects, the two countries have starkly different philosophies to immigrant integration and the role of religion in public space. While Britain's approach can be summed up as "embracing multiculturalism" and puts no legislative constrictions on practice of religion in public space, France's approach stems from the philosophical principle of laïcité or secularism - complete

divorce of religion and state. However, laïcité is more complex than simple secularism and intrinsically tied to the French idea of republicanism, citizenship and equality. Citizens are all equal because they are the same in the eyes of the republic. Their differences, be it their sexuality, ethnicity, or religion, are matters of the private sphere. With an increasing French Muslim population, this notion has been repeatedly contested, mostly through conflicts over traditional Muslim female clothing, like burqa and hijab, which led to the legislative ban on displaying or wearing of "ostentatious religious symbols" in schools or public institutions. Given the two different philosophies to integration and treatment of religion in two otherwise very culturally close countries, it can be generalized that any difference in reporting on their respective Muslim communities will differ not only among the newspapers based on their political leanings, but between the two countries overall as well. Due to these specific national approaches to integration, I venture a hypothesis that the overall treatment of Muslim communities in the press will significantly differ between French and British press.

DATA COLLECTION & RESOURCES

This paper seeks to analyse coverage of domestic Muslim communities by the British and French written press with differing political leanings in the context of the Charlie Hebdo shootings in Paris. In this context, Britain was chosen serve as comparative complement as it is culturally and demographically similar country to France that has also experienced violent terrorist attacks on its soil. The analysis is thus based on a corpus of articles collected from four print media from France and the United Kingdom dating from January 1 2014 to November 14 2016.

The corpus was drawn from online archives of two British and two French daily newspapers. All of these have national circulations, wide and regular readerships at home as well as abroad, and are culturally and historically established in the national consciousness and essential part of national discourse. All of the newspapers are what could be classified as broadsheet or serious national press (as opposed to tabloid press). The corpus composition was chosen with balance in mind. The newspapers chosen for analysis were picked on their reputation, agenda-setting impact, national circulation, tradition and quality of journalism, as well as their cultural and societal weight. Only mainstream media were chosen because of their widespread readership, access to authorities, such as politicians and experts, and supposed adherence to overall journalistic ethical guidelines. Because of their overall presupposed neutral tone, I hypothesize that any fluctuation in tone, style, scale of reporting or choice of topics, will be easily detectable, unlike in more radical and extremist publications that tend to maintain high level of militant rhetoric style irrespective of general mood in society or specific events. Tabloid press was also excluded partially for its tendency to sensationalism and partially because of French national quirk of not having national tabloid press in the sense of, for example the Daily Mail or The Sun in the United Kingdom.

The online editions of the newspapers were searched for key terms such as "Muslims" "British Muslims" "Islam" "musulmans" "musulmans français" "terrorisme" "banlieux" (suburbs of large French cities where the majority population are ethnic or national minorities and first or second generation immigrants), "intégration/integration", "minority", and "ethnic". The search engines for all sites varied a little, so the search terms had to be slightly tweaked for different sites, however the key terms of "Muslim/musulman" and "Islam" were kept for all searches. The final corpus was then assembled by going over the search results and picking articles that were relevant to the topic. Three decisions were taken in order to

narrow down the corpus to keep the articles most pertinent to the research topic: firstly, if more than two news articles were dealing with the same incident, only one was counted in the count on attitudinal stances. This was the case mostly for the Telegraph, including for example a case when board members of a Muslim school in Birmingham conceived a plot of including teaching methods and subjects that were not approved by the Ministry of Education and Telegraph wrote up to seven reports on the issue as the case unfolded. Secondly, stories that referred specifically to the refugee crisis of summer 2015 were excluded unless they made also reference to the existing domestic Muslim populations in Britain and France. As in the first case, this choice was made to keep the corpus thematically reasonably narrow. While stories of refugees were excluded, however, stories of British Muslim charities that were fundraising to help Syrian refugees were included. Lastly, news articles on individual men and women suspected of or apprehended for becoming foreign fighters for Isil were excluded. Once again, this was mostly applied to the Telegraph as it published short news articles every time a new trial with a suspected British jihadi began or whenever a suspect was apprehended. These articles were short, usually did not mention any context or background and did not provide analysis and thus were not relevant and not included in the final corpus. All these choices were made in order to minimize potential skewing of the results.

The main goal of the content analysis is to establish what discourse patterns and frames, if any, were present in the coverage of domestic Muslim populations in the national print media before, in the aftermath, and after the terrorist attacks on the offices of the Charlie Hebdo magazine. In print, importance accorded to an issue is also manifested in the size of headlines and first paragraphs, as well as position of pictures and position on the page and within the newspaper. However, the articles retrieved for analysis here were obtained via online archives where page designs were not available. Nevertheless, headlines and first paragraphs still provide insight, in particular for the overall tone and style of the article.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Thesis follows the critical social constructivist tradition in international relations theory that gives language a prominent place in construction of social reality. Social constructivist lens views everyday life and society as collection of social processes and acknowledges that these are specific to different time and place and have to be perceived in context, both historical and cultural. One of the principal tenets of social constructivism is the argument that knowledge and building of such knowledge are social processes and that patterns of thinking, and consequently models of behaving, are learned and passed on by social and cultural institutions. These widely socially accepted patterns of behaviour are then taken to be true or part of "common sense". One of the most prominent socio-cultural institutions that transmit and help internalize this social knowledge is the media. It is therefore important to critically analyze what is considered to be the common sense or accepted as truth or fact if we are to critically analyze our societies and the world at large. The theoretical framework of this work draws on works of Van Dijk, Fairclough, Kristeva, Bakhtin, and other authors who highlight the intersubjective and constructive nature of language and discourse. Rhetorical strategies of discourse express and manifest social identities and are the ways through which these identities interact and social relations are exercised. For the methodological framework, thesis draws on and combines elements on Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Analysis and Securitization.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The chosen method of analysis is critical discourse analysis (CDA). One of definitions of discourse analysis is that it is the "retroduction of a discourse through the empirical analysis of its realisation in practices" (Laffey and Weldes, 2004 in Aydin-Duzgit, 2016). CDA should be able to pinpoint the points of tension in socio-political relations and uncover their underlying reasons, implications, masked intentions and the true nature of relations between actors, through analysis of concrete examples (Farrelly, 2010). Thus, the role of critical discourse analysis is to identify discourses, examine their rhetorical strategies used to present a particular version of events, and consider and identify the ideological consequences ensuing from such actions (Lynn and Lea, 2013).

Critical discourse analysis traces its influences to the Frankfurt School and Habermas' concept of critical theory (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016). CDA provides the theoretical link and methodological tools for analysis of interconstitutive nature of discourse and social (and cultural) processes. The critical aspect of CDA focuses on the role of discourse in constructing and perpetuating inequality and power imbalance in social and political relations, as well as the processes of identity building and exclusion. While CDA agrees to discourse the central role in processes of social change, social construction and the role institutions play; it also acknowledges the difference between, and the intersubjective nature of, non-discursive and discursive elements. The primary goal of CDA is to shine the light on how discursive practices contribute to the maintenance of social and political structures and institutions, with particular focus on power relations. Discourse as place where ideology struggles are enacted is one of the tenets of CDA, especially in Van Dijk's (1993 in Bhatia 2006) conceptualization where power is enacted through "social gatekeepers" (or in other words elites – politicians, journalists) who set standards for what is and is not acceptable in a society. This leads to a lot of CDA-based research to focus on the treatment and position of marginalized groups and, unlike the positivist tradition, acknowledges that researchers hold certain ideological positions and should state these explicitly while maintaining high degree of self-reflectivity across the work. In order to fulfill the obligation, my point of departure for this work stems from the hypothesis that Muslim citizens in Western European countries are not fully accepted by their societies as equal citizens and bear disproportionate brunt of consequences stemming from counterterrorism measures. The media are complicit in perpetuating harmful stereotypes and in exacerbating the "us vs them" divide through discourse.

Critical discourse analysis as a subset of discourse analysis methodology was developed (among others) by Norman Fairclough who sees it as social constructionist, intersubjective, linguistic, and context-based. In CDA's terms, social reality and discourse are inter-constitutive, where discourse both constitutes and is constituted by social reality and the role of CDA is to determine how discourse reproduces, influences and changes social reality. It is a qualitative method using linguistic tools to analyse the underlying attitudes, implications and structures.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is both the general theory of how discourse interacts, influences and constitutes social reality, and an analytical toolkit. Several different strands exist within CDA, more or less compatible with different theories of political studies. Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary approach and as theorized by Teun van Dijk, the main role of CDA is "identification, description and critique of the ways dominant discourses influence socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies through manufacturing of concrete models (Van Dijk, 1993, in Cheregi 2015). The design of CDA used in this work is a combination of elements found in Van Dijk (1993) and elements and principles found in Wodak et al's (1999) conceptualisation of DHA – discourse-historical analysis. The principal elements of analysis are constructive strategies (of an in-group – we (in this case French/British citizens) and an out-group – they (in this case Muslim minorities) and following on from those, the strategies of positive self-presentation (of the in group) and negative other-presentation (of the out group) and perpetuation and justification strategies (of stereotypes, national identity, threats etc) (Cheregi, 2015). In sum, critical discourse analysis aims to take critical approach to what is perceived as "common knowledge" and to acknowledge the historical, geographical and social specificity of discourse by analyzing it within its context and its role in the construction of social world (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016).

Discourse-Historical Approach

The thesis will use specifically methods and tools of the sub-type of CDA, namely the discourse-historical approach (DHA) developed, among others by Ruth Wodak, whose main focus is analysis of discursive construction of identity, most notably through us-them polarization. Multiple studies on the othering of migrants have been carried out using DHA methodology and toolkit, most notably by Reisigl and Wodak. In keeping with the social constructivist approach, CDA acknowledges the influence of non-discursive elements on social phenomena. One such non-discursive phenomenon that is integral to DHA analysis is its inclusion of history, embedding the discourse studied into its historical context with inclusion of background information. The "historical" in discourse-historical method as conceptualized by Wodak (1996 in Bhatia 2006) places emphasis on discourse as embedded in and shaped by history, as well as intimately related to events that are happening.

DHA employs in its research the principle of triangulation, i.e. the principles of interdisciplinarity, multi-methodology, and combination of empirical data analysis with background information and context. Another important tenet of DHA is intertextuality – when texts build on other texts in terms of reference to topics, actors or arguments (the term is closely linked to that of interdiscursivity – the mutual construction, constitution and influence among discourses) (Wodak, 2007 in Aydin-Duzgit, 2016).

DHA consists of three levels of analysis – of discourse topics, discourse strategies and linguistic means (Van Dijk, 1984, Reisigl & Wodak, 2001 in Aydin-Duzgit, 2016), following from the macro to the micro level of analysis. Discourse topics are the main overall themes and patterns of argumentation of the text. In the next step, through analysis of discursive strategies, answers to six research questions identified by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, in Aydin-Duzgit, 2016) are sought. The questions are: How are the chosen subjects named and referred to linguistically? What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes are certain representations of the subjects justified, legitimised and naturalised in discourse? From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed? Are the respective utterances intensified or mitigated? The questions seek to answer how the identity moniker of "we" and "us" is constructed, perpetuated and naturalized in discourse. Finally, the linguistic means are the tools through which discourse topics and discourse strategies are realized.

DHA allows for the analysis of the overlap of securitization as argumentation discursive strategy with identity construction when the perceived threats to the nation-state do not come from the outside but from the inside and threats are likely to be constructed more in terms of challenges to national and cultural identity and social cohesion than to the country's external borders.

Securitization

The thesis will attempt to tie in the relationship France has with its Muslim communities, the rise of home-grown terrorism, unequal/unbalanced impact of security measures across the ethnic divides and reactions to religiously motivated terrorism, as well as apparent clash of values. It will also attempt to look at how the security measures and statements made by politicians entered and were treated in media and thus spread to the wider public.

One of the theoretical frameworks on which this thesis stands, is the theory of securitization as theorized by the Copenhagen School and its critiques, as well as the narratives and discursive processes that contribute to the "creation of the enemy". Buzan et al. (2005) argue that any issue can go through three stages: non-politicization, politicization and securitization. Non-politicized topics are outside public and political discussion and no action is deemed to be needed, while politicized issues are matter of political as well as wider public discussion often with concrete governmental proposals debated. The final third stage – securitization – is reached when politicized issues move from the realm of political discussion to being framed as existential threats that require application of extreme measures and action outside the common political procedures and thus are not bound by the same political rules (Buzan et al, 2005). The act of securitization – when an issue moves from politicized to securitized – has several key components: the referent object (to which the issue poses an existential threat and thus can claim the need to survive by using extraordinary means) and securitizing actor who securitizes the issue by framing it as an issue of highest priority that requires application of extraordinary measures as part of the solution. When an issue is thus discursively framed, as something existential and extraordinary, the common political rules and limitations no longer apply. The next crucial step for securitization to be complete is the acceptance of the existential threat framing and thus the proposed solution by extraordinary measures by the audience, most often the public. It is in this stage of securitization process when the mass media play a crucial role in communicating, presenting and persuading the public; and it is for this reason why discursive analysis of media reporting is essential. The thesis attempts to answer the question whether Muslim communities in France and Britain can be said to have been politicized or securitized before and after the Charlie Hebdo attacks and if any changes to their status occurred.

The concept of securitization developed as a response to the broadening of the field of security to include issues which previously laid outside the realm of security, such as environment. The theory concerns itself with how authorities (politicians, experts, the media) construct existential threats using speech acts creating conditions for state of emergency and for extraordinary measures and how the intended audience reacts. Securitization is primarily a communicative process that seeks to persuade audience using speech acts. Once an issue is successfully securitized it becomes responsibility of national security institutions such as the military or the police. As such it is valuable object of discourse analysis. In societies where political leaders are democratically elected, in order for their issue to be successfully

securitized they need to gain the widest possible public support for their position as opposed to that of their rivals. Media are the way to do just that. Some of the critiques of securitization include its lack of focus on media and prioritizing analysis by experts prone to realist thinking. By looking specifically at the role of media in the securitization process and employing constructivist approach of analysis via critical discourse analysis, the thesis looks to, at least in part, offset these critiques.

The securitization theory as applied here draws on the more post-structuralist interpretations of the theory, mainly as articulated by Hansen (2011), and thus is interested in how objects of security discourses are simultaneously formed by them and what subjects are assigned importance and authority. Balzacq's critique is also taken into account, especially his conceptualisation of security discourse that acknowledges the existence of external factors (including threats) but sees the role of language as shaping the reality and our perception of it, audience having an active role, and where context is one of the variables influencing the success of a speech act. Additionally, identity is perceived as performative and ongoingly constituting, including by speech acts. Audience is an active participant that interacts and inter-constitutes the other actors.

ROLE OF MEDIA

Media are traditionally referred to as the Fourth Estate and have significant power in determining what the important issues are in a society. It is usually the media that first bring the issue to the attention of the public, thus setting up the second phase of securitization. The mass media's role in society is not limited to diffusion of unbiased information, but they also serve as beacons of what is important, normal, and desirable in a society, while at the same time sanctioning and condemning who and what stand outside the socially accepted normative paradigm (Trampota 2006 in Dolinec 2010). Apart from the referent object and securitizing actors, another entity in the securitization process is the so-called functional actor. Functional actors are neither existentially threatened (unlike referent object), nor securitizing actors, but they have stakes in the issue and exercise influence on political decisions in the field under discussion, e.g. lobbyists (Dolinec 2010). Mass media's role in the securitization process can be pegged somewhere between mediators, functional actors and securitizing agents. The primary role of the media is to mediate/pass information between politicians and the public,

but with their analysis, repetition or different salience assigned to issues, they participate actively to a certain extent in securitizing acts by promoting, normalizing, expanding on and legitimising speech acts made by securitizing actors. Thus, the media themselves take on certain characteristics of securitizing actors, especially when they support particular speech acts and the extraordinary measures proposed or when their own reports, arguments, statements or conclusions have characteristics of securitizing speech (and are not mere quotations of other sources). Additionally, journalists often draw their primary information from official governmental sources and experts and often use the same ones (Trampota 2006 in Dolinec, 2010). This is relevant because of the concept of primary definition – where those who hold high social status (such as politicians, businesspeople or experts) get to frame the otherwise contested or controversial issue, and this definition subsequently frames the public debate (Critcher, Hall, 1978 in Dolinec, 2010). Media can also be independent actors (through its editorials and commentaries) and a forum for opinion-making that then enters the public discourse eventually forces politicians and legislators to react.

Moreover, media influence public agenda and public discourse, including security discourse, by **agenda-setting** – by the choice of topics and space (and consequently importance) allocated to specific actors, arguments and issues on one hand, and exclusion or dwarfing of other topics or competing viewpoints from the discourse, on the other (Dolinec, 2010). It needs to be said at this point that the "agenda" differs slightly among the various newspapers based on their political leanings and ownership structure; however media discourse as a whole wields considerable influence in setting agenda for public debate. In addition, media discourse forms a background against which people construct and interpret the world and in turn such interpretation in encoded into the society in various forms of texts that form its functioning (including legislation) (Dolinec, 2010).

Entman (1993) defines framing as "presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993, in Cheregi, 2015). The five most common frames identified in news media narratives are conflict, human interest, morality, attribution of responsibility and economic consequences (Cheregi, 2015).

Despite the phenomenon of "fake news" and hoaxes spreading across the social media that were brought to public attention in the past couple of years, the traditional mainstream media are still the main sources of information for the majority of population and most of the consumers tend to accept the information mainstream media provide as trustworthy. Moreover, the public tend to accept the importance assigned to the issues by the media as well. Thus, if a topic is presented as an issue or a threat, this narrative and framing tends to permeate into the public discourse as well. It can be argued that this is even more true for print media than TV, as print media have strong tradition and scope to provide more in-depth analysis than one several-minute-long segment in a TV newscast. One of the theories in communication studies that pertains to agenda setting and to securitization in this context, is the theory of trust in media institutions (Kalvas and Kreidl, 2007 in Dolinec, 2010) which supports the argument that when people need information they turn to sources they consider reliable and trustworthy and these are the most often, the media. Second model that pertains to agenda setting and securitization is the memory model according to which the more exposed to issues people are, the more importance they are likely to assign to them (Kalvas and Kreidl, 2007 in Dolinec, 2010). Thus, the issues that are prioritized by the media, appear as important to the public and are thus more susceptible to be securitized. There are many ways in which issues may be made to seem more important, e.g. via emphasis (in headlines, pullout quotes or paragraphs), use of symbols, stereotypes or triggering emotions or, most often, through the sheer amount of space given to the topic. More detailed description of these and other techniques is provided in the discussion and analysis chapters. It is for these reasons that critical discourse analysis of media discourse has its place in security studies.

Lazuka (2003) in her paper refers to Marmaridou's (2000, in Lazuka 2003) concept of intentionalism as a distinct feature of political speeches and concept applicable to analysis of speech acts. Intentionalism puts forward the role of both the speaker and the audience member. Within this framework, both play an active role (such framing of discourse is compatible with the Copenhagen School's definition of securitization). While the speaker articulates speech acts with certain intentions meant to be deciphered by the receiving party, the addressee's role is in decoding the unsaid message in the speech, thus creating meaning and understanding and fulfilling the process of the speech act. In Marmariodu's (2000 in Lazuka 2003) view, this is equivalent to performing of an action. While this thesis seeks to analyse print media articles and not direct speeches, the concepts summarized above are still applicable as the media act in this sense as not only pure conveyors of untainted unbiased

information, but rather as independent actors who also have communicative intentions when producing their work. As when addressed by a speaker, the audience member, in this case the reader, decodes the unwritten, as well as the unsaid. It is worth noting that this process is largely automated and subconscious on the part of the reader and it can by hypothesized that readers choose newspapers whose intentions and message is the easiest to decode and thus closest to their own understanding of the world. However, this can only be a hypothesis, as research into discourse and communicative, psychological, and neurological processes of message decoding has not yet produced conclusive results.

Another important caveat of fulfilling the intentionality condition presupposes that the discourse is regular and consistent with both the speaker's (or in our case the writer's) intentions and audience's expectations (Marmaridou, 2000 in Lazuka 2003). Lazuka (2003) argues that the dual action of making and reading an intention (or its recognition) is equally or more important than a structure and content of a speech act, and communication is only successful once the speaker's intent is inferred by the reader (Bach and Hamish as quoted in Lazuka 2003). Hearer infers intentions from content and context (via MCBs – mutual contextual beliefs: Lazuka 2003). It is important to note that MCBs do not need to be empirically true for the communication/speech act.

The theory employed here is thus intersubjectivity of discourse and threat perception where the extent of threat is, at least in part, constituted by the perception of it, rather than the physical reality. Framing is the way certain events, groups or issues are presented and portrayed in reports, and decisions (conscious – editorial or unconscious) on what is included and what is omitted. A study conducted following the events of 9/11 found that framing had significant influence on person's perception of likelihood of a terrorist threat and their level of support for extraordinary measures to deal with the threat (Haider-Markel et al, 2006 in Dolinec, 2010). Framing thus influences the sense of vulnerability and willingness to accept extraordinary solutions.

METHODOLOGY

To analyze the discursive patterns and frames most often present in discourse on French and British Muslims in the press of their respective countries, I will take linguistic tools identified in the theoretical literature of critical discourse analysis and the discourse historical analysis and present examples from the corpus that were found to be representative of patterns across the corpus. These will be further described also in terms of the country of origin (France or Britain) and in terms of the publication and its position on the political spectrum.

The methodological framework applied here draws on all the theoretical concepts described above and combines the tools they provide. From critical discourse analysis, the concepts of inequality and power balance are taken. As stated in the introductory part, the author presupposes an imbalance between the Muslim communities in France and Britain and the majority society. In media context, one way this imbalance manifests is through the access of the members of Muslim communities to discourse as agents with power to influence the narrative. Majority of the articles that dealt with topics relating to Islam or French/British Muslims were written by non-Muslim writers[1]. While this held true across all publications, there was a marked difference between the right-leaning (Telegraph and Figaro) and the left-leaning (Guardian and Libération) publications, with the latter providing more space to Muslim authors. In Guardian, examples included: "*I know the actions of Isis are #NotInMyName, and I won't be pressured to apologise for them*" (Faruqi, 2014); "Muslims will speak up for British values only when they know they will be heard" (Warsi, 2015); "*As a Muslim woman, I see the veil as a rejection of progressive values*" (Alibhai-Brown, 2015). And in Libération, "*Reaction is needed. And we are reacting*" (Ecoiffier & Khiari, 2014) whose opening lines read "*We, Muslims of France, are not silent. We have never been silent. The problem is that our words are not shared by the big media, including Libération.*"[2] Another example from Libération is the commentary entitled "*Why do they call themselves*

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[1] Admittedly, this is in part a conjecture - conclusions on who of the authors were Muslim were made based on either an explicit reference to author's religion in the text or their name. While imperfect, the method was sufficient to make clear the large disproportion of texts written by non-Muslim journalists

[2] Il faut réagir. Et on le fait. «Nous, musulmans de France, ne sommes pas dans le silence. Nous ne l'avons jamais été. Le problème, c'est que nos paroles ne sont pas relayées par les grands médias, y compris Libération."

Muslims?" (Bouzar, 2014) [3] referring to the Islamic State terrorists. This article also exemplifies another discursive tool, that of legitimization through the voice of authority, in this case an expert, as Dounia Buzar is identified as anthropologist and director of Centre of prevention against sects connected to Islam (CPDSI).

In terms of methodology, I will focus on overall **frames and discourse patterns** associated with the Muslim communities, with respect to key words, as well as the **overall tone** of the articles, their **context** and **the space dedicated to the topic** measured in the number of articles relevant to the topic before and after the attacks. Focus on tone and attitudinal stances is a particularly useful tool when analyzing discursive construction of identities which, as will be shown later, is the crux of the analysis here. Another focus point of CDA analysis is style. In Fairclough's terms (2003 in Farrelly, 2010), style encapsulates the 'way of being of the writer' or in other words, his/her tone and worldview and thus can be authoritative, explanatory, compassionate, empathetic and so on. Following from that, discourse is the representation of the way the speaker/writer imagines or conceptualizes the world.

One of the most common ways identity is represented in discourse is the use of the pronoun "we". Attention needs to be paid to the implications on who makes up the ambiguous "we", and thus, logically, who belongs to the polarizing out-group of "they". Other linguistic tools such as euphemisms, personifications or similes are equally commonly used in establishing identities in discourse. Additionally, nominalization, agent deletion and footing, all of which will be described in more detail below, are linguistic tools often used in the oft-used discursive tactic of **positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation**. In addition to linguistic tools, description and analysis of patterns of argumentation are valuable parts of CDA as they help expose the underlying stereotypes and prejudices that are passed as "natural" or "common sense". These representations are again in turn helped by linguistic tools such as appeal to historical continuity, use of numbers without context, inferences from implicit assumptions, and many others (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016). Naturally, not all of these strategies occur in every single article and the type of article also matters. For instance, news articles tend to be rather short, descriptive and factual without much space for analysis or

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[3] Pourquoi se disent-ils musulmans? (Bouzar, 2014)

opinion. More long-form pieces, on the other hand, such as features, interviews or editorials are more likely to employ the above-described techniques.

From the work of Wodak and van Leeuwen on discourse historical analysis, I have adapted the concepts of stances, whereas the method applied was to identify the tone and underlying attitude toward the referent object - domestic Muslim populations. Stances in the analysed articles could be attitudinal (positive, negative or neutral) or style (condemning, sympathetic, explanatory, descriptive, sarcastic, etc.). Given the size of the corpus, I have decided to code all the relevant articles for attitudinal stances based on their titles, headlines and opening paragraphs. The results are summarized in Tables 1-3 in which they are broken down by year and publication to determine whether any change in attitude occurred in the two years analysed and if so how it manifested in specific newspapers. The unit of analysis is one article. Another tool of analysis used in DHA and borrowed here are stylistic choices such as **attributions** (what adjectives were used when talking about Muslims and Islam in general and French/British Muslim communities in particular), as well as metaphors, symbols or coded speech.

Us versus Them / Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation

While intentions are rarely articulated directly, they are expressed/reflected in discourse in other ways, mainly through properties such as syntactic choices and lexical selection (Lazuka, 2003). One of such discursive choices is often the pronouns used, in particular the pronoun "we" and the categories of people it includes and excludes (as determined from context). Lazuka (2003) further points out that by employing the pronoun "we", the elite speaker not only assumes to speak for a community and presumes to voice their values but simultaneously decides who belongs to that community and implies the existence of hierarchy on one hand and solidarity with the in-group on the other, effectively creating the Us vs Them dichotomy, the oft-used discursive technique to imply distrust and hostility between the two groups. Such discursive technique is then the first step towards more sinister forms of alienization, for example justifications for securitization of whole ethnic/religious/national groups within (most often) majority society. It also polarizes 'our' and 'their' values and contributes to construction of grave threat posed by the outsiders to "our" way of life – this creates the prerequisite soil ready for securitization and justification of

what would otherwise be viewed as extreme measures, while simultaneously driving polarization of society.

Lazuka (2003) also goes on to point out another discursive technique used in all types of communicative acts to drive polarization – anonymity versus familiarity. While members of the in-group are often referred to by their names and are treated individually and not as a mass or a group, the "outsiders" are often referred to using group pronouns and are identified anonymously, thus ever so slightly being stripped of their complexity and humanity and made easier to be categorized. Such unspecific treatment implies difference, unfamiliarity, and subconsciously, consequently, promotes fear. The most common example in press and media is the treatment of white terrorists versus terrorists of colour when in the former case, the perpetrators are treated as "one off" cases and referred to as "lone wolfs", the latter are immediately contextualized (often imprecisely) as representatives of their whole communities, nations, or religion.

Following on from this polarizing categorization, the most often employed discursive technique is the employment of negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation (as theorized and summarized among others by Lazuka (2003), and perhaps most famously by Van Dijk). The frame is enacted primarily (in our case exclusively) through lexicalization, in other words, the use of negative terms in reference or inference to the "they group" and the use of positive or neutral terms in reference or inference to the "we group". The two strategies work in tandem, relying on linking the out-group with the concepts of foreignness, violence, and deviance from and disrespect for "our" norms, values, and way of life. Van Dijk identifies specific moves by which the two work, reinforcing positive information about "us" and suppressing negative information about "us" and vice-versa. Firstly, the "they" group is consistently presented as creating problems, while the "we" group offers solutions and reestablishment of order, or as Lazuka (2003) calls it, the problem-solution based agenda. Secondly, polarized representation juxtaposes and pits the two groups against each other, in a "we" versus "they", often non-zero sum style game. Thirdly, dichotomized black-and-white world is presented and compared with "ours" being "good, long-established and ordered according to our normative values", while "theirs" being "inherently bad, chaotic and unaccountable" (Lazuka, 2003). When "our" normative values are evoked, these are often presented as sourced from higher authority and thus inherently right, and supported by didactic quotations sourced from philosophical or religious texts (in Western context it is most often the Bible, although this applies mostly to the USA and in the scope of this study,

neither the French, nor the British press (nor the official political sources they quote) make recourse to the moral authority of the Bible.) Apart from religious texts, the next sources of normative values are philosophical works and principles that stem from them and that have been incorporated into the societies. In the cases of France and Britain, these are the principles of reason, Enlightenment, universal human rights and democracy. Additionally, in the case of France, it is perhaps most importantly (at least in the context of this work), the concept of laicite.

One of the examples that exemplifies this discursive strategy is a commentary piece published in Figaro entitled "Why have my grand-parents assimilated better: a testimony by a psychologist"[4] (Vacquin, 2015) in which the granddaughter of Russian immigrants compares their situation as immigrants to France at the beginning on the 20th century to the recent immigration from former colonies. The author uses the tools of positive self-presentation to build image of herself and her family as hard-working and willing to assimilate (*"we are happy to be alive, we are lucky to live in France […] we respect the laws of the country that shelters us"*) and contrasts it with today's *"immigrants" who fell prey to "the discourse that absolves petty criminals in the name of difficult socio-economic conditions" and "peddles ideas that […] our fathers were odious colonisers who ravaged your countries; that we are in your debt; that there isn't a problem of integration to solve"*. In addition to the us versus them tool, the author employs other linguistic tools, such as sarcasm, strengthening the overall negative image of the immigrant Muslim population.

The oft-used discursive strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation not only divides society and builds distrust, but also works by so-called fear appeals, making intentional, though not necessarily verbalized, connections between otherness and fear, creating in the process a set of rules and turning any deviation from those rules into supposedly more evidence to support the initial argument. Threat is perceived as heightened when it is misunderstood or unknown (Verkuyten et al, 1995 as quoted in Lynn and Lea 2013).

When a claim is presented with no evidence and implied to be common knowledge and thus based on shared, society-wide consent; the writer's argument also appears more natural, with

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[4] «Pourquoi mes grands-parents se sont mieux intégrés», le témoignage d'une psy (Vacquin, 2015)

uncontested sense of logic and truth to it. This is true especially in articles where no counter-argument is provided.

Rojo and Van Dijk (1997, as quoted in Lynn and Lea 2013) argue that legitimation, especially of controversial actions is achieved through persuasive discourse when such actions are described by actors in positions of authority as beneficial either for the whole society or for the group they are affecting while often simultaneously, "morally reprehensible or otherwise controversial actions are ignored, obfuscated or reinterpreted as being acceptable" (Lea Lynn, 2013).

Lynn and Lea (2013) argue that the true acceptance or integration of immigrants into the host society is not determined merely by the granting of citizenship but by "acceptance into society" which largely depends on the extent to which the immigrant corresponds to the stereotype of the "true" citizen. In this sense, the outward characteristics, such as appearance or visible signs of religious belonging, play crucial part. When establishing the category of "Other", it is the outer, easily identifiable qualities that are taken into consideration, such as race, ethnicity, language, religious affiliation etc. Lynn and Lea argue that this focus on ethnic origin (or other visible differences) simultaneously develops an awareness of self, which in turn develops an awareness of the "Other" (Lea and Lynn, 2013) thus building the foundation for acceptance of the 'us' versus 'them' polarization. The categories of "Us" and "Them", as well as identity more generally, are of course open to reinterpretation and change through discourse (Lea and Lynn, 2013). Events, such are those discussed here can also alter the criteria, not only for immigration, but for the more nuanced terms, such as "us", too. There has been such similar pattern after the attacks of 11 September 2001.

Assigning a person a category or status, such as "immigrant", "refugee", "citizen", or qualifiers, such as "French Muslim", ensures that in time and through repetition, all the associated stereotypes are assigned to them, together with the label and "all subsequent interpretation of their actions is in terms of the status to which they have been assigned" (Jary and Jary, 1995 as quoted in Lynn and Lea, 2013).

Lynn and Lea (2013) argue that European Muslims find themselves in specific social category whereas their (usually) non-whiteness and (usually) visible adherence to Islam put them at

odds with the image of a "true" Frenchman or Englishman that exists in the national consciousness and national myth.

For the French press, the overall discourse patterns and frames associated with the Muslim populations were those of "banlieux" (suburbs) – associated with poverty, disenfranchisement, unemployment and ethnic and religious minorities as well as "délinquance" or petty crime. For example "*From banlieues to jihad: itinerary of a certain French youth*" (Yildiz, 2014 in Figaro). Another discourse pattern repeated without change before and after the Charlie Hebdo attacks (but referred to significantly more often in the right leaning Figaro) was "communautarisme" the negatively connotated term often juxtaposed against the desired assimilation (for example, "*Communautarism at IUT Saint-Denis: should the veil be banned at universities*?" (Chevrier, 2014)).

Overall, the French press relied heavily on the use of socially coded language, symbols, vague references and generalizations to speak about its Muslim communities while avoiding direct references. When contextualized, the linguistic tools of the French press were strongly rooted in the country's republican secular tradition of laïcité when direct references to one's religion are rarely made. Reliance on symbols and their recognition by the audience implies them being part of the "common sense" and thus immune to criticism, while subtly othering the community to whom such coded language refers.

BRITAIN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

While the topic of refugees captured the discourse all across Europe in the summer of 2015, the issue of refugees and asylum seekers as well as the national debate surrounding it, was not new to Britain. In their article "A phantom menace and the new Apartheid": the social construction of asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom" (2013), Lynn and Lea argue that since the second part of the 20th century or in other words since the slow disintegration of the British Empire, there have been attempts at re-establishment and reaffirmation of national identity – who is and who gets to call themselves British. In other words, what characteristics determine belonging. One of the ways to do so is to reaffirm a national myth that establishes historical, mythological, even mystical bond between specific people and the

land. Lynn and Lea (2013) go on to argue that the reaffirmation of national identity narrative is closely linked to the concept of nation state and thus has very strictly defined geographical boundaries. This is even more true for Britain as its territory is composed of islands and is detached from mainland Europe. Such narratives thus focus on "common heritage" with the original, true inhabitants of the isles.

In 2001, the situation was to a certain extent comparable to the time period discussed here, due to the dramatically risen salience of terrorism in national consciousness and in particular its ties to religion and to Islam. And it was in this year when the Conservative Party made the topic of refugees and asylum seekers central to their election campaign. The campaign, as well as the media reports, portrayed asylum seekers in negative light and presented them as threat to British stability and cultural distinctiveness. However, the main point underscored by Lynn and Lea (2013) is that the issue had clear racial undertones, i.e. the non-white immigrants were those that were singled out. Similar rhetoric existed within the British cultural space even before 2001. The most important change Lynn and Lea (2013) identify is not the ideology itself but the rhetoric that shifted after outward prejudice and racism had become socially unacceptable taboos.

Apart from the 9/11 attacks, the most important event in terms of terrorism for the United Kingdom were the bombings of London Underground on July 7, 2005, commonly referred to as the 7/7 attacks. Brown (2010) argues that following the attacks, more areas of policy adopted the language of securitization in the UK, including community policing and immigration. She goes on to argue that this securitization unevenly impacted the British Muslim communities the most, as these were framed by state agencies and their discourse as security concerns and "problem communities" (p2).

The counterterrorism strategy CONTEST passed following the 7/7 attacks was principally enacted through policing, both by local police officers, as well as the members of the public, such as hospitality workers, security guards, or waiters (Brown, 2010). Thus, from the point of view of British Muslim communities, the work of the police force underwent significant change, from helping and protecting the community to surveilling and policing it. The rhetoric of security and protection of public was thus a double-edged sword, whereas some parts of the public were (supposedly) being protected, while others were inconvenienced at best and discriminated against at worst. Another effect of securitization of one part of the

population was the increase in religiously motivated crime against this community (Brown, 2010).

The 7/7 attacks allowed for the issue of threat and security to take prominence within the general societal discourse in the form of discussions about terrorism and counter-terrorism, however, as the consequence of such discourse, previously unsecuritized areas of life were now considered to be the matters of national security and thus eligible to surveillance and policing. Brown (2010) goes on to point out that securitization in this case meant also construction of an image of a specific British identity, values and way of life. Legitimate behaviour was identified and framed and, consequently, suspicious or "Other" behaviour was defined in opposition. These divisions did not exist previously or, more precisely, they did not exist publicly and at such a scale. One of the elements that was not previously part of security discourse, but was securitized after the 7/7 attacks, was the issue of citizenship (Brown, 2010).

Other, previously strictly private, aspects of life have become part of public discourse and thus subject to surveillance in name of security. The discourse of what constitutes private and public life changed, allowing for previously unheard of interventions. Previously, immigration used to fall under the welfare and economics departments (Brown, 2010), but had now become firmly a part of security agenda. The reasoning behind this particular securitization is, according to Brown (2010), the narrative reframing of terrorism as "failure to adhere to British values" (Brown, 2010, p4), rather than having fundamentally political roots, like the IRA terrorism of the 1980s. Brown (2010) goes on to argue that the newly established prominence of security led, among other things, again to criminalization of Muslim communities in Britain.

Brown's (2010) main argument is thus that the events directly influenced the emergence of discourse of new security threats that in turn created a new "securitized population" within the British public. This securitization manifested in constructing Muslim communities as "Other" and thus dangerous. The narrative re-framing of terrorism as an attack on values is crucial in the criminalization and "othering" of the Muslim communities. However, discursively, the government repeatedly stressed that the security measures and responses were not a "war against Islam" (Brown, 2010) but were against "perverted or radical forms of Islam (that) may lead to a terrorist activity" (Brown, 2010). In such framing, there is implicit the argument that there are right and wrong forms of Islam or beliefs/practices to hold. Or, in other words and

when put in practice that there are "Good Muslims and Bad Muslims" (Brown, 2010). However, even if citizens adhere to the "right" form of Islam and are "Good Muslims", there is still the latent suspicion placed on them and surveillance is framed as legitimate means to determine whether they are "the good ones". Such framing also carries the implication that any Muslim is a latent terrorist and given specific circumstances, could go from a potential to an actual threat. British Muslims were thus asked to walk a line whose boundaries were blurred.

As mentioned previously, other than community policing, another important element of Britain's post-7/7 counterterrorism strategy was immigration. By creating the discourse and vision of "British identity", necessarily, the vision of foreigners as the "Others" was created as well. The image of terrorists as non-citizens was reinforced and citizens were equaled with being the true British, and thus non-terrorists. Coupled with emphasizing the international element of terrorism, controlling the flow of immigrants to Britain became an indispensable part of British counterterrorism efforts and staple in political and public discourse (Brown, 2010).

The argument that "our people are not terrorists" was also corroborated by Bulley (as quoted in Brown, 2010) who argues that government deliberately externalized terrorism to frame it as foreign, unusual, and thus, to an extent, uncontrollable. However, second part of such framing is the need for creation of a "homogenous interior British identity" as the counterpoint against which to offset it. However, such discursive division did not hold up as the terror attacks from July 2005 were perpetrated by UK nationals, thus "our citizens were the terrorists". In response, the government focused on counterradicalization prevention through community policing. Such approach turned government officials and private citizens into keepers and upholders of the "common British values" policing proper adherence to them. But the brunt of this responsibility fell mostly on Muslim communities, sentiment articulated by an MP at the time Denis Macshane who in 2006 "demanded that Muslims must choose the British way or the way of terrorists" (Brown, 2010, p8). Phrased in such a way, this was one of the most common discursive strategies, that of polarization. Another MP at the time, Charles Clarke, asked "Muslim parents to spy on their children for signs of radicalization" (Brown, 2010). Securitization placed conditions on the citizenship rights of British Muslims. Only if they fulfilled the nebulous conditions of being the "good" ones, were they accepted as "true" citizens.

FRANCE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The concept of multiculturalism has not taken root in France whose integration is done through assimilationist model firmly rooted in the republican ideal of laicité – the specifically French brand of secularism. The policy of laicite became part of French law officially in 1905 (Tejani, 2015). Tejani (2015) argues in his paper that the debates about multiculturalism have changed French society nonetheless, not by embracing it but by changing the meaning of nationhood and citizenship and who has claim to it. Tejani (2015) argues that the concept went from being defined geographically by territory, to being expressed symbolically and linguistically through bodies and words. In other words, those who physically differ from the imagined ideal of Frenchman or those who do not adhere to the principles of the republic, most notably and visibly laicite, have their citizenship and allyship to nation, questioned. Traditionally, the republic demands that all visible differences between citizens (ethnic, linguistic, religious) be erased in public in the name of equality.

However, the model is disputed, mostly in terms of race as a characteristic that cannot be effaced and criticized by citizens coming from former French colonies as means to avoid an open society-wide dialogue on French colonial past. The model is criticized for creating divisions by differentiating between the "good" immigrants who accept and adhere to the republican model without questioning it and keep their differences to the private sphere, and those who do not. The other side of the coin is the othering of "bad" citizens or immigrants who refuse to hide their differences and thus are labeled as "foreign", "other", and "not (wholly) French".

The model became subject of public discussion especially in recent years as the French secular republicanism model came into direct contact with its Muslim communities' public practice and adherence to Islam. The most visible symbol and the one that garnered the most heated debates was the women's headscarf, hijab, and the full body and face attire, burka. Several laws were passed banning their wearing in public. The debate pre-dated the 9/11 attacks but gathered both legislative and discursive steam following the events. The discussion was brought into focus again after outbreak of urban riots in 2005, 2007, and 2009 (Tejani, 2015) that broke in the banlieux or suburban outskirts of big cities, most notably

Paris. These areas are usually poorer, with higher levels of unemployment, and the neighbourhoods where Arab and other ethnic and immigrant minorities have large presence.

The chain of events as synthesised by Tejani (2015) was as follows: The national debate on wearing of religious symbols in public came into foreground in the early 2000s (to what extent was this debate exacerbated and motivated by the events of 9/11 is difficult to determine and remains outside the scope of this thesis). There was a marked increase in religiously motivated hate crimes against Jewish and Muslim communities (incidents reportedly doubled from 2003-2004, (Tagliabue 2005 in Tejani, 2015)). The new policies introduced elicited in response documented increase in public practices of piety from the Muslim communities in the banlieux (headscarves, mosque attendance) which elicited in turn "discriminatory reactions" from the majority society primarily against North African communities (Bowen 2010 in Tejani, 2015). What is likely meant by the new policies were the new immigration policies passed which were still firmly rooted in the assimilationist model. One such measure was the 2004 ban on wearing of ostensible religious symbols in public establishments, including schools and universities.

The concept of Islamophobia is not only not recognized but by the virtue of the laicite discourse, it cannot even exist since laicite is based on the principle of erasure of differences between citizens. Hence admitting that religiously or ethnically motivated discrimination occurs would put the deeply rooted and symbolically and nationally important concept of laicite into question. While individual racially or religiously motivated crimes are prosecuted and condemned, the society wide recognition of Islamophobia as concept and systemic problem and defense of Muslim communities seem to go against the principles of the republic as it would seemingly constitute unfair defense of one religion over another. However, anti-Semitism has long been recognized as a problem in France and is regularly condemned.

If the French identity and its Republican tradition would be questioned, it could produce feelings of existential threat against identity and provoke strong responses against those who are perceived to pose the threat. The republican assimilationist model of citizenship sees any difference between citizens not as a natural inalienable part of their identities but rather a "matter of individual election" (Tejani 2015).

This overview of two such different approaches to immigration, integration and religion; brings us to the next hypothesis that the national discussions in France and Britain surrounding their respective Muslim populations will be significantly different in their style

and arguments. The hypothesis did not prove entirely true as more than along country lines, it was along the political ideological lines that the discourses differed, in particular in their attitudinal tone.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The corpus consisted of total of 698 articles (Libération = 146, Figaro = 105, Guardian = 76, Telegraph = 225).

	Libération	Figaro	Guardian	Telegraph
2014	78	30	23	97
2015	68	75	53	128
Total	146	105	76	225

Table 1– breaking down the numbers by publication, country and year

Overall results: Overall, for all publications, the number of articles that dealt with domestic Muslim populations rose in 2015 as compared to 2014. The space and content consecrated to a topic is one of the main indicators of its salience and presence in journalistic and public discourse. However, while the Charlie Hebdo attacks dominated the news cycle in January 2015, especially for the two French publications Figaro and Libération, it cannot be positively concluded to what extent the events at Charlie Hebdo influenced the choice of topic for the rest of the year and to what extent was the choice influenced by other topics such as the rise of Islamic State or the summer refugee crisis.

Overall, the French newspapers produced more articles on the topic than their British counterparts. As hypothesized, the tone of news articles from the four mainstream newspapers both in France and in Britain (Figaro, Libération, Guardian and Telegraph) was neutral, fact-based, often brief and without explicitly stated opinions or emotional colouring. Such results were to be expected as, as mentioned above, all four are respectable, long established mainstream newspapers with national circulations and international readerships and are expected to adhere to the highest standards of journalistic reporting and ethics. Because of this reason, special attention was paid to editorials and opinion pieces, such as features that

offer space for evaluations and opinions to be included. Editorials are short articles, usually written by editor-in-chief or another senior editor and gives opinion on current events. Features are long form articles that choose a subject and go in more depth than a news article. Their writing style is also more literary and allowed more subjectivity than the format of a news article. It is therefore especially in these articles that any ideological position of the writer and his/her newspaper can be more clearly discerned. A specific kind of articles is the "letters to editor". These pages are composed of letters that the readers sent to the editorial team in response either to a specific article or as a short opinion piece on current affairs. Once popular, the practice is declining because the much more convenient way to contact the writers and editors online. Only two newspapers included such articles in their online archives (The Guardian and Libération). The content is not editorial since the letters are written by the members of the public but it can be argued that newspapers' views are reflected in these pages based on what letters are included. However, since the content is not written by professional journalists and the pages were available for only two of the six newspapers included, these pages were not included in the analysis.

2014			
	0=neutral	1=negative	2=positive
Libération	31	23	24
Figaro	6	20	4
Guardian	4	4	15
Telegraph	24	49	24

Table 2: breakdown by style (attitudinal stance) (0=neutral, 1=negative, 2=positive) by publication for 2014

2015			
	0=neutral	1=negative	2=positive
Libération	13	16	37
Figaro	14	52	8
Guardian	16	4	33
Telegraph	33	65	34

Table 3: breakdown by style (attitudinal stance) (0=neutral, 1=negative, 2=positive) by publication for 2015

While the discourses are often part of common knowledge and universally present in society, the access to influence the discourse is not. Therefore it is interesting to look at how often members of the British and French Muslim communities were given access to the media analysed here. The Guardian published by far the highest number of articles written by Muslim staff or members of the public in the form of opinion columns or profiles. On the other hand, there was not a single article published written directly by a member of Muslim community. However, there were several interviews with Muslim intellectuals.

In Telegraph, whenever counter terrorism activities were discussed in relation to British nationals travelling to and returning from Syria or Iraq to join the Islamic State/Isil training camps, the term "jihadis" or "British jihadis" was used, as well as "Islamic terror" and references to their religion were only ever included sporadically and mostly in reference to religious conversion and subsequent radicalization. The term "Muslim" or "British Muslim" was never used in headlines or first paragraphs of articles discussing counter terrorism efforts or British nationals joining Isil.

While many more articles were written during the time frame studied that is linked to the topic (reports on ISIS, foreign policy, articles on racism, reports on Muslim communities around the world or Islam in general), these were excluded from the corpus due to the sheer amount and attempt to narrow the research focus. What needs to be kept in mind is the level

of nuance that exists among the articles categorized as "negative/critical". There is a substantial difference between a "critical" article published in Guardian and a "critical" article published in Le Figaro. With French press, especially the editorials, columns or commentaries, it was particularly difficult at times to categorize their texts as either supportive or critical. The mostly tonally positive editorials of Libération still included arguments that could be perceived as critical and negative. For example, in a commentary entitled "*Daech et nous*" (ISIS/Isil and us) written by Rachid Benzine, an islamologue, and published in Libération on October 16, 2014, Benzine writes : " *But Isil would not have this success if it wasn't for a profound support by part of Muslims from around the world [...] for what it represents. The dream of restauration of the caliphate has continued to inhabit minds or many since 1924* […]." [5]

When reporting on the young men and women who left for Syria and Iraq to become ISIS combatants, the more left leaning publications, Guardian and Libération, published several in-depth reports on the lives of those who left (and sometimes returned), dwelling into their social and economic background and seeking to unbundle the reasons that drove them to radicalisation and jihadism. Such reports, while coded as negative neutral (depending on the tone, use of emotion, amount of detail that „humanised" the subject) for the Muslim/jihad association, the tone in all of them was reconciliatory, looking inward, not only at the lives of the jihadis but also on their families, social circles and, last but not least, the countries. On the contrary, the reports from more right leaning Telegraph tended to be more descriptive of the jihadis background (for example including the schools they attended, and sometimes their social class) but did not produce in-depth conceptualised reports that would situate their subjects in the context of their (Muslim) communities or in the socio-cultural make-up of the country.

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[5] Benzine, R.(2014) 'Daech et nous', *Libération* Translation author's own

The articles were coded for positive/sympathetic, negative/critical, and neutral based on titles and the first paragraphs. In cases where this was not sufficient to determine the angle, the whole of the article was taken into account.

With Figaro, the main rhetorical frames were "identity" and "republic", keeping its focus on the perceived values of the French republic and thus Frenchness, most notably laïcité. Criticism of the government's integration policies was also often present. The words "musulman/s" (Muslim/s) or Islam were rarely mentioned in the titles or opening paragraphs, often not being explicitly mentioned more than once or twice in the article but clearly implied. Instead of the overt referral to French Muslims, the articles tended to make more general philosophical arguments around the subjects of "laïcité", "religion", "integration" and "communautarisme" – a term specific to French context referring to the tradition of multiculturalism that highlights organisations formed around various communities (sexual, religious or ethnic)[6]. The term carries negative connotation as it relates to multiculturalism that stands in opposition to the French republican values. On the other end of the spectrum, using words culturally associated with the Muslim community but not referring to it directly, such as "voile intégral" (burka) or "banlieux" (suburbs of bigger French cities with mostly Arab and immigrant population), thus tapping into the already shared cultural knowledge. Examples of such indirect, socially coded language can be seen in articles titled " How to avoid "the France of tomorrow"[7], "Nicolas Sarkozy refuses "compromise" with the religions"[8] or "Why were my grandparents better integrated: testimony of a psychologist"[9]. When the word Islam was used, it was often accompanied with a word that tended to have negative meaning, for example the word "infiltrated" and "radical" in "Amateur sport infiltrated by radical Islam: the discreet progression of salafism in France".[10] The most notable change in the Figaro discourse was the use of the word "salafism" to denote radical islamism which has begun to be referred to regularly in 2015. The same is true for Libération.

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[6] Definition paraphrased from Larousse online dictionnary available at www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/ Accessed 4 January 2017

[7] Rioufol, I. (2015) 'Comment éviter «la France de demain»', *Figaro*

[8] Waintraub, J. (2015) 'Nicolas Sarkozy refuse les «accomodements» avec les religions', *Figaro*

[9] Vacquin, M. (2015) 'Pourquoi mes grands-parents se sont mieux intégrés, le témoignage d'une psy', *Figaro*

[10] Kersimon, I. (2015) 'Sport amateur infiltré par l'islam radical: la discrète progression du salafisme en France', Figaro

The results for Libération are very similar to Figaro in terms of frames used, but different in attitudinal stances and tonality. While Libération also tended to work with the frames of laïcité and Republic (and Republican values), it made more direct references to Islam and French muslims. Again similarly to Figaro, the articles were often critical of government's integration policies and made several references to integration policies of other countries, such as Denmark and the United Kingdom.

Did securitization occur? What was the socio-political context and how did it change? It is very difficult to make any generalization or conclusion as to what extent did the media contribute to securitization of Muslim communities in their given countries. Firstly, the civil war in Syria and the rise of the Islamic state had been at the forefront of political and media discourse in both countries before the beginning of the timeframe of this work and it has stayed at the forefront also during the time period analysed here.

In Great Britain, the "Prevent" strategy (one of the four pillars of United Kingdom's CONTEST counterterrorism strategy whose focus is prevention of radicalization, primarily through community engagement and outreach and policing) had been discussed regularly in the press, partially because of the Annual Report on implementation that has been released in April 2014 and because it is government's main tool at tackling the issue of British nationals radicalising and travelling abroad to train as foreign fighters for terrorist organizations. The strategy was most frequently written about in Telegraph and the Daily Mail. In France, the terror alert level was raised to "attack alert", the highest possible level following the Charlie Hebdo attacks (previously being at the Vigilance level) and stayed so in the Ile-de-France region during the rest of the time period studied. The terror alert level was applied to the entirety of the territory following the November 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris. However, the French media studied here did not refer to the terror alert system or France's counterterrorism strategy and rather put focus on the questions of integration and discussion of republican values.

Geopolitical events such as the rise of Isil, in particular since the early 2014, and the related movements of Western jihadis between Europe and Iraq and Syria, as well as the influx of migrants and refugees, in particular during the summer of 2015, all influenced the media discourse and were featured prominently in both countries and in all the media. However, articles dealing exclusively with immigration or the refugee crisis were not included in the

total count. This decision was taken in efforts to narrow down the size of the corpus and the focus of the work whose main topic was the treatment of already established Muslim communities of the two countries.

LIMITATIONS

Securitization, discourse analysis, as well as media theories, such as the agenda-setting theory, presuppose passive referent object and ignore or minimize the role audience (or ignore it completely).

In keeping with the social constructivist theoretical base, it needs to be said that complete discourse analysis is impossible as is the analysis of discourse and non-discursive practices that impact and shape social world.

While media articles cannot be said to make speech acts the same way direct speeches by political officials do, media provide space where these political discourses are analysed, framed and reinforced and thus it is important to analyse their power in the context of national security.

As for limitations, the author's personal bias may be one. In spite of best efforts to adhere to clearly delineated methodology of collection of articles, decisions had to be made on whether to include or not certain articles. Examples were articles that wrote about Islam in more general terms and did not make direct references to the country's own population or did not seek comments from representatives of the religion or the community. Similarly, decisions had to be made due to the limited space and the volume of the articles collected on which would be quoted here and analysed in more depth. Despite the best efforts to be aware of my personal bias and keep it in check, it is possible there had been shortcomings on my part that are difficult to eliminate. The space for human error in coding needs to be accorded as well. While care was taken to choose and record all relevant articles from the given time period and to correctly code their attitudinal stances, it is possible that other researchers may have arrived at slightly different results.

CONCLUSION

The thesis attempted to show the unequal, unbalanced discourse surrounding Muslim communities in Western European countries in the context of current geopolitical challenges leaning on theories of securitization and critical discourse analysis. Each and every discourse as well as every discourse analysis is embedded in temporally and spatially specific context. The temporal context of the analysis here is the period directly before and after the terrorist attacks on Charlie Hebdo offices in Paris, also shaped by the immigration crisis in Europe in the summer of 2015 and the November 2015 attacks at the Parisian music club Bataclan. Spatially, the analysis is confined to two Western European countries, France and Great Britain. The impact of the events on Muslim communities in France and Great Britain during this time are analysed through the lens of four ideologically diverse mainstream national newspapers. And while certain trends and patterns can be discerned, one has to exercise caution in drawing any universal overarching conclusions.

The treatment of their respective Muslim communities differed significantly between the countries owing to their different approaches to integration. However, no significant change in tone, style or discourse patterns or frames was noticed after the Charlie Hebdo attacks, owing, at least in part to the sociopolitical issues like the refugee crisis and the Syrian war that significantly influenced the overall discourse.

SUMMARY

The proposed thesis sought to answer the question how were the Muslim communities of France and Great Britain treated before and after the terrorist attacks on the Charlie Hebdo offices in January 2015. The corpus was drawn from two British and two French national newspapers and theoretically and methodologically drew on the securitization theory, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Analysis and media studies. Attitudinal stances, discourse patterns, frames and context were analysed with comparison of United Kingdom and France at the forefront of the thesis. The two countries have starkly different approaches to integration of their domestic communities which showed in the media portrayals. While France champions secularism and assimilation, Great Britain tends towards multiculturalism. As a result, the French media analysed here, Liberation and Figaro tended to champion secularism and not make direct references to the Muslim communities as such but rather used socially and culturally coded language. On the other hand, British newspapers, the Telegraph and Guardian made direct references to their Muslim communities regularly and used more direct language. Along the political lines, the two left leaning newspapers, Guardian and Liberation, gave more space directly to the representatives of the Muslim communities, thus shared power with the marginalized groups. However, across all the publications, articles written by Muslim writers were in minority. Sociopolitical context was felt in the articles, most notable the refugee crisis of 2015 and the numbers of British and French nationals joining the so called Islamic State to become terrorists. While the left leaning publications tended towards longer feature pieces situated in the social context of the country, the right leaning publications were more critical but did not contextualize their reports. Many linguistic and discourse tools identified in the CDA and DHA frameworks were present across the corpus. While the number of articles about Muslim communities rose after the January 2015 attacks across the board, it cannot analysed without context and care needs to be taken to not overstate the importance of a single event.

RÉSUMÉ

Tahle diplomová práce se snažila zodpovídat na otázku jak byly moslimské komunity ve Francii and ve Velké Británii opisované před a po teroristických útocích na kanceláře Charlie Hebdo v lednu 2015. Korpus analyzovaných článku byl zestaven z online archívu dvou francouzských a dvou britských národních novin a teoreticky i metodologicky práce vycházela z teorií sekuritizace, Kritické diskurzivní analýzy, Diskurzivní analýzy historické a mediálních studií. Atitudinální postoje, diskurzivní paterny a rámce, ako i kontext byly zahrnuty do analýzy s komparací Francie a Velké Británie v popředí. Tyhle dvě země mají výrazně odlišné postoje k integrácií svých moslimských populací, což je odrazilo také v mediálním diskurzu. Francie vychází ze sekularizmu a asimilace, zatímco Velká Británie inklinuje k multikulturalizmu. Výsledkem čeho je, že francouzské médiá zde analyzovány Liberation a Figaro inklinovaly k sekularizaci a nezahrnovaly přímé odkazy na moslimské komunity, ale raději užívaly sociálně a kulturně kódovaného jazyku. Na druhé straně britské noviny, Telegraph a Guardian, pravidelně zahrnovaly přímé reference na svoje moslimské komunity a užívaly vice přímejšího jazyku. Co se politických orientací týče, levicove orientované noviny Guardian a Liberation daly vice prostoru přímo představitelum moslimských komunit a tím se podělily o moc s marginalizovanými skupinami. Ale moslimští autoři byly v minoritě celkově ve všech zde analyzovaných médiích. Sociopolitický context byl patrný, zejména utečenecká krize z léta 2015 a množstvo britských a francouzských občanu, kterí odešli bojovat za takzvaný Islamský stat. Levicově orientované noviny publikovali vice dlouhých reportáží, které byly zasazeny do společenského kontextu, zatímco pravicově orientované media byly kritičtější vuči svým moslimským komunitám, ale nekontextualizovaly své reportáže. Mnohé diskurzivní a lingvistické nástroje identifikovány v CDA a DHA rámcech byly v korpusu přítomny. Počet článku o moslimských komunitách vzrástl po lednu 2015 napříč všemi publikacemi, analýza bez kontextu není možna a duležitost jediné události nemuže být přehnaná.

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Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Fakulta sociálních věd

Institut politologických studií

Projekt magisterské diplomové práce

Téma:

Securitization of Muslim populations following the Charlie Hebdo attacks?: Comparison of media discourse in France and Great Britain

Jméno: Petra Kňazeová

Obor: Bezpečnostní studia

Semestr předložení projektu: LS 2015

Jazyk: angličtina

Vedoucí práce: PhDr. Ondřej Ditrych MPhil. Ph.D.

V Praze dne 30. 9. 2015

Introduction to the topic:

The proposed MA thesis is going to deal with the topic of portrayal of Muslim communities in selected French and British newspapers in the reports of and following the attacks on the offices of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris on the 7th January 2015. The articles will be pulled from the time period beginning with the day of the attacks through to the end of summer 2015, with special focus given to articles published in January 2015 when the attacks and their implications were at the forefront of French and European media. The decision to extend the time period until summer 2015 is motivated by the extensive attention given by the media to the refugee crisis and the reemergence of topics of Islam, Muslim populations and their integration, and home-grown terrorism; all of which were also extensively covered following the Paris shootings.

Charlie Hebdo is a French weekly satirical newspaper founded in 1970 and re-launched in 1992. It is strongly secularist, anti-religious and left-wing, and was subject to several controversies over the years as well as death threats issued to the writers and the editors. The most prominent of these were its republishing of the infamous caricatures of prophet Muhammad originally published in Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten. In 2011, the Charlie Hebdo offices were bombed after the release of an issue renamed Charia Hebdo featuring a caricature of Prophet Muhammad on the cover.

On the 7th of January 2015, two brothers Chérif and Said Kouachi entered the Charlie Hebdo offices with assault rifles and killed 11 people and left another 11 injured. The victims were mostly the magazine's editorial team. According to French media, the younger of the two brothers, Chérif Kouachi, was previously convicted as an Islamist and was jailed in 2008. The two brothers identified themselves as belonging to the Yemeni branch of Al-Qaeda who claimed responsibility for the attacks. Two additional connected attacks took place in the next couple of days, leaving a French policewoman, as well as several customers and employees of a Parisian kosher supermarket dead.

The attacks provoked mass reaction of solidarity across Europe and the Western world with mass rallies in the streets, using the phrase "Je suis Charlie" as a symbol of solidarity, protection of free speech and denouncement of terrorism. However, what also followed was a sharp increase of attacks on French Muslims across the country.

The point of the thesis is to analyze how media treated these attacks, the new security measures implemented, as well as their reporting on Muslim communities in general in the light of the Charlie Hebdo shootings.

The theoretical point of departure is the theory of securitization and its critiques, as well as the narratives and discursive processes that contribute to the "creation of the enemy". The thesis will attempt to tie in the relationship France has with its Muslim communities, the rise of home-grown terrorism, unequal/unbalanced impact of security measures across the ethnic divides and reactions to religiously motivated terrorism, as well as apparent clash of values. It will also look at how the security measures and statements made by politicians entered and were treated in media and thus spread to the wider public.

The thesis will argue that the political and media discourse following the Charlie Hebdo attacks did little to address the root causes of home-grown terrorism and contributed to further alienation, as well as construction of the "enemy within" of its Muslim communities. The thesis will also stem from the theory of securitization and will attempt to answer the question whether Muslim communities in France were attempted to be securitized, with particular focus on discourse (the case of discourse in British media will serve for comparison with a country with comparable history of immigration and Muslim communities). Lastly, the thesis will attempt to answer the question whether the Charlie Hebdo attacks were later used as discursive points in the debate about Muslim Syrian refugees seeking asylum.

Hypothesis is that after such attacks in a country's capital and at a place that symbolized for many France's core values, as well as the outpouring of solidarity that attracted millions to the streets; the security and prevention measures will be robust, evident and severe. The question is whether the French Muslim population got swept in, in the process and became enemies by association.

Methodology and Research Strategy:

The thesis will primarily employ the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed in the 1980s mainly by Norman Fairclough, Teun Van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak. CDA views discourse (text and talk) as tools used by elite groups for maintaining dominance relations, and thus pays particular attention to the study of the role of discourse in the (re)production of dominance and social inequality.

CDA claims that there is a mutually-constituting relationship between discourse and society, which will be the thesis's point of departure and it will examine the social representations, style, rhetoric, and implicit meaning, as well as who is featured, i.e. allowed access to the media. Discourse will be treated as a causal aspect in the social world, for example with impact on construction of the enemy.

In order to discern whether any patterns emerged, the thesis will analyze a number of news reports, editorials and features published after the Charlie Hebdo shootings. Within the articles, special attention will be given to speeches and statements made by French politicians, especially on the attacks themselves, as well as racial relations, terrorism, and immigration.

Articles, unlike casual discussions, are subject to a strict editorial process, and are supposed to be, at least in theory, guided by ethical journalistic guidelines that bound the journalists to provide unbiased or balanced reporting of the facts. That said, it is also true that media, and especially daily newspapers, have political leanings in order to cater to their readerships. It can therefore be predicted, at least to a certain extent, what position various newspapers will take on polarizing or controversial political issues or events.

Reasoning behind choosing media that can be said to fall on the 'mainstream' spectrum rather than on the extremes, is following: extremist media (especially on the right, but on both sides of the spectrum to a certain extent) use blatant racist discourse practically as part of their regular content and therefore it might be difficult to detect any significant deviance from/rise of such discourse in response to a specific event; in this case the Charlie Hebdo attacks. Mainstream media, on the other hand, tend to practice "ethical journalism" in general and discrepancies from their neutral tone are expected to be more evident, as well as more nuanced, in response to the extreme situation. Additionally, mainstream media have wider and larger readerships and therefore their influence as opinion-makers on general population is greater. Politicians, as well as academic elites and experts, are also more likely to communicate through these publications.

Decision to focus on elite discourse of media and political elites rather than more public forums, such a s discourse on social media or in the comment sections of articles, is not driven by the belief that power relations are simple top-down mechanisms, but rather because of their perceived authority, privileged access and greater influence they exercise on the public opinion.

Research Questions

1. Was a specific image/behaviour/qualities attempted to be pinned to the Muslim populations living in France after the Charlie Hebdo attacks? If so through which discursive means?

2. To what extent did the media and political discourse post-Charlie Hebdo contribute to the "construction of the enemy within"?

Expected Outline:

1. Introduction

2. Literature overview on securitization theory, construction of enemy/threat via discourse, and link between discursive and social polarization

3. Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis

4. Analysis of news reports, political statements, editorials and features

       Part 1: France (comparison between Le Figaro and La Libération)

a. Description of the attack and characterization of the Kouachi brothers

b. Characterization of the French response (with special attention to mentions of French values, such as republicanism and secularity)

c. Discourse on terrorism, especially home-grown terrorism

d. Discourse on immigration and social inequality (to what extent it entered the debate)

       Part 2: Comparison with the UK (The Telegraph and The Guardian)

a. Description of the attack and characterization of the Kouachi brothers

b. Characterization of French response

c. Discourse on terrorism, especially home-grown terrorism

       Part 3: Limitations to the CDA approach

5. Conclusion

Preliminary Bibliography:

Primary Sources

The analysis will be based on a corpus of news reports, features, editorials and political statements published in Le Figaro and La Libération for France, and The Telegraph and The Guardian for the UK in the weeks following the attacks on Charlie Hebdo offices. The relevant articles will be obtained from the publications' online archives.

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