

**FRA**

**REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES IN THE  
MEDIA: UK**

**FINAL ANALYSIS REPORT**

**UK TEAM**

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## 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The key findings of the study are:

- Ethnic minorities receive proportionately very little coverage in the British press: but they have high salience in relation to specific news agendas, notably immigration, terrorism, and crime. There is consistency in the scale of (low) coverage throughout the pages of the national newspapers, and this goes across both left and right, tabloid and broadsheet newspapers.
- At least based on the data we have, it is difficult to say that any single minority group in the UK (in particular as a Specific group variable) is widely present in the British press.
- The relatively limited coverage in the press of people belonging to ethnic minorities should not be allowed to obscure the very high visibility that stories in which they are the subject may be given. Stories around immigration and terrorism, for example, may have front page coverage and have attached pictures to emphasise the significance of the issue.
- The specific salience of ethnic relations within British politics, and the centrality of terrorism as a political agenda, have combined with news values to generate a relatively few dominant news agendas through which events are framed.
- Ethnic minorities tend to be racialised in the press; the concept of ‘ethnic minority/ies’ is very often used as a synonym for Black and Asian groups. In addition to the term getting a racial connotation, this also means that the other ethnic groups in the UK (many of them having tens of thousands of members) are either invisible or homogenised within the large, faceless and indiscriminate ‘immigrant’ agenda.
- Minority leaders appear sporadically in stories that relate to minorities. Though there is some significant attempt at times – especially in the broadsheets – to include the voices of minority leaders in their coverage, the fact that the overall presence of minorities in all news coverage is minimal, by definition, means that the visibility of minority leaders and minority role models is almost absent. Minority leaders and role models that appear in the press are almost always Black and (to a lesser extent) Asian: representatives from minorities outside the two numerically dominant groups are practically invisible.

- There is little coverage of the difference and particularity existing between and within minority groups. The press often ascribes homogenous and generic identities and makes assumptions about the existence of communities when it comes to minority populations or minority individuals.
- The case of Muslims is the most apparent in terms of a construction of a homogenous, generic ‘Muslim community’ in the press. Most often, the coverage of issues that relate to Muslim people makes indiscriminate reference to the actors and speakers as Muslim. This can have significant consequences for the public imagination and a growing suspicion towards a generic group represented as having little internal diversity.
- Muslims’ extensive coverage in the press relates in more than 50% of entries to violence, terrorism and crime. The extensive negative representations of Muslims could feed the already widespread Islamophobia in the UK.
- It is possible that the news making process confirms stereotypical or negative representations of minorities, even if the intention of the media themselves is not such. A key example is the representation of Tibetans (and Buddhists) in the British press. As there is significant coverage of Beijing’s accusation of Tibetan activists as being ‘terrorist’ (in contrast to the coverage of other parties’ approach that see Tibetans as minorities and not as terrorist), the overall coverage and representation of the group appears as ambivalent (with possible negative effects for its’ representation in the public imagination).
- Minority issues coded appear in a mere 52% of the *only domestic scope* entries, while 36% of the minority issues coded refer *only to the international scope*. That a significant amount of the news coverage should have a solely domestic framing is consistent with the very high level of anxiety that is attached to a number of the issues around which ethnic minority communities are being reported: this is consistent with the situation on the ground within British national and local politics. At the same time, the coverage that places ethnic minority persons within an international context is also consistent with the globalised nature of many of the issues that are being reported.

### 1.1. Key policy implications

The findings confirm the marginal presence of ethnic minority people as speakers in the UK press, and their more general invisibility in the news as actors; this fact is a

salutary warning to the news media about their limited relevance to large numbers of the British population; who are their potential readers. The newspapers, national and local, no longer enjoy the near monopoly in news provision they once enjoyed. The rich infrastructure of ethnic minority media in Britain guarantees to large numbers of ethnic minority citizens alternative routes to finding a news source that they feel to be relevant and congenial. This is not only a threat to the financial viability of a national press, but it also holds up to question the viability of a really inclusive public sphere. How shall citizens engage in shared dialogue if they have no shared media for exchanging information and opinions?

Taking the British policy framework that guarantees freedom of expression and minimal interference of the state in printed media affairs, policy recommendations cannot have a direct effect on media coverage of minorities. However, they can advance awareness about the significance of fair representation of minorities among media organisations and journalists, especially in relation to public trust to the media and the possibility to reach wider, more diverse audiences. The policy implications of the findings are vast and require the polity's and the media's attention and consideration for improving the representation of minorities in the national press. There are four main implications and recommendations raised here:

- The data strongly argues for the necessity of actively seeking to include ethnic minority voices in the news stories in which they are the explicit, or implicit, subject.
- The recruitment of ethnic minority staff into British newsrooms so far has done little to challenge the power of news making routines established by the majority. Taking that ethnic minority staff in the press is still very limited in numbers – and in its influence in the editorial process – there is an urgent need to advance the presence of diversity in the newsroom, both in reporting and writing; and at the editorial level.
- Very many of the ethnic minority communities in Britain have a long established presence and they have built an infrastructure of leadership and NGOs that means that they are no longer voiceless, or lacking in an expertise that can contribute to British political debate: but again we see here the relative exclusion of this expertise and these voices from routine reporting. The power of the 'usual suspects' of elite opinion formers to create news is at one level structured into the power relations of British politics. The creation and promotion of forums and public spaces where media professionals and the

civil society can advance dialogue and establish mutual trust are urgently needed. (Speakers with a Muslim background are in 56% of the cases related to a terrorist organisation but are only in 3% of the cases related to an official church or religious organisation).

- Media literacy is a key issue that needs further attention by all stakeholders. Especially in the popular press there is little contextualisation of stories on minorities, especially in relation to the important questions of asylum, the causes and effects of migration, the importance of representation of minorities in the public arena, and the social divides and exclusions in society. Media literacy that allows the public to better understand the implications of specific news stories requires (i.) the commitment of media to *humanise* minorities' representation (by giving them voice, recognising their particularity and including them in more diverse news stories beyond terrorism and crime); and (ii.) the state's and other stakeholders' recognition and support of the increasingly diverse mediascapes (including local, national and transnational media of various kinds), which offer additional space for representation and for construction of meanings of the world and current affairs.

## 2. INTRODUCTION

### 2.1. Background of the study and the study team

Ethnic diversity is a highly salient and contested issue in the contemporary British public sphere. The public discourse around diversity is created at the crossroad of the country's long history of migration on the one hand, and on the other hand, by the recent events that have captured public imagination and have shaped recent policies – especially 9/11, 7/7 and their aftermath, and increased international migration. The media's approach to cultural and religious difference, to migration and relevant national, and European and international events and policies is closely interlinked to public imagination and the politics of difference – media coverage is both informed and informs debate in the public sphere and political discourse. Thus, a systematic study of the national press coverage of minorities can be revealing about the state of affairs around a current and important social and political issue.

Though the representation of minorities in the media has at times attracted the attention of policy makers and has often raised concerns among minorities themselves, in the UK relevant academic research remains limited. Unlike the US and other parts of Europe, in the UK systematic studies of minority representations in the media have been rare in the last three decades. Racism and the Mass Media (Hartmann and Husband, 1974) still remains the most influential study of press representation of difference. More recent publications, such as Law's Race in the News (2000), Poole's Reporting Islam (2002) and Campion's report Look Who's Talking on representation of minorities in broadcasting media (2005) have provided some of the few recent points of reference.

Like Hartmann's and Husband's study (1974), more than thirty years later, current research – including our own – reaches a number of important conclusions: the representation of minorities in the media is very limited; minorities disproportionately appear in crime stories (to some extent the preoccupation with crime has now been replaced with terrorism); particular groups are stigmatised and associated with specific negative images (this was the case with Blacks in the 1970s and with Muslims at present). Our study has confirmed the limited visibility of minorities in the media, both as speakers and as actors, especially outside stories on terrorism and crime when it comes to national affairs and the war in Iraq, Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, the Beijing Olympics and Tibet when it comes to international affairs.



The introductory section of this report draws the three most important contextual frames for the study: (i.) the context of migration and ethnic relations in the UK; (ii.) the British media landscape, including a summary of the major press corporations; (iii.) the events that took place during the conduct of the research. We believe that the analysis, our conclusions and recommendations make more sense if the three elements of the national context are taken into account.

This report follows the guidelines set by FRA and integrates the team's expertise in its various sections. The study generated an enormous amount of data, as it becomes apparent in Analysis parts I, II and III. In the last section, we discuss in more detail four themes that have emerged from the analysis as currently significant in British press coverage. The final section also highlights a number of additional important issues that emerged out of the data analysis. Finally, the last section includes a number of policy recommendations and recommendations for the future development of this study.

This study has been conducted by a group of experts and research assistants based at the University of Leeds and the University of Bradford, with the additional support of a research assistant based at FRA (Romy Woehlert). Dr Myria Georgiou was the project leader, though this project could not have been realised without the expertise, the important and hard work of Dr Julie Firmstone and Prof. Charles Husband's expert advice and contribution to the progress of the study and the completion of the final reports. The two research assistants, Mr Fabro Steibel and Dr Milena Marinkova, have been the heart and soul of this study. They have been hard working and committed professionals and excellent academics on the making. They have taught the expert team more than it could have ever taught them. Ms Romy Woehlert who contributed to the study with the coding of irrelevant articles has been a dedicated professional who offered important support and insight, while Ms Doris Zhang fulfilled some of the important tasks for the progress of the study in its early stages. We are grateful for the open and honest dialogue that we have had with our colleagues at the FRA and for their assistance: in particular Alexander Pollak and Sami Nevala and the Technical Team, led by Elke Sik.

## **2.2. The context of contemporary British ethnic relations**

### *2.2.1. A Brief Historical Context*

In the brief account offered below the assumption has been that an understanding of the reporting of ethnic minorities in the British press provided by the data offered below requires a basic acquaintance with the history that has shaped current events. For this reason a brief reference is made to the long history of British experience of migration in the twentieth century. Although it should be remembered that the population that has historically formed the current British population has been shaped by a long history of invasion and conquest; and it is something of an irony that the most committed of 'Little Englanders' in defending 'British values' tend to refer to their Anglo- Saxon heritage with no apparent sense of ambiguity that the Angles were invaders from contemporary Scandinavia, and the Saxons from contemporary Germany. But then in modern times the British have borrowed their monarchs from around Europe with surprising pragmatism. The invention of tradition, that promotes a spurious but deep felt sense of national identity, seems to be a particular British accomplishment (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Wright 1985).

In order that the reader might have some sense of how the current events, reported in this data, reflects a cumulative process of policy and politics the account below offers a sketch of the continuity of recent events with the British experience of ethnic relations, and its context over the last few decades.

The current situation in Britain is marked by a strong party political exploitation of xenophobia that has developed historically through an escalating bidding process between the ruling Labour Party and the major opposition Conservative Party over who can develop the most Draconian anti-immigrant policies. Statistics about illegal immigrants, the ambiguous number of East European migrants and the threat posed by a seemingly endless stream of asylum seekers are routinely presented in sensational terms by politicians, and are amplified in the media. However, British anxieties about the impact of immigration upon British society are not a new phenomenon (Winder, 2004). In 1919, for example, there was considerable popular disquiet over the entry of aliens into Britain: much of which was explicitly anti-semitic in nature. Speaking of these events at the time, Josiah Wedgwood M.P., made a speech which in its historical insights has continuing relevance. He argued that:

Generally speaking, aliens are always hated by the people of this country. Usually speaking, there has been a mob which has been opposed to them, but that mob has always had leaders in high places. The Flemings were

persecuted and hunted, and the Lombards were hunted down by the London mob. Then it was the turn of the French Protestants. I think that the same feeling holds good on this subject today. You always have a mob of entirely uneducated people who will hunt down foreigners, and you will always have people who will make use of the passions of the mob in order to get their own ends politically.  
(Wedgewood, 1919)<sup>1</sup>

We might now quibble at his use of language but the role of political actors and the media in defining anti-immigrant sentiments, and then nurturing and exploiting them remains a lamentable reality (Hartmann and Husband, 1974; Downing and Husband, 2005). In the 1960's, with the post-war demand for labour, Britain actively recruited labour from her ex-colonies in the Caribbean and South East Asia. Again, there was localized popular resistance and politicians prepared to articulate their anxieties in terms of inflammatory nationalist sentiments (Solomos, 1993). The fusion of popular anti-immigrant sentiment with political expediency was classically demonstrated when a Labour Government faced with the mass immigration of East African Asians, as a consequence of Africanization in East Africa, rushed through the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act; that was specifically intended to discriminate against the entry of non-white individuals into Britain. Richard Crossman, a senior member of the Labour Government at that time, provided this explanation of this behaviour:

As progressives we were opposed to capital punishment, persecution of homosexuals and racial prejudice, whereas a large section of our working-class supporters regarded such ideas as poison. What they hate most is our softness on colour. It nearly cost us the election of 1964 – particularly in the West Midlands – and it was widely felt that our improved majority of 1966 was due to our new tough line on immigration control. That is why as a Government we were panicked in the autumn of 1967 by top secret reports predicting a mass expulsion of Asians from East Africa and began to make contingency plans for legalisation which we realized would have been declared unconstitutional in any country with a written constitution and a supreme court.  
(Crossman)<sup>2</sup>

In the same period Enoch Powell, with his uniquely patrician form of anti-immigrant sentiment, presented a classic instance of the irresistible relationship between populist anti-immigrant politics and large swathes of British journalism. 'Powellism' provided a quantum shift in the respectability of undisguised jingoism and racist anti-migrant sentiment (Shoen, 1979). The 'robust' style employed by Powell, then seen as a

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Paul Foot, *Immigration and Race in British Politics*. Penguin 1965: p. 106

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Derek Humphry & Michael Ward *Passports and Politics*. Penguin 1974: p. 89

rabble rousing right winger, have in more recent times been echoed by David Blunkett, when, as the British Home Secretary, he was engaged in refuting Conservative jibes that the Labour Party's was weak on immigration issues.

Studies have cumulatively shown the attraction of anti-minority issues to the particularly British variant of news values (Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Troyna, 1981). Indeed it is a powerful condemnation of the British press editorial stance on ethnic diversity and migration that whilst the British National Union of Journalism was amongst the first to actively develop a clear code of practice on reporting ethnic relations, segments of the British press have demonstrated a capacity to generate highly inflammatory, and even totally inaccurate, reporting around the issue of ethnic relations in Britain. As Curran et al. (2005) showed, press reporting around the development of anti-racist strategies by local authorities was a shameful example of a populist xenophobia that was a direct denial of the ethos of the NUJ guidelines. Codes of practice developed by journalist do not have the disciplinary power that is vested in editorial authority and the ownership of the press they serve. Following upon the review of codes of practice by Husband and Alam (2002) it was argued that:

A not too cynical interpretation of very many of these codes and guidelines is that they constitute a gestural rhetoric of 'professional standards' that represent sincere aspirations for the collectively imaginable rather than an executive order for the regulation of the 'collectively attainable'.

(Downing and Husband, 2005: p.148)

The power of editorial policy was demonstrated very concretely once again when in 2008 the Evening Standard, the dominant evening newspaper in London, mounted a months long sustained campaign to oust the then Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, which included a sustained assault upon segments of the Black voluntary sector in London.

### *2.2.2. A Continuity of Policy:*

Having become a deeply established trope within the British journalistic genre, immigration and ethnic minority issues retain their easy entry into routine reporting; and have a continuing capacity to be wafted into classic moral panics (Cohen, 2002; Chritcher, 2006) by specific issues. Such is the power of this process that even where editorial policy does not seek to inflame anti-immigrant sentiment the penetration of immigration as a concern into national consciousness is facilitated by the framing and

agenda setting power of the news media (Scheufele, 1999; Dearing & Rogers, 1996) Thus, the current salience of immigration is neither a new nor isolated event.

Immigration of course results in a changing demography, and Britain, along with other European countries, is currently experiencing significant changes in its ethnic profile. Asylum seeking and illegal immigration continue to add to the ethnic mix of British society and both have been specific issues in inter-party exchanges about the failure of the British state, and the current Government in particular, to secure its borders against unwanted immigration. The legal influx of citizens of the new accession states in Eastern Europe has also proved to be distressing to British public opinion and certain political 'primary definers' (Hall, 1996). There has been then a positive feed-back loop between the political construction of immigration and asylum seeking as a challenge to British identity and self-interests, and the news media's coverage of this. Consequently 'race' and ethnic relations has become a somewhat over-determined feature of the British public sphere and there has been a remarkable, and disturbing, continuity of government policy in this area over time. As Schuster and Solomos (2004, p:267)) have noted:

When looking at the development of Labour's policy agendas on race and immigration in Britain, and in particular at New Labour's record since the 1997 General Election, the continuities in Labour's underlying philosophy and approach and the continuities between British Labour and Conservative administrations, are striking.

In looking at the development of British political responses to migration and settlement since the 1950s it has been argued that there have been two parallel and perversely intertwined strands of policy (Husband, 2004). One has been the cumulative development of increasingly Draconian border policies, which have had a substantive racist ideological substratum, and the other has been a similarly cumulative building of an edifice of law and practice which has sought to outlaw discrimination on the grounds of 'race'. (See Schuster & Solomos, 2004.) Thus, whilst in a European comparative sense it might be argued that the United Kingdom has developed a credible systemic policy to address racial discrimination; at the same time the promised equality of opportunity and of respect aspired to by this body of legislation and policy remains a long way from having been achieved (e.g. Modood et al., 1997). Some insight into why this might be so can be discerned in Schuster & Solomos' (2004, p:267) observation that whilst there have been shifts in New Labour's policies on race and migration:

...for example, from multiculturalism to social cohesion, and towards the promotion of selected migration and a hardening of attitudes towards asylum seekers, these shifts remain consistent with a belief shared throughout the post-war period, and across the political spectrum, that social cohesion and harmony depends on limiting and controlling the migration of certain groups into Britain. This core belief remains unquestioned in spite of continuing policy failures.

It is hard to promote the values and practices consistent with eliminating racial discrimination whilst simultaneously engaging in an anti-immigrant discourse that is a platform for blatant crude nationalism, xenophobia, and the rehearsal of racial values established throughout Britain's long imperial and colonial past.

### *2.2.3. The new racism and the emerging fragility of multiculturalism:*

Of course a strong political and public concern with maintaining a rigid control of 'our borders' results in a necessary complementary debate about those who are deserving of entry, and those who are clearly alien and undeserving of entry. This inevitably becomes dependent upon a definition of a national identity that enables distinctions to be made between *us* and *them*. Thus, not surprisingly, an ideological complement to Thatcherite neo-liberalism was the emergence of the *New Racism* - a strong fusion of nationalism with a belief that homo-sapiens has a natural predisposition to prefer their own (Barker, 1981). The vulgarities of scientific racism based in blood and genealogy became complemented by a racism that sees race determined by culture, and human nature. This ideological construction has permeated much of popular discourse and is evident in governmental justifications for harsh border policies. Of course as Thatcherism demonstrated, once you have a rhetoric for conveniently denigrating strangers beyond our borders it is easy, and inevitable, to employ the same rhetoric in identifying 'the enemy within': which included segments of the traditional working class and ethnic minority communities, amongst others. Thus, as we have seen, British policies on multiculturalism have been framed by a progressive development of anti-discriminatory law and policy, and a simultaneous cumulative development of essentially racist border policy. The tensions inherent in this scenario have made the development of a coherent and stable model of multiculturalism always a fragile process

The concern with the changing ethnic demography of contemporary Britain has generated a revitalised debate about the nature of British identity; and the perceived threat to its integrity in the face of settled minority communities from the 1960's and

1970's, now into their third and fourth generation of British residence; and the new additional threats generated by East European immigration. This concern has fed into the vigorous debates around the legitimacy of British multiculturalism (Phillips, 2005). Arguments that multiculturalism was conceptually misconceived, and a political failure, have been common place in the British public sphere; and have been heavily rehearsed in large segments of the news media (Back et al, 2007).

Counter-narratives to multiculturalism have over the last ten years been increasingly widespread in the media and in popular conversation. This discursive packaging of anti-multiculturalist sentiments has been creatively engineered in a number of ways. One dominant trope is the invocation of the epithet 'political correctness' in order to reject and render self-evidently foolish any policy that is perceived as being unacceptable. To assert that: "This is political correctness gone mad" shifts the perception of any debate so widely as to remove the possibility of a reasoned counter argument. The more someone attempts to challenge such an accusation the more they are seen to be irrational and outside the common consensus. The phrase 'political correctness' has become a *leit-motif* of opposition to local authority anti-racist practice.

Intertwined with the discourse of political correctness have been two creative variants on the exploitation of Britain's self-belief in their exceptional tolerance (Husband, 1998). In a British variant on what Blommart and Verschueren (1998) identified as the 'limits of tolerance' discursive ploy, the British media have been happy to rehearse the argument that in order to maintain our well known capacity for tolerance we must stop, or not implement, some policy directed toward ethnic minority communities or immigrants that may incur the resentment of the decently tolerant majority population. This stratagem rehearses core British self-stereotypes of decency, tolerance and commitment to the rule of law, whilst simultaneously asserting that there are categories of people who must lie outside of the reach of these values. Similarly, in the British media and public sphere the discursive strategy identified by Wodak and Matouschek (1993) the victimisation of the majority has proven to be widely applicable within the British discourse on ethnic relations. At its heart it simply asserts that everyone has rights except the majority ethnic community. It typically presents 'the race relations industry', the 'multi-ethnic mafia', or the 'bleeding heart European union' as neurotically fixated on the interests of minorities to the detriment of the majority ethnic population. A complement to this presentation of the marginalization of the majority ethnic community's interests has been the

orchestration of outraged resentment at the perceived exploitation of a spurious 'victim culture' by members of the ethnic minority communities. The argument is that members of minority communities exploit the decent tolerance of the majority population by illegitimately, even fraudulently, invoking an experience of racism and discrimination in order to acquire special favourable treatment. Through this means policies developed to address the specific needs of disadvantaged ethnic minority citizens can be presented as an unreasonable, and undeserved, exploitation of the majority's tolerance. Thus again, the majority may denigrate the minority communities whilst simultaneously burying their racism and xenophobia beneath a rehearsal of their own decency.

#### *2.2.4. Social transformations and the platform for intergroup competition:*

Counter-narrative tropes feed into and off each other, and find their vitality through rehearsal in relation to specific issues; and in relation to specific underlying social dynamics (see Hewitt, 2005). In the last three decades or so Britain has undergone a major transformation in its economic base with a massive closure of heavy industry and a collapse of traditional manufacturing in the textile industry. This, particularly during the traumas of neo-liberal radicalism under Thatcherism (Jessop et al, 1988), generated very real social stresses as the labour market in whole townships and large working class communities underwent periods of high unemployment. The changes in the social fabric of such communities have not necessarily been healed by the subsequent economic success of Britain under the Blair regime, where social inequalities remained high and social mobility remained amongst the worst in Europe. Thus, for large parts of Britain's working class population concern about income and about health and social care have remained very real issues. In contexts such as this, where inter-group competition for limited resources are real, resentment at the apparent benefits being directed toward ethnic minority communities have had a supportive environment. (Recent accounts of working class communities have underlined this social context (Dench et al, 2006; Collins, 2004; Hewitt, 2005).

However, there were beneficiaries of the economic transformation of the last three decades, which saw a change in the structural formation, wealth, and assertiveness of the British middle class. Driven by increased access to university education, the emergence of new technologically driven industries and the impact of globalization in transforming the economy, the middle classes enjoyed a political and economic ascendancy. It was to this constituency, and their interests, that Tony Blair directed



the Labour Party in fashioning New Labour under the rubric of 'the Third Way' (Giddens, 1998). However, whilst economically the beneficiaries of New Labour this affluent cohort were not necessarily content. The pursuit of possessive individualism that was intrinsic to the political project of Margaret Thatcher (Jessop et al 1988) was continued under Blair's 'opportunity society': and the process of sustaining personal aspiration in the fluid context of contemporary risk society (Beck, 1992; Bauman, 2000), where job security has been replaced by expectations of labour mobility, and where pensions and social care have become uncertain promises, has not produced a middle class with a sense of personal security. They too have a self-conscious anxiety about their well being in comparison to others. Like the working class, though for different reasons, the British middle classes have been predisposed to hostile inter-group comparison. In this context, the presence of ethnic minority communities has been historically constructed; and is currently, a politically targeted scapegoat for social anxieties (see Glick 2005).

#### *2.2.5. Social Stress, the 'War on Terror' and Social Cohesion:*

Issues of ethnic diversity and border control have not developed independently of other issues. The social upheavals of Thatcherism not only introduced new dynamics into the reality and rhetoric of British ethnic relations; it also produced significant changes in the pattern of governance of Britain. The social upheaval that was created as a response to the radical neo-liberal policies of Thatcherism resulted in the cumulative development of a much more coercive state apparatus (Hillyard and Percy-Smith, 1988; Ewing and Gearty, 1990). The social consequences of a radical interpretation of neo-liberal economic policies, as demonstrated by Thatcherism, was accompanied by an increasing ideological separation between those who were sound exemplars of the virtues of self sufficiency and individualist aspiration, and those who challenged this political programme by their failure to thrive, and by their resistance to the neo-liberal ideology that had precipitated the social crisis that threatened their familiar world: the so called 'enemy within'.

These processes have subsequently been cumulatively built on as the Labour government has responded to the 'War on Terror'. It has been persuasively argued that the politics of the 'War on Terror' has eroded the consensual respect for the rule of law in democratic societies as more and more intrusive forms of surveillance and regulation have been introduced to contain the perceived threats of new fundamentalisms (Wilson, 2005). Certainly Britain under the Labour government

would provide evidence for such a premise. In the last decade the issue of the management of internal ethnic relation has become intrinsically intertwined with agendas around the 'Prevention of Violent Extremism' within which British Muslim communities have been identified as a potential source of terrorism. For recent news coverage the issue of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism within Britain has been given a concrete focus with news coverage of trials of, British born, alleged terrorists making the generic issue specifically credible in the British context. This has then fed into concerns about the perceived 'self-segregation' of ethnic minority communities who are perceived as living in 'parallel cultures. Thus a core government policy agenda has emerged addressing the challenge of social cohesion that is faced by multi-ethnic Britain. Riots in the northern cities of England in 2001 provided a major impetus to the development of this policy. A number of major reports which addressed this policy scenario, (Cantle, 2001; Denham, 2002; Ouseley, 2001), placed the '*dangers*' of ethnic self-segregation high on the public policy agenda. The development of a major government policy around social cohesion (Flint & Robinson, 2008), builds on early concerns about hard to change 'problem areas' in Britain's cities which provided a platform for moralistic arguments about the nature of class based social exclusion (Levitas, 2005).

The policy agendas of social cohesion and the prevention of violent extremism have themselves been embedded in a wider political conception of Britain as an open and equitable society. A feature of Blairite social rhetoric, and its' continuation of a nuanced version of Thatcherite neo-liberal individualism, has been the recurrent reference to the notion of the 'opportunity society'. This ideological package happily drew upon a number of embedded elements of the British social imaginary. These included the residual Protestant sentiment that values the autonomous individual 'standing on their own two feet'; and the linking belief that through one's own efforts it is possible to 'pull yourself up by your bootstraps'. And, additionally there was the necessary political corollary of these in the perception that social mobility is not only an admirable personal aspiration, but that additionally, and importantly, it is also a core policy objective of British governments to facilitate social mobility. The rhetoric of the *opportunity society* thus melds two mutually reinforcing beliefs: one an individual belief in the virtue of personal aspiration and effort; and the other a societal assertion that mobility is an activity facilitated by the state.

The regrettable reality has been that Britain throughout Blairism, and later, has been characterized by one of the poorest records of social mobility within Europe. The

political implications of this situation are stark. To the extent that the rhetoric of the 'opportunity society' retained some popular credence amongst those who were not the victims of the Thatcherite social revolution, it was a political '*coup de theatre*' in which the emergence of a new cohort of affluent young professionals was presented as an example of the class and economic mobility that was available to all. Additionally, as has been noted, a particular irony of the Thatcherite experiment in neo-liberal policies, and its embodiment in the *minimal state*, was the reality that the social stresses generated by these policies resulted in the cumulative construction of a strong and repressive state apparatus that was necessary to defend the highly contested political order that was imposed upon the British population. Thus the antecedents of Blair's opportunity society were simultaneously paralleled by the antecedents of the Labour Governments' cranking up of an intrusive and increasingly draconian public order regime. Concerns with 'preventing violent extremism', just as much as concerns with social cohesion, did not emerge into a political environment that was bereft of a language and political routine that could easily normalise them. It can be argued that the increasing reliance of the Labour Government on the concept of social cohesion was precisely because it provided a discourse that avoided explicit discussion of class and ethnicity by invoking a model of the universal citizen: defined by the right sorts of capital and bound together by an evolving ersatz national identity.

The agenda of social cohesion has produced a focus on the issue of: cohesion around what? Given the internal stresses on the United Kingdom, with the new assertiveness of Scots nationalism, noted above, citizenship has emerged as a new fulcrum around which to pivot a disparate set of concerns about difference. It has produced new criteria, and tests, for access to British citizenship; with associated debates about what are the common values and cultural norms that are implicit in a shared citizenship. The development of Islamophobic sentiments following 9/11, (Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia 1997) has made the status of the Muslim British a particular focus for popular and media concern, with specific issues providing mediated moral panics around, for example, the wearing of the veil. The hybrid and diasporic nature of ethnic minority identities, which is in no way inconsistent with their commitment to life in Britain (Alam and Husband, 2007; Eade, 1997; Back, 1996) remains a perplexing and threatening phenomenon for the majority population.

### 2.2.6. Conclusion

Whilst post-modern theorists have talked eloquently of the creative possibilities of ‘fluid identities under the conditions of late capitalism’ swathes of British citizens have felt the uncertainties of contemporary life to be profoundly troubling. Whilst large numbers of ‘middle England’ have enjoyed unprecedented affluence over the last few decades, this has not necessarily been accompanied by a sense of stability and well being. The job insecurity and personal mobility that have been demanded by the terms of the new labour market have been accompanied by an increasingly individualist orientation to social life; with the consequence that many individuals have found themselves bewildered by the new realities that they encounter. At the same time, for the marginalized residues of Britain’s manual labour force the reality of yuppie affluence and Government protestations to ‘get on your bike’ have rung hollow in the economic and infrastructural malaise of their communities. This has been a context in which the ‘politics of the international ‘*War On Terror*’ have had extensive ramifications in British politics and for popular sensibilities: not least in the willing uptake of variations of Islamophobic beliefs and sentiments that have become particularly embedded in the Prevention of Violent extremism agenda: but which also provide part of the substrate of the social cohesion rhetoric.

There has been then in recent years a basis in socio-economic realities for a concretely grounded capacity for inter-ethnic competition within and between segments of British society. The reality that Britain still has a significant need of migrant labour has not been sufficient to quell high levels of resistance to migrants and asylum seekers. There has been the basis for a positive feedback loop between the anxieties of the populace and the indecent political opportunism of politicians in exploiting anti-immigrant sentiments. The strength and marked independence of the Scottish Parliament has added a particular edge to debates about multiculturalism in fuelling an English neurosis about what it means to be British, and English. Thus during the period of this analysis the issues of ‘race’, ethnicity, migration and multiculturalism have had a salience for both the British readers and for the British media.

## 2.3. British media landscape: a context

### 2.3.1. *The National press in the UK: structure, circulation, and readership.*

A daily national press based in London dominates the UK newspaper market. The market can be divided into three sectors: qualities, middle market and mass market or

popular tabloids. The differences between each sector correspond to the nature of the paper's contents, design, and distribution in terms of social class of the paper's readership – the tables below shows the daily and Sunday nationals split by sector and in order of the highest circulation.

**Table 1 – National Daily newspapers in order of highest circulation April 2002**

Daily newspapers (excluding Scottish titles)	Daily newspapers by sector	
<i>The Sun</i> (3.3million)	National Morning popular	1. <i>The Sun</i>
Daily Mail (2.5 million)		2. Daily Mirror
Daily Mirror (2.1 million)		3. Daily Star
Daily Telegraph (1 million)		4. Daily Record (Scotland only)
Daily Express (907,022)		
The Times (717,000)	National Morning mid market	1. The Daily Mail
Daily Star (667,899)		2. The Daily Express
Financial Times (494,000)	National Morning Quality	1. <i>The Telegraph</i>
<i>The Guardian</i> (404,630)		2. The Times
Evening Standard (418,958)		3. Financial Times
The Independent (226,584)		4. <i>The Guardian</i>
The Scotsman (78, 209)		5. The Independent
		6. The Scotsman
	London Evening	1. Evening Standard
Source: ABC data for April 2002.		

**Table 2 – National Sunday newspapers in order of highest circulation April 2002**

Sunday Newspapers (excluding Scottish titles).	Sunday newspapers by sector	
News of the World (3.9 million)	Morning popular	1. News of the world
Mail on Sunday (2.4 million)		2. Sunday Mirror
Sunday Mirror (1.7 million)		3. Sunday People
Sunday Times (1.4 million)		4. Sunday Mail
Sunday People (1.3 million)		5. Sunday Sport
Sunday Express (901,846)	Morning mid market	A. The Mail on Sunday
<i>The Sunday Telegraph</i> (779,141)		B. <i>The Sunday Express</i>
The Observer (460,084)	Morning Quality	1. <i>The Sunday Times</i>
The Independent on Sunday (232,433)		2. <i>The Sunday Telegraph</i>
		3. The Observer
		4. Independent on Sunday
		5. The Business
		6. Scotland on Sunday
Source: ABC data for April 2002.		

The British newspaper industry is categorised by a high degree of competition for readers and advertisers and is highly commercialised. As the table below shows circulation, and therefore revenue, has been falling consistently for a number of years.

The British newspaper industry is regarded as the most competitive press in the world and is also characterised by high levels of concentration of ownership. Relying on two main sources of revenue – cover price and advertising revenue – newspapers compete for advertising margins through market share and aim to become market leaders. Newspapers therefore need to aim their publications at suitable readers for advertisers both in terms of the number of readers and social backgrounds.

**Table 3 - Total Circulation of UK daily national newspapers (thousands)**

1980	1985	1990	1994
14,886	14,731	14,225	13,585
Source: table 3.2, p. 28, Seymour Ure (1996)			

British people are among the most avid newspaper readers in the world. 84% of all British adults (40 million people) read a regional newspaper, and 68% read a national newspaper. Since 1999, regional press coverage has grown by 1.4%, and total readership has increased by 907,000 readers, while national press coverage has fallen by 3% (-1,651,000 readers).

### *2.3.2. Partisanship*

Britain has a unique overtly partisan press. In stark contrast, the British broadcasting industry operates in isolation from political parties and is expected to present balanced and impartial material. Partisanship is therefore a defining feature of the British press and newspapers are expected to adopt an explicit editorial line by politicians and voters. The most common and accepted method of measuring the partisanship of a newspaper is to record the editorial position of the paper in terms of its support for one political party or another at the time of a general election. In between elections, partisanship tends to be expressed in a more subtle way through the support of particular policies or the cause of a party.

There are several important points to note about the partisanship in the British press:

- Partisanship is not rigid, it is changeable in terms of both strength and party supported
- Partisan support is not unconditional
- Partisanship can be subtle rather than explicit. For example, partisanship often manifests itself in criticism of political opponents rather than direct support of a party.

- A newspaper's partisanship is important because it influences the tone and nature of day-to-day news reporting and other content throughout the newspaper (Kuhn, 2000)
- Day to day hostility and critiques of certain issues and policies that challenge the party supported do not necessarily threaten the overall partisanship of the newspaper
- Papers' attitudes to partisanship are influenced by several factors, including their history, readership, and ownership (Seymour Ure, 1997).

The main newspapers and press corporations in the UK are introduced below.

### 2.3.3. *The Daily Telegraph*

*The Daily Telegraph* is owned by the Barclay brothers (since 2004). *The Daily Telegraph*, is the highest circulation broadsheet daily newspaper in the United Kingdom with a certified average daily circulation of 882,413. Its readers are mainly Conservative in political attitude. After taking over the paper from the previous owner Conrad Black (who was in court in the USA accused of financial wrong doing) Sir David Barclay suggested that *The Daily Telegraph* might in the future no longer be the 'house newspaper' of the Conservatives. In an interview with *The Guardian* he said: 'Where the government are right we will support them.' The editorial board endorsed the Conservative party in the 2005 general election.

Layout: Except from the *Financial Times*, *The Telegraph* is the only remaining daily newspaper printed on traditional newsprint in the Broadsheet format in the United Kingdom, as most other broadsheet publications have converted to the smaller tabloid/compact or Berliner formats. It has colour photographs. Like all UK national newspapers there is a strict separation between news reporting and opinion/analysis and editorial comment.

### 2.3.4. *News Corporation*

*Chairman and Chief Executive:* Rupert Murdoch

*Company description:* News Corporation is the world's leading publisher of English-language newspapers, with operations in the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and the US. The Company publishes more than 175 different newspapers, employing approximately 15,000 people worldwide and printing more

than 40 million papers a week. News Corporation Europe was formed in November 1998 to look into moving the business into pay TV in Italy & France.

The UK newspapers *The Sun* and *The Times* operate under a subsidiary of *News Corporation* called *News International*. *News International* is split into two newspaper groups:

1) *News Group newspapers* - MD, News Group Newspapers

*The Sun*

*The News of The World* (Sunday)

2) *Times newspapers* – MD, Times Newspaper Ltd

*The Times*

#### 2.3.5. *Scott Trust – Guardian Media Group*

*Company description:* A UK media business with interests in national, regional and local newspapers, magazines, the Internet and radio. It is wholly owned by the Scott Trust. The Scott Trust was created in 1936 to maintain the journalistic and commercial principles pursued by C P Scott, the long-time editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, and to avoid crippling death duties. Under the guidance of the Scott Trust, *Guardian Media Group* has grown to become one of the most innovative and successful UK media companies, with a wide range of commercial interests. The unique constitution of Scott Trust and Group ensures both commercial success of the Group as a whole, and maintenance of *The Guardian* as a voice of irreplaceable importance in British life.

*Brief History:* The origins of *Guardian Media Group* go back to the founding of *The Manchester Guardian* in 1821. *The Manchester Evening News* (which had been launched in 1868) was purchased in 1924. In 1936, ownership of both papers was vested in the Scott Trust, which had been set up to avoid death duties and to ensure that *The Manchester Guardian* would continue to be run on its traditional lines as an independent newspaper. Its increased national standing led to *The Guardian* being renamed in 1959, and in 1976 the newspaper relocated its headquarters to London.



Many regional newspapers were acquired over the next twenty years, along with radio and television interests including a stake in GMTV (since sold) and Jazz FM. The first Automart magazine was acquired in 1982, the start of a continuing involvement with Auto Trader currently represented as a 50% stake in Trader Media. In 1993 the Group reconstituted itself as Guardian Media Group plc and purchased the Observer. Today it continues to grow its radio and Internet interests while actively developing its newspapers and magazines.

### 2.3.6. UK newspapers

*National* Newspapers Division, trading as Guardian Newspapers Ltd, publishes national daily and weekly newspapers seven days of the week in the UK and overseas. These include *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *Guardian Weekly*, *Guardian Europe*, *the Mail and Guardian in South Africa*, *Money Observer*, *Guardian News Services*, and the flagship *Guardian Unlimited* service on the Internet. The editorial quality of both *The Guardian* and *The Observer* under their editors Alan Rusbridger and Roger Alton has been recognised by many awards in recent years. *The Guardian* has been market leader in quality press recruitment advertising for over a decade. In the nineties they also published *The Guardian Europe* – a weekly paper that collected articles of argument and analysis from across the continent – however, the paper was hit by recession.

### 2.3.7. Trinity Mirror PLC

*Company description:* Trinity Mirror was born out of the merger of two highly successful newspaper companies in September 1999 – Trinity PLC and Mirror Group PLC. In 1996 Trinity became the largest regional publisher in the UK when it bought a group of award-winning daily and weekly newspapers from The Thomson Corporation. Employing around 14,000 staff and with over 250 titles, it reaches nearly half the population of the UK and is the biggest publisher in Europe by circulation figures. Their national portfolio boasts one of the most widely read daily newspapers in the world – *The Mirror* – as well as the *Sunday Mirror*, *Sunday People*, *Racing Post*, *Scottish - Daily Record* and *Sunday Mail*. They claim to have a huge regional presence with titles like *The Western Mail* in Cardiff, the *Daily Post* in Liverpool, *The Journal* in Newcastle and the *Evening Mail* in Birmingham. They claim ‘Nearly half the population reads one of our titles, which include three of the top 10 regional evening newspapers and three of the top six regional Sunday newspapers’.

**Table 4 - Ownership of the UK press in 2002**

Parent organisation	Subsidiaries operating in the UK	Country of ownership/ HQ/ scope	National	Sunday	Regional & others
National & regional					
Hollinger International		USA Scope: international	-Daily -Telegraph	-Sunday -Telegraph	The Spectator
News Corporation & Fox Entertainment Group	News International: 1. News Groups Newspapers 2. Times newspapers	International Scope: international	- <i>The Sun</i> - The Times	- News Of The World - Sunday Times	
Scott Trust	Guardian Media	UK Scope: national	Guardian	Observer	- Manchester Evening News
Trinity Mirror		UK Scope: national	<i>The Mirror</i>	- Sunday Mirror - Sunday People	Largest regional publisher

#### 2.4. Events and politics during the periods of data collection

Crime and immigration, that familiar trope in British journalism, were represented in numerous articles in all phase of the study, In Phase 1, for example, an article reported police complaints about the additional costs of crime created by new migrant populations, another reported the role of Albanians in a bank robbery and yet another reported on the ‘people smuggling’ of illegal immigrants.

The significance of Islam was present in the press throughout the whole study and reflected in stories about the situation in Iraq and other events attached to the so-called *War on terror*, such as trials of suspect terrorists and the debate around the ongoing existence of the Guantanamo Bay camp. In Phase 1, there was extensive coverage of a court case against Muslim men accused of a plot to kill a Muslim British soldier. The ‘Danish cartoon’ incident additionally still had mileage as indicated by a report that the original cartoons were to be placed in a Danish museum. At the same time, the credentials of British concern for justice and tolerance were represented by articles condemning the government plans to repatriate child asylum seekers; by expressed concern that new plans regarding ‘stop and search’ powers for the police could be misused in their discriminatory application against individuals belonging to ethnic minority groups. Similar concerns were also expressed in an article critiquing the absence of members of ethnic minority groups in the list of newly appointed High Court judges. There was also a long article arguing for a positive recognition of Arab and Muslim contributions to scholarship.

In Phase 1, Iraq, Kenya and Zimbabwe dominated international news coverage, where the stories may be seen as rehearsing the long established stereotype of tribal primitivism and incapacity for democratic practice that the West – and Britain in particular – have long nurtured about its ‘others’. An article which at one level

asserted British commitment to democratic principles did so by castigating Britain and the West who 'deal closely with' despotic and anti-democratic regimes: North Korea, Burma, Zimbabwe, China and Afghanistan were listed.

A major topic extensively covered by the media in Phase 2 was the report on immigration published by the House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee. Whilst the report itself drew relatively sceptical conclusions about the economic benefit from immigration, the response of the media ranged from pointing out the contribution of immigration to British society and culture to analysing the burden new arrivals are for local authorities. The urges to curb immigration numbers coincided with discussions about tightening control on the borders in order to prevent trafficking and smuggling.

In the same period terror, and fear of terror, kept haunting the pages of the press, reconfirming its domination as a topic where minorities are mentioned. All media covered the trial of eight British Muslim men accused of conspiracy to blow up aircraft using liquid explosives, and presented extended descriptions of the 'terror videos' the suspects had recorded prior to their 'martyrdom' acts.

Religion, which as a single topic in general gets little coverage in the British press, received extensive space in the media in the week analysed for Phase 2. The primary reason for this unusual level of attention was the accusations cast at Jewish, Catholic and Anglican faith schools for requesting money from parents in order to secure a school place for their children. Attention was also given to Communities Secretary Hazel Blears' statement to stop tolerating 'Islamic ghettos' in the UK and to aim for 'community cohesion'. Overall, and as the analysis sections below confirm, religion tends to appear regularly in the press only in relation to Islam (and very rarely in relation to other religions and dogmas).

Historical events related to minority and migrant histories were represented in a number of articles. The conflict in Northern Ireland was revisited with reference to the resignation of Ireland's Prime Minister Bertie Ahern, as well as in relation to the publication of the memoirs of Tony Blair's Chief of Staff, Jonathan Powell. Another period, significant for Britain and the postcolonial world, was revisited by the media through the launch of an online register of British Empire slaves.

During Phase 2, a number of international stories that relate to minority issues received extensive coverage. These include the controversial elections in Zimbabwe and the figure of Robert Mugabe; relevant stories appeared in prominent positions in the press this week: there were media analyses of the fate of white farmers in

Zimbabwe, Mugabe's political opponents, as well as that of Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa. The clashes in Tibet between Chinese authorities and Buddhist monks were discussed in conjunction with the polemic around the controversial Olympic torch procession through London. An event that attracted a lot of attention is the selection of Barack Obama as the Democratic Party presidential candidate; issues of race and of the position of African Americans in the US were repeatedly discussed in such stories.

During Phase 3, one of the topics that received extensive media coverage was the call of the Scottish Labour leader Wendy Alexander for an early referendum on Scottish Independence. Considerable attention was also paid to the internal problems of the Labour Party, more specifically Gordon Brown's relationship to Labour MSPs and the attitude of the Labour government towards Scottish independence and the fate of the Union.

Another government decision that was analysed by the media in Phase 3 was the introduction of the points-based system for the assessment of skilled immigrants. In this sense, concerns about the presence of foreign-nationals in Britain have become an ongoing topic for the media in the UK. A large number of articles discussed what is seen as the negative effect of foreign players in the Premier League on English football, the risks of hiring a foreign manager to head England's team, and the need for foreign players to pass an English language test before being given a visa. Moreover, and yet again, foreign nationals were linked to the terror threat discourse: articles questioned the hiring of non-UK airport staff without a criminal record check.

The challenges facing the new London mayor Boris Johnson were discussed in view of past allegations against him of racism and Islamophobia; and in relation to his appointment of black community leader Ray Lewis as a deputy mayor to tackle youth violence. Furthermore, several articles from this period dealt with instances of racist behaviour towards members of minority communities, e.g., the stabbing of a black teenager in London, the racist treatment of a Caribbean soldier in the Army, the expulsion of young children for racist behaviour in class, the inadequacy of the current school system to meet black male pupils' needs, allegations of anti-Semitism in the treatment of Chelsea manager Avram Grant, as well as allegations for racist abuse of Manchester United player Patrice Evra. The British black community was also mentioned with reference to a new image history archive recently opened in London, whereas the Jewish community was discussed in terms of the presence of a significant number of its members in the UK top 10 celebrity list.

The British Muslim community again received considerable media attention during Phase 3, something that confirms the uneven interest of the press in this specific group, especially compared to other minority groups. The pending release from prison of the radical preacher Abu Qatada, the trial of the suspected plotters of suicide attacks on transatlantic planes in August 2006, and the drug past of one of the 7/7 London bombers (Mohammed Siddique Khan) were analysed at length in a number of articles. Further to the representation of British Muslims in terms of terrorist plots, the media presented a debate about the unfair treatment of Muslim faith schools vis-à-vis other faith schools.

Religion resurfaced in the public eye again this week, with discussions about the onslaught of secularism and the statement of the head of the Roman Catholic Church for England and Wales that Britain had become a 'God-free zone'.

As far as the international context is concerned, one of the main topics covered by the media in Phase 3 is the situation in the Middle East. Significant attention was paid to the celebrations of Israel's independence, highlighting the continuing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the involvement of Iran and Syria in support of Hezbollah and Hamas, and the proposal by British academics to boycott Israeli university. The US elections were also kept in the limelight, focusing on the compromising connection between Obama and his pastor Rev Jeremiah Wright, who claimed AIDS had been invented to kill black people. The controversial politics of the Chinese government in Tibet and the violent suppression of the protests in the province were referred to briefly in a number of articles dealing with the Olympic torch expedition to Everest.

A topic that received significant coverage during Phase 4 was the Labour government 42-day detention bill. Discussions around the controversial bill focused on it being perceived as an infringement on civil liberties and on its effect on the Muslim minority group in the UK (although Northern Ireland and IRA activities in the past were also mentioned in some articles). Thus, terrorism once again was a topic of primary concern. Coverage included reports about the loss of secret Al-Qaeda papers on a train, the trial of the wife of one of the failed 21/7 bombers, the arrest of a Nottingham University student over the possession of an Al-Qaeda handbook, Dominic Grieve's controversial statements about 'understanding' the 7/7 terrorists, the arrest of 'hate preacher' Abu Hamza's son, and the arrest of a Brazilian postman for bomb hoaxes.

The media also covered extensively instances of racism and discrimination in the UK in this phase. Cases of religious and racial discrimination against the Army and the Metropolitan Police were reported, as well as the failure of a Muslim couple to sue the NHS, the unjust treatment of a HIV-positive asylum seeker, the absence of black managers in the Premier League, and court action against a racist white gang. Much attention was drawn to the controversy caused by the Premier League chairman Sir David Richards' claim that foreign players in the League were to blame for England's failure to qualify for Euro 2008 and his insistence on caps on their numbers. Furthermore, a spokesperson of the Scottish National Party claimed that the BBC had an English and London bias at the expense of regional coverage.

The issue of immigration resurfaced again in the media with an analysis of a government report concluding that Eastern European migrants are not the cause of UK unemployment and a House of Lords report pointing out that the unfair treatment of wealthy non-domiciled workers may have damaged UK's international reputation. The positive representation of migrants in Britain was also reinforced by historical accounts of black immigration to the UK and its cultural contribution, as well as the new government initiative of setting up cohesion teams to help migrants' successful integration in their host communities.

Internationally, the media covered extensively Ireland's referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, highlighting the fact that rightwing Catholic groups joined forces with parties from the entire political spectrum in their 'No-vote' campaign. The war in Afghanistan was another major international focus. News of the 100<sup>th</sup> British serviceman killed by the Taliban, the Taliban jailbreak in Kandahar, the seizure by Afghan authorities of hashish meant to fund the Taliban, the killing of Pakistani troops by the US army, and the blowing up of large amounts of opium by the RAF (again, meant to fund Taliban activities) constituted the majority of the reports in this period. The US election campaign was discussed with reference to the racial slurs the Obama camp received from some US media (Fox TV). Other international news included the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with reports covering the killing of a Palestinian girl by an Israeli tank, the resistance of Palestinians against the building of more Israeli homes in east Jerusalem, and the reconciliation of Fatah and Hamas. Also, the Canadian Prime Minister's formal apology to Canada's Aboriginal peoples for the discriminatory practices in residential schools was given some coverage. There were several accounts of the life of British citizens abroad: from unfavourable

business opportunities in France due to taxes and bureaucracy, to Brits accused of crimes such as drug smuggling and homicide.

## **2.5. Methodological remarks**

This study presented a number of methodological challenges. The expansive focus (e.g. in terms of the amount of content and the detailed categories to be analysed) raised concerns about its cross-national comparability and its ability to record and understand the rhetorical style, the narratives and counter-narratives of multiculturalism and ethnic relations in the UK and the framing and agenda setting functions of the press. These issues are discussed in detail in the Final Technical Report, while in the last section of this report we highlight a number of recommendations for the future development of this study.

Some of the methodological issues and concerns raised early on – especially in terms of the huge amount of data needed to be analysed – were negotiated and dealt with in close communication with the FRA. As regards the selection of newspapers selected for the UK case (*The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror*), we feel that this was the most appropriate choice. They represent a good sample of partisanship diversity (two left and two right-wing), and type of publication (two broadsheets, two tabloids). However, the original plan to code all the editions from a week's sample (Monday to Saturday) was found to be a task unmanageable according to the current budget and deadlines. One of the reasons for this is the length and density of the British press – big editions, including several supplements and different news sections. According to UK team estimates, the time needed to read the newspaper, number it, photocopy relevant articles and code them according to the database was a task unmanageable if all *six* editions of the week were to be included.

In order to manage the task, the UK team negotiated with the FRA to reduce the sample to *three* editions per week, rotating the days selected per phase. In Phases 1 and 3 the Monday, Wednesday and Friday editions were coded, whereas in Phases 2 and 4 the Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday ones were coded. It should be noted that Saturday's editions are particular long, with almost twice the number of articles, supplements and content. The extensive amount of newsprint to be scanned and the amount of data to be coded has meant that this project has had to be subsidised by the participating university departments.

The UK team excluded the data collected during Phase 1 on several grounds. Firstly, because the criteria for the selection of relevant articles were modified: after Phase 1m coders were required to read ALL newspaper articles, irrespective of whether the headline or the first paragraph indicated relevant minority content. This inevitably resulted in an increased sample of relevant minority content articles. Secondly, the coding scheme was significantly changed for the following variables. Thirdly, because the criteria to code minority issues was modified minority issues coded on Phase 1 are considerably outnumbered as well as miss represented.

Throughout the progress of this project the collaborators in the different pilot countries have developed a shared comparative methodological tool. Through dialogue with each other and with the FRA they have honed a coding schedule that has become a common analytic instrument .However, it is apparent that this efficacy of this instrument is dependent upon the shared acquired habitus of the national teams as in working together they build a common repertoire of understanding that enables them to employ the coding schedule that has been developed internationally. This is both necessary and inevitable given the complexity of the coding schedule and the need to bring a national perspective to bear in the nuanced interpretation of the data. Consequently we must acknowledge the entry of shared subjective routines into the generation of the data. We have no way of knowing how compatible, or divergent, these distinctive habituses would be across the teams operating in this project.

This is in fact a generic problem in developing a workable comparative framework that is committed to a micro analysis of news print. Some of the pragmatic compromises, of acceptance and rejection that have had to be taken in the dialogue between the FRA and specific teams in responding to the teams' concerns have illustrated this tension. We can note, for example, that our team's concern regarding the potentially 'Eurocentric' nature of the coding of geographic areas illustrates how the development of agreed categories may have unintended consequences. Similarly we can note that the implications of mixing 'domestic' and 'international' context have remained unresolved and will leave a residue of questions about what is being subsumed within the agreed coding routine. Or, again , we may note that not choosing to include a category that explicitly tapped issues that related to the 'suppression of freedom of expression and speech' has left this issue irredeemably lost within a much wider coding category. These painful pragmatics of generating a manageable coding schedule may be intrinsic to the chosen methodology: but the ambiguities they consequently build into the available categories need to be held in mind as the data is



subsequently interpreted. This means that the analysis and interpretation must be carried out with the intimate involvement of those team members most closely associated with the actual content coding. This would have direct implications for the guidance given by the FRA in terms of team building and team practice for future contracts for a wider comparative study. We strongly recommend that teams, including experts and coders have more direct involvement in the development of the methodology and the study throughout its various stages.

### **3. ANALYSIS**

The political and media context where this study was conducted has been discussed in some detail in the section above. Thus, in the discussion of the analysis and findings we make little direct reference to the broader context, which we believe that the readers have already acquainted themselves with by reading the introductory section of the report. Here, we are only briefly highlighting the key elements of the political and media context where the study and discussion have taken place. These key elements of the British political and media context that inform the analysis and discussion that follows are:

- The central role that the ‘War in Terror’ has been playing in the shape of British political and policy discourse around diversity and the management of diversity.
- The retreat of ‘multiculturalism’ and the replacement of the dominant policy discourse with the promotion of ‘social cohesion’.
- The popularity among politicians and the public opinion of more restrictions in immigration.
- The press is subject to no direct control of content and self-regulation primarily informs the editorial decisions.
- As a rule, the British press does not use language and references that could be considered as discriminatory against minorities; thus, any media biases are not visible in the use of one or another word, but they need a complex system of analysis and interpretation to become systematically observed.

### **4. ANALYSIS PART I – NEWSPAPER STRUCTURE AND OVERALL CONNOTATION OF ARTICLES**

For the purpose of this study, we analysed a sample of four newspapers, two tabloids and two broadsheets, representing the left and right leaning press. *The Telegraph* and *The Sun* represent the broadsheet and tabloid rightwing press respectively and *The Guardian* and *The Mirror* represent the leftwing broadsheet and tabloid respectively. Though the four newspapers were studied over four Phases, we only include the sample of Phases 2-4 in this analysis, unless indicated otherwise. The reasons for this choice are discussed in detail in the Final Technical Report. Briefly, as seen also in the previous section, this decision was informed by the significant changes that took

place in the methodology between Phase 1 and Phase 2, more specifically in relation to the significant changes (i.) of criteria for the selection of relevant articles and (ii.) of the coding scheme. The UK team felt that the use of data from Phase 1 would contaminate the overall data and analysis and set major risks in the reliability of the analysis. After the exclusion of Phase 1, the total number of articles analysed is 7,092 and this number includes both relevant and irrelevant articles, with less than 8% of the articles being relevant to minority issues, a percentage that indicates the limited space that minorities receive in the national press.

While broadsheet newspapers refer more often to minorities issues than the tabloid press (9% vs. 6%), it is important to note that even in this case, the presence of minorities is limited and largely concentrated in a number of specific themes and sections of the British national press. Among Broadsheets, *The Guardian* is the paper that refers to minority issues the most (10% vs. 8% in *The Telegraph*) and among Tabloids, *The Sun* is the paper that refers to minority issues most (7% vs. 4% in *The Mirror*) – i.e. what we observe here is that when it comes to political affiliations there is a difference between broadsheets and tabloids, with the broadsheet leftwing newspaper dedicating more space to the topic and the rightwing tabloid doing the same.

#### 4.1.1. Overview Information

The majority of articles we analysed falls into four newspaper sections: 31% Supplements, 15% Mixed news, 13% Opinion and 11% National Affairs. The extensive proportion of articles in Supplements is related to the coding system we have used to code supplements in a general way. For instance, of the articles with minority content, 19% fall into the Supplements section in Broadsheets, while in Tabloids this percentage is considerably lower (0.6%). As to the articles without minority content, the same happens – 51% fall into Supplements in Broadsheets, while in Tabloids only 6% of the articles fall in the corresponding newspaper section. It is important to note that there are differences in the structure of the Broadsheet press in the UK (from now also referred to as BRS) and Tabloid (from now also referred to as TBL) press. Some sections are considerably more present in Broadsheets than in Tabloids, more specifically, International & EU Affairs (7% vs. 0.7%), National Affairs (15% vs. 7%), and Supplements (49% vs. 6%). At the same time, some sections are considerably more present in Tabloids than in Broadsheets, such as: Mixed News (32% vs. 3%), and Sports (24% vs. 0.2%), and Celebrity &

Entertainment (6% vs. 0.2%). Some sections appear with similar percentage in both kinds of publications: Economics & Financial News (5% in Broadsheets vs. 4% in Tabloids), Opinion (13% vs. 12%). It is important to remember that Broadsheet Supplements focus on specific topics such as sports, finance, travel, etc. In Tabloids, on the other hand, some of these topics are discussed in pieces that are part of the main body of the newspaper, e.g. Sports, and these have been coded as Newspaper sections of their own right. Thus, the high number of Broadsheet articles coded as Supplements is the equivalent of the Sports articles in (the main section of) the Tabloids.

The Broadsheets dedicate the most space for minority content articles in their National Affairs section – 26% of all minority content articles, and this is followed by references in the sections of Opinion (23%), International & EU Affairs (20%) and Supplements (19%). These results are slightly different compared to the percentage of article concentration when it comes to articles without minority content: Supplements: 51%, National Affairs: 14%, Opinion: 12%, and International & EU Affairs: 6%. In Tabloids, the most important sections for minority content articles are Mixed news – 41% of the articles, National Affairs – 19%, Sports – 7%, and International & EU Affairs – 5%. These results are different from the most important sections Tabloid articles without minority content: 31% in Mixed News, 25% in Sports, 6% in Celebrity and Entertainment, 6% in National Affairs, and 6% Supplements.

As far as the location of the relevant stories appearance is concerned, the Front page section in Broadsheets is more representative than that in Tabloids. Of the 117 articles in the Front page section, 12 articles have minority content (which represents 2% of all articles with minority content) and 105 do not (2% of all non-relevant articles coded). In Broadsheets, 3% of the minority content articles are on the Front page, versus 2% of the non-relevant articles in the same newspaper section; in Tabloids the figures are reversed with 0.6% of the minority content articles and 1% of the non-relevant ones being on the Front page.

Other sections with relatively high representation of minority related issues are: International & EU Affairs (15% with relevant content vs. 4% with irrelevant), National Affairs (24% vs. 10%), and Opinion (23% vs. 12%). At the same time, sections with low representation of relevant content are: Sports (11% with irrelevant content vs. 4% with relevant), and Supplements (32% vs. 13%). Unsurprisingly, the overrepresentation in Broadsheets is more outstanding in the International & EU Affairs (20% vs. 6%) – reflecting the global relevance of issues of diversity and

intercultural affairs – and Opinion (23% vs. 12%) – indicating that minority related stories might not be numerically dominant, but they are important in terms of significance in the public debate. The overrepresentation in Tabloids is more outstanding in International & EU Affairs (5% vs. 0.5%), National Affairs (19% vs. 6%), and Opinion (21% vs. 12%).

The table below presents the distribution of relevant and irrelevant articles by section of the newspapers, as divided between Broadsheets and Tabloids. It is important to note that, in some cases, numbers of references are so low that percentages are statistically insignificant.

**TABLE 5 – RELEVANT AND IRRELEVANT PAPERS BY NEWSPAPER SECTION**

Phase 1 excluded  
Relevant vs. Irrelevant content

SectionName	%						Total %	Total #
	1 Yes		1 Total	2 No		2 Total		
	BRS	TBL		BRS	TBL			
01 Frontpage	3%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%	117	
02 International & EU Affairs	20%	5%	15%	6%	1%	4%	325	
03 National Affairs	26%	19%	24%	14%	6%	10%	807	
04 Mixed News (Mix of national and international political and other news)	2%	41%	14%	3%	31%	15%	1076	
05 Accidents & Crime Reports	0%	1%	0%	0%	2%	1%	48	
06 Local News	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5	
07 Economics & Financial News (incl. news about jobs & employment)	1%	0%	1%	5%	4%	5%	311	
08 Opinion	23%	21%	23%	12%	12%	12%	894	
09 Sports	2%	7%	3%	0%	25%	11%	728	
10 Arts & Culture	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	2%	130	
12 Celebrity & Entertainment	1%	1%	1%	0%	6%	3%	174	
13 Lifestyle (incl. travelling, general interest stories, beauty)	0%	1%	0%	1%	3%	2%	107	
14 Science & IT News	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	34	
15 Media News	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%	82	
16 Supplements	19%	1%	13%	51%	6%	32%	2163	
17 Topic of the Day	1%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	6	
18 Other	2%	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	85	
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	7092	

#### 4.1.2. Text Genre and Size

Among the relevant articles, the most used Text genres are: News story (41%), Information/Short news (15%) and Opinion column (13%). Some Text genres are considerably more present in Broadsheets than in Tabloids, especially: Interview (2% vs. 1%), Letter to the editor (10% vs. 7%), Life-style story (2% vs. 1%), and Review (6% vs. 2%). At the same time, some Text genres are considerably more present in Tabloids than in Broadsheets: Information/Short news (22% vs. 11%), Celebrity news (4% vs. 0.4%). In other cases, there is more similarity in the percentages of stories

between BRS and TBL: News story (39% in Broadsheets vs. 43% in Tabloids), Opinion column (around 13% each), Other Opinion (around 1% each).

When it comes to the articles with minority content, the most used Text genres are the News story (51%), Opinion column (14%), Letter to the editor (8%), and Information/Short news (5%). As to articles with no minority content, the most important genres are the News story (40%), Information/Short news (16%), Opinion column (13%), and Letter to the editor (8%). This indicates that the genre News story overrepresents minority issues (51% of the articles with minority content vs. 40% of those without), and Information/Short news under-represents them (5% of all articles with minority content vs. 17% of those without). Opinion column and Letter to the editor are evenly present in articles with and without minority content. Letters to the editor include examples that, possibly more than in any other section of the newspaper, reflect direct biases pro/against migration and pro/against expressions of diversity. A letter to *The Guardian*, published on the 3/4/08 for example supports immigration and invites readers to see its positive effects by noting: 'Go and look to see what migrant labour contributes'. In the same day and at the same paper, another reader's letter takes the exact opposite stand: 'High rates of net migration UNSURPRISINGLY push up house prices in detriment of POORER PEOPLE'.

The most important Text genres for Broadsheet articles with minority content are the News story (47%), Opinion column (15%), Letter to the editor (9%) and Profile (6%). The most important Text genres for Tabloid articles with minority content are the News story (59%), Opinion column (12%), Letter to the editor (7%), Information/Short news (6%). Except for the outstanding values in Profile in Broadsheets, both paper types use similar patterns. Minority content articles in the editorial text genre are more representative in Tabloids than in Broadsheets (6% vs. 4%). The opposite is the case among the articles with minority content that fall into the Letter to the editor text genre: 9% in Broadsheets vs. 7% in Tabloids.

When it comes to size, the most common article size is Less than quarter-page (63%), followed by Quarter-page articles (17%), Half-page articles (12%) and Full-page articles (or more) (8%), which indicates the logical sense that our sample is composed by a large number of short articles and a few long ones. Some Article sizes are considerably more present in Broadsheets than in Tabloids: Half-page articles (14% vs. 10%) and Quarter-page articles (20% vs. 13%). Some Article sizes are considerably more present in Tabloids than in Broadsheets: Less than quarter-page (69% vs. 60%). This indicates, as expected, that Tabloids tend to use short articles,

which is also a consequence of the paper length typical for each kind of publication (Broadsheets are usually twice as large as Tabloids) In relation to Article size, the most important aspect is that minority content articles use more frequently Full-page size than non-relevant articles do (13% vs. 7%). This result happens in Broadsheets (13% of relevant articles vs. 7% of irrelevant), as well as in Tabloids (11% vs. 8%). The same is not the case with Half-page articles, which are evenly distributed in the number of articles with and without minority content (11% vs. 12%).

#### 4.1.3. *What do the British papers write about and how*

For the whole of the sample, the most important Thematic Areas are: Sports (25%), Finance & Economy (12%), Politics (10%), and Violence & Crime (9%). The most important Thematic Areas for Broadsheets are: Sports (21%), Finance & Economy (16%), Politics (12%), Arts & culture (8%) and the most important Thematic Areas for Tabloids are: Sports (32%), Violence & Crime (13%), Celebrity (11%), and Finance & Economy (6%). This indicates that Broadsheets and Tabloids adopt different perspectives in the selection of thematic areas, with Broadsheets emphasis on Sports, Finance & Economy, Politics and Arts & culture and Tabloids investing more space on Sports, Violence & Crime and Celebrity Thematic areas.

Among articles with minority content, the most referred Thematic areas are: Politics (19%), Terrorism (10%), Sports (10%), Violence & Crime (8%), War (9%), and Immigration (8%). Except for the areas of Violence & Crime, and Sports, the distribution of relevant minority articles tends to outweigh (as percentage) the distribution of irrelevant articles in these Thematic areas: in Politics (19% of all relevant articles vs. 9% of all irrelevant articles), Terrorism (10% vs. 0.2%), War (9% vs. 1%), Immigration (8% vs. 0.1%). This points towards one of our most important findings: some Thematic areas are almost exclusively related to minority content: Terrorism, War and Immigration. More often than not, these areas refer to the problems around terrorism, war and immigration and the close interrelation between these themes with minorities raises concerns, even if minorities are not necessarily seen in a negative light. Arguably, the mere repetition of the minority references in connection to negative stories can reinforce negative understanding of minorities and of their otherness. Here are some examples of the overrepresentation of minorities in these three thematic areas: ‘Furious neighbours were not told evil Abduk ... had plotted a jet terror attack’ (*The Sun*, 1/4/08). It can be argued that quotations like this reinforce popular fears that (Muslim) terrorists live among us. Another article in *The*

*Telegraph*, (10/6/08) reconfirms another fear about the connection between crime and migration: ‘Thousands of Chinese criminals cannot be deported.’

Among articles with minority content, some Thematic Areas are more referred in Broadsheet than in Tabloids: Politics (20% vs. 17%), Social conflicts (3% vs. 1%), Immigration (9% vs. 5%), Equality in society (2% vs. 0%), Freedom of Opinion and Speech (2% vs. 0%), Arts and Culture (5% vs. 1%), and Education (3% vs. 1%). Other Thematic areas are more referred to in Tabloids than in Broadsheets: Terrorism (18% vs. 7%), Violence & Crime (15% vs. 6%), Celebrity (5% vs. 1%), and Sports (13% vs. 9%), while some Thematic areas are evenly distributed in both types of papers, e.g. War (9%), which, after the invasion in Iraq in particular has become an issue widely discussed in the public domain and across various media. Stories around war include references to minorities such as: “‘They blood themselves against UK forces here, then graduate into the upper valleys,” said Major Neil Den-McKay, officer commanding of a Scottish infantry company stationed at Garmser’s agricultural college’ (*The Guardian*, 5/5/08, on Scottish soldiers fighting ‘the war on terror’; ‘He was soon learning how to wage a terror war on the West’ (on a terrorist suspect in *The Mirror*, 1/4/08).

#### 4.1.4. Overall Appraisal

The overall appraisal used to refer to minority content depends on which category of analysis we observe. In general, references coded (Speakers, Other Actors and Minority issues) are referred more frequently with Explicit positive appraisal (37%) than with Explicit negative appraisal (28%). Comparing reference appraisal per paper type, Broadsheet refers to references coded more frequently with positive appraisal than Tabloids do (Speakers: 49% positive BRS vs. 26% positive TBL; Other Actors: 34% positive BRS vs. 30% positive TBL; Minority Issues: 47% positive BRS vs. 27% positive TBL).

If we consider, however, mentions to minority content in the headlines, the appraisal used is more frequently Explicit negative than Explicit positive (36% positive vs. 32% negative). Nevertheless, broadsheet headlines more frequently use Explicit positive appraisal than tabloids do (37% BRS vs. 19% TBL). Tabloids usually refer to minority content in their headlines with an Explicit negative appraisal (63% negative vs. 19% positive). It is worth mentioning that although Broadsheets use more positive appraisal in their headlines than Tabloids do, they also use more headlines with no appraisal at all (26% BRS vs. 7% TBL). Explicit ambivalent and Explicit ambiguous



appraisals are evenly distributed between the two paper types (3% BRS vs. 4% TBL, and 8% BRS vs. 7% TBL, respectively).

**Table 6 – Reference appraisal**

PHASE 1 EXCLUDED  
Speakers vs. Other Actors vs. Minority issues

ReferenceType	PaperType	01 Explicit positive	02 Explicit negative	03 Explicit ambivalent	04 Explicit ambiguous	09 No appraisal	Grand Total
1 Speaker	broadsheet	49%	23%	5%	9%	15%	100%
	tabloid	26%	37%	3%	13%	21%	100%
1 Speaker Total		43%	26%	4%	10%	16%	100%
2 Other actor	broadsheet	34%	28%	8%	9%	21%	100%
	tabloid	30%	33%	5%	10%	22%	100%
2 Other actor Total		33%	29%	7%	9%	21%	100%
3 Issue	broadsheet	47%	22%	15%	8%	9%	100%
	tabloid	27%	46%	10%	13%	5%	100%
3 Issue Total		41%	28%	13%	10%	8%	100%
Total %		37%	28%	8%	10%	17%	100%
Total #		2218	1718	471	576	1050	6033

**Table 7 – Appraisal in relevant article headlines**

PHASE 1 EXCLUDED  
Description: Percentage of relevant article headlines with a Headline appraisal (articles with minority content in the headlines only, n=207)  
ALL vs. Broadsheet vs. Tabloids

Appraisal	%		Total %	Total #
	BRS	TBL		
01 Explicit positive	37%	19%	32%	67
02 Explicit negative	26%	63%	36%	75
03 Explicit ambivalent	3%	4%	3%	6
04 Explicit ambiguous (incl. ironic statements)	8%	7%	8%	16
09 No appraisal	26%	7%	21%	43
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	207

In relation to references coded, Speakers are more frequently mentioned with positive appraisal than Other Actors and Minority issues are (43% Speakers vs. 33% Other Actors vs. 41% Minority Issues). Speakers are referred in almost half of the cases with positive appraisal by Broadsheets (49% positive vs. 26% negative) while Tabloids refer to Speakers mostly with negative appraisal (23% positive vs. 37% negative). Other actors are referred almost equally with positive and negative appraisal both by Broadsheets and Tabloids (BRS 34% positive vs. 28% negative; TBL 30% positive vs. 33% negative), nevertheless, Broadsheets still refer to Other actors in a more positive way than Tabloids do (34% BRS vs. 28% TBL). Minority issues are referred in almost half of the cases with positive appraisal by Broadsheets (47% positive vs. 22% negative) while Tabloids refer to Minority issues in almost half of the cases with negative appraisal (27% positive vs. 46% negative).

#### 4.1.5. Analysis of Pictures

Overall, the analysis of pictures did not allow us to reach any significant conclusions, because of the statistical insignificance of the small numbers of images attached to relevant articles. In total, 7,623 images were counted, and among those, 330 images were counted as referring to minority content (4% of the cases). This means that the 276 article attached pictures coded, plus the 9 unattached pictures coded represent in total 330 images. Images counted in Broadsheets in 6% of the cases refer to minority content, while in Tabloids only 3% of the images counted do so. The newspaper with more images counted referring to minority content is *The Guardian* (6%), followed by *The Telegraph* (5%), *The Sun* (4%), and *The Mirror* (2%). The picture type that most frequently refers to minority content is “Other Drawing”. (26%, n=39), followed by Drawing of person(s) (13%, n=1262). Most of the Other Drawing pictures coded appear in *The Guardian* (37 out of 39).

Articles with minority content are evenly distributed in relation to the presence of a picture in the article (52% of them are related to a picture, while 49% aren't). In Broadsheets, 50% of the headlines (with or without minority content) are related to a picture, while in tabloids the number is higher (57%). Among headlines with minority content, 42% are related to a picture, while among headlines without minority content, 59% aren't. This indicates that a headline with minority content does not increase the chance to have a picture related to the entire article (on the contrary, it reduces it). Broadsheets' and tabloids' headlines with minority content share similar percents of pictures attached to a headline (41% BRS, 42% TBL). Among articles with a picture attached, the images are usually mentioned with neutral connotation (66% of the cases, similar percentage also for BRS and TBL, 66% vs. 67% respectively). Among the pictures with some connotation, the most common is positive connotation (19%), Negative (9%), Ambiguous (5%) and Ambivalent (1%). Among the articles with headline, images are referred with neutral connotation in almost three quarters of the cases in articles without minority content headline (72%), while among those articles with a minority content headline, 51% of the times images are mentioned with neutral connotation. Among the articles with minority content headlines, images in broadsheets are most often referred to with a positive connotation against the tabloids (32% vs. 8%). The inverted situation appears among articles with minority content and negative picture connotation: tabloids' pictures fall 25% in this category, while only 12% of broadsheet pictures do the same.

When it comes to captions accompanying pictures, those relating to minority content articles, are usually mentioned with neutral connotation (65% of the cases). Among the captions with some connotation, the most common is positive connotation (19%), followed by Negative (12%), Ambivalent (3%), and Ambiguous (1%). In comparison to tabloids, Broadsheets more often refer to captions with a positive connotation (22% vs. 13%) while the opposite is valid for negative connotation (21% TBL vs. 7% BRS). Among the articles with headline, captions are referred with neutral connotation in almost half of the headlines with minority content (48%) and in almost three quarters of the headlines without minority content (74%). Among the articles with minority content, captions are 27% of the times mentioned with positive connotation, and 21% mentioned with negative connotation. Among articles with a headline related to a minority content, broadsheets use more positive than negative connotation (33% positive vs. 16% negative), while the opposite happens with tabloids (32% negative vs. 14% positive).

**TABLE 8 – PICTURES COUNTED VS RELEVANT CONTENT VIS PICTURE TYPE**

PHASE 1 EXCLUDED

Description: Percentage of pictures counted vs. Picture type vs. Relevant content  
All vs. Broadsheets vs. Tabloids



Data	Broadsheet		broadsheet Total	tabloid		tabloid Total	Grand total
	Guardian	Telegraph		Mirror	Sun		
Total Photo with person(s)	1330	1440	2770	1830	1631	3461	6231
Relevant P Photo with person(s)	84	79	163	36	59	95	258
% of relevant content	6%	6%	6%	2%	4%	3%	4%
Total Photo without persons(s)	284	335	619	202	177	379	998
Relevant Photo without persons(s)	10	10	20	8	10	18	38
% of relevant content	4%	3%	3%	4%	6%	5%	4%
Total Drawing of person(s)	100	18	118	3	5	8	126
Relevant Drawing of person(s)	13	2	15	0	1	1	16
% of relevant content	13%	11%	13%	0%	20%	13%	13%
Total Other drawing	37	1	38	0	1	1	39
Relevant Other drawing	9	0	9	0	1	1	10
% of relevant content	24%	0%	24%	-	100%	100%	26%
Total Political Cartoons	18	11	29	3	4	7	36
Relevant Political Cartoons	1	0	1	0	1	1	2
% of relevant content	6%	0%	3%	0%	25%	14%	6%
Total Cartoon Other	39	15	54	10	16	26	80
Relevant Cartoons Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
% of relevant content	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total Other type of image	48	42	90	13	10	23	113
Relevant Other type of image	0	6	6	0	0	0	6
% of relevant content	0%	14%	7%	0%	0%	0%	5%
Total images coded	1856	1862	3718	2061	1844	3905	7623
Total relevant images coded	117	97	214	44	72	116	330
% of relevant content	6%	5%	6%	2%	4%	3%	4%

## 4.2. Illustration of pictures

Pictures were coded according to their connotation separately from the coding of captions and the coding of the article appraisal. Due to that, for example, it was possible that an article presented a neutral picture even that the caption and the general article appraisal was negative (or vice-versa).

Note: During phase 2, 3 and 4, only 3 pictures were coded as “ambivalent” – due to the statistical insignificance of this sample, we included no illustrations of these cases in the report.

### 4.2.1. Positive connotation

	<p>Newspaper: Guardian, 07/05/08, Obituaries, Art 96</p> <p>Title/sub-title: Mildred Loving : with her husband she overturned the ban in many US states against interracial marriage [NB: Loving is the surname of the couple].</p> <p>Caption: The aptly named Midrand and Richard Loving.</p> <p>Rational: Obituary remembers presents the couple as an anti-discrimination moment in the US.</p>
	<p>Newspaper: Guardian, 05/05/08, Sports, Art 94</p> <p>Title/sub-title: Fans rally round defiant Eriksson but Swede admits his time is up</p> <p>Caption: [written in the pictures] “We want Sven [on top of the Sweden Flag]</p> <p>Rational: Foreign player associated to public support in UK.</p>

**After 30 years, black archive gets a permanent home**

**Mary Kennedy Elizabeth Mann**

A small patch of grass in the heart of the city has become a permanent home for the black archive. The archive, which contains over 100,000 items, including photographs, letters, and other documents, has been housed in a temporary location for over 30 years. The archive is now being moved to a new permanent home in the city.

The archive is a collection of items that tell the story of the black community in the city. It includes photographs of famous figures, letters from prominent people, and other documents that provide a unique insight into the lives of black people in the city.

The archive is a treasure trove of information that has been carefully preserved over the years. It is a testament to the resilience and strength of the black community in the city, and it is a source of pride for all who live there.

The archive is now being moved to a new permanent home in the city. The new home is a large, modern building that has been specifically designed to house the archive. It is a fitting home for the archive, and it is a source of pride for all who live there.

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Newspaper: Guardian, 09/05/08, National, Art 35

Title/sub-title:  
After 30 years, black archive gets a permanent home.

Caption: Model Rosemarie Thompson posing for Drum magazine in 1967 : the picture is part of the archive.

Rational: Black model is presented as a expression of the importance to Black immigrants to UK today.

**Muslim major in SAS rescue wins race case against Army**

**By Caroline Bennett**

A Muslim major in the Special Air Services (SAS) has won a race case against the Army. The case was brought by Major Rabia Siddique, who claims that she was discriminated against in a promotion race. The court has ruled in her favor, and she has been awarded compensation.

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Newspaper: Telegraph, 10/06/08, News, Art 57

Title/sub-title:  
Muslim major in SAS rescue wins race case against Army

Caption: Major Rabia Siddique settled her case for discrimination.

Rational: Woman, identified as Muslim, is presented in a neutral image. The headlines and the caption, nevertheless, present her as a victim of discrimination.

**Interview Serb champion has sights set on Wimbledon party**

**Playtime for Ana**

**By Mark Maguire**

Serb tennis champion Ana Ivanovic is set to celebrate her first open title at Wimbledon. The 21-year-old player has won the French Open and is now looking to add Wimbledon to her list of titles. She is expected to be a strong contender for the Wimbledon trophy.

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Newspaper: Telegraph, 14/06/08, Sports, Art 318

Title/sub-title:  
Playtime for Ana : Serb champion has sights set on Wimbledon party

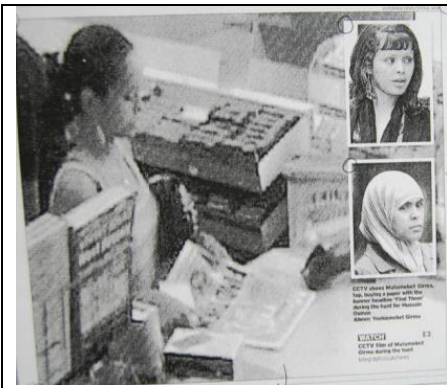
Caption: That's grand: Ana Ivanovic celebrates after winning her first open, the French Open, last week and (right) posing at a photo shoot for Sports magazine.

Rational: Serb player presented as a champion and as a muse.

<p><b>National</b> <b>GUA 05.05 P8 Art 20</b></p> <p><b>Curry houses test Europe's eastern promise</b></p> <p><b>EU workers try to leap cultural gap as restaurant bosses struggle to find staff</b></p> <p><b>Rachel Williams</b></p> <p>A recent review telling of "wooden spoons in the city schools" hangs a long shadow over the abstract artwork on the walls of the restaurant. It is a testament to the fact that the young British Bangladeshi are not interested in the intricate art of balancing Asian spices and no group of British chefs are not the answer. The Bangladesh Caterers Association (BCA) is lobbying for curry work to be officially deemed an occupation suffering from a special skills shortage, allowing new workers to come from Asia.</p> <p>Today's young British Bangladeshi are not interested in the intricate art of balancing Asian spices and no group of British chefs are not the answer. The Bangladesh Caterers Association (BCA) is lobbying for curry work to be officially deemed an occupation suffering from a special skills shortage, allowing new workers to come from Asia.</p> <p>The BCA believes there are 30,000 vacancies across the 12,000 restaurants and takeaways it represents. Last month, Gordon Brown said people already in Britain would be trained up to fill staff shortages. In Hollywood, Mario has decided to try it for himself. On a busy Thursday night, Mario is doubling back and forth to the storeroom, frying chicken pakoras, chopping vegetables and mixing a vat of yogurt, lemon juice, mint sauce, coriander, green chilli and sugar. It takes him 15 minutes to make a batch. He is a 25-year-old Bangladeshi. He has the opportunity to the closing of other new restaurants. He is a 25-year-old Bangladeshi. He has the opportunity to the closing of other new restaurants. He is a 25-year-old Bangladeshi. He has the opportunity to the closing of other new restaurants.</p> <p><b>The next generation of Bangladeshis don't want to know</b></p> <p><b>Romanian 'Mario' prepares plates of food as colleague checks his work</b></p> <p><b>Cook's glossary</b></p> <p><b>Mario asho</b> Come here, Mario Bakli Turmeric Joera Gamin Dhansya Covander Annarah Pinapple Chana Chick peas Beetle Get a move on Morgi anno Fetch the chicken Sabi anno Fetch the vegetables Sakji jashk library up Sakji otto Cut the salad</p>	<p>News: Guardian, 05/05/08, National, Art 20</p> <p>Title/sub-title: Curry houses test Europe's eastern promise : EU workers try to leap cultural gap as restaurant bosses struggle to find staff</p> <p>Caption: Romanian 'Mario' prepares plates of food as colleagues check his work.</p> <p>Rational: Immigration worker being helped by UK employer.</p>
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#### 4.2.2. Negative connotation

<p><b>Hate preacher ... Qatada</b></p> <p><b>Freedom for terror suspect</b></p> <p><b>By DAVID WOODING</b> Whitland Editor</p> <p><b>TERROR</b> suspect Abu Qatada will be back on the streets of Britain in days after winning a fight for bail yesterday. The <b>hate preacher</b>, Osama bin Laden's right-hand man, was granted freedom by a judge after his extradition to London was blocked by the High Court. But he faces a 28-hour curfew after his extradition to London was blocked by the High Court. But he faces a 28-hour curfew after his extradition to London was blocked by the High Court.</p> <p><b>Osman fled to Rome</b></p> <p><b>Wife who aided bomber's escape to Rome faces jail</b></p> <p><b>By Duncan Gardham</b> Security Correspondent</p> <p>THE wife of one of the July 21 bombers went yesterday as she was found guilty of failing to tell police about the plot and helping her husband escape to Rome.</p> <p>Yeshimebet Girma, 32, the daughter of an Ethiopian diplomat, faces jail for failing to alert the authorities before the attacks which could have caused carnage similar to that of the July 7 outrages two weeks earlier. After the bombings went wrong, Girma and her brother picked up Hussain Osman and drove him to their sister's house in Brighton to lie low during the hunt for the four terrorists who had tried to attack London.</p> <p>Two days later, Osman caught a train back to London and stayed at a safe-house in Kennington before escaping on the Eurostar to Rome three days later. Police watching an address associated with Osman followed and shot dead the innocent Brazilian, Jean Charles de Menezes.</p> <p>When Girma was arrested six days after the bombings she refused to help the police. Her sister, Muljumebet, 24, a former model, and brother, Esayas, 22, were also found guilty of assisting an offender and failing to alert police. Muljumebet's boyfriend, Mohammed Kabaneh, 29, had earlier pleaded guilty to similar charges.</p> <p>Max (Jill) QC, prosecuting, told the jury: "The evidence against these defendants shows them to be anything but innocent dupes or simple good Samaritians."</p> <p>Girma, a Christian convert to Islam, claimed that she and her husband were estranged but police found his property in their council flat in Stockwell, south London.</p> <p>The bombers held meetings at the flat and Girma delivered some of Osman's tapes of extremist preachers to one of his friends as a "bequest" on the evening before the attacks.</p> <p>Osman had been injured when his homemade chapatti flour and hydrogen peroxide bomb partially detonated and Muljumebet Girma admitted helping to clean and bandage his leg when he arrived at her house in Brighton before disposing of his clothes in a nearby wood.</p>	<p>News: The Sun, 09/05/08, Mixed, Art 5</p> <p>Title/sub-title: Freedom for terror suspect</p> <p>Caption: Hate preacher ... Qatada</p> <p>Rational: Muslim preacher referred to as 'hate preacher' and 'terror suspect'.</p>
<p><b>Wife who aided bomber's escape to Rome faces jail</b></p> <p><b>By Duncan Gardham</b> Security Correspondent</p> <p>THE wife of one of the July 21 bombers went yesterday as she was found guilty of failing to tell police about the plot and helping her husband escape to Rome.</p> <p>Yeshimebet Girma, 32, the daughter of an Ethiopian diplomat, faces jail for failing to alert the authorities before the attacks which could have caused carnage similar to that of the July 7 outrages two weeks earlier. After the bombings went wrong, Girma and her brother picked up Hussain Osman and drove him to their sister's house in Brighton to lie low during the hunt for the four terrorists who had tried to attack London.</p> <p>Two days later, Osman caught a train back to London and stayed at a safe-house in Kennington before escaping on the Eurostar to Rome three days later. Police watching an address associated with Osman followed and shot dead the innocent Brazilian, Jean Charles de Menezes.</p> <p>When Girma was arrested six days after the bombings she refused to help the police. Her sister, Muljumebet, 24, a former model, and brother, Esayas, 22, were also found guilty of assisting an offender and failing to alert police. Muljumebet's boyfriend, Mohammed Kabaneh, 29, had earlier pleaded guilty to similar charges.</p> <p>Max (Jill) QC, prosecuting, told the jury: "The evidence against these defendants shows them to be anything but innocent dupes or simple good Samaritians."</p> <p>Girma, a Christian convert to Islam, claimed that she and her husband were estranged but police found his property in their council flat in Stockwell, south London.</p> <p>The bombers held meetings at the flat and Girma delivered some of Osman's tapes of extremist preachers to one of his friends as a "bequest" on the evening before the attacks.</p> <p>Osman had been injured when his homemade chapatti flour and hydrogen peroxide bomb partially detonated and Muljumebet Girma admitted helping to clean and bandage his leg when he arrived at her house in Brighton before disposing of his clothes in a nearby wood.</p>	<p>News: Telegraph, 12/06/08, News, Art 20</p> <p>Title/sub-title: Wife who aided bomber's escape to Rome faces jail</p> <p>Caption: Osman : fled to Rome</p> <p>Rational: Muslim suspect related to terrorism. The picture is neutral, nevertheless, the caption and headline indicates the link with terrorism. The picture, in this sense, is a picture of a suspect for crime (passport type).</p>



Newspaper: Telegraph, 12/06/08, News, Art 20

Title/sub-title:  
Wife who aided bomber's escape to Rome faces jail

Caption: CCTV shows Mulumebet Girma, top, buying a paper with the banner headline 'Find them' during the hunt for Hussain Osman. Above: Yeshiemebet Girma.

Rational: Muslim wife related to help the husband, a terrorist suspect. The picture is neutral, nevertheless, the caption and headline indicates the link with terrorism.

### 4.2.3. Ambiguous connotation



Newspaper: The Sun, 09/05/08, Cartoon, Art P21

Title/sub-title:  
[no headline]

Caption: 'Near the summit and still not a protester in sight'

Rational: Political cartoon supported the Free Tibet cause, or at least, presented with irony the Chinese government's plan to avoid protesters for a Free Tibet.

**Of ants and the gods**  
China might be high on the Olympics, but it remains trapped by its bloody history, says David Rennie

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The Pongpan history of China's rise and fall and the rise of a Great Power. China's rise to the top of the world is a story of blood and iron, of a nation that has been shaped by a century of war and struggle. It is a story of a nation that has been shaped by a century of war and struggle. It is a story of a nation that has been shaped by a century of war and struggle.

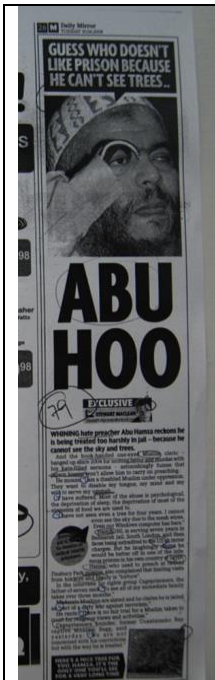
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Newspaper: Telegraph, 14/06/08, Review, Art 270

Title/sub-title:  
Of ants and the gods : China might be high on the Olympics, but it remains trapped by its bloody history, says David Rennie

Caption: Pride of the notion: young Chinese women being trained on Nationalist soldiers in 1938.

Rational: Chinese education and military system is presented to be linked to the "bloody history" of China.



Newspaper: Daily Mirror, 10/06/08, Mixed, Art 79

Title/sub-title:  
 Abu hoo : Guess who doesn't like prison because he can't see trees.

Caption: [no caption]

Rational: Muslim preacher referred to as a terror suspect and irony.

4.2.4. Neutral

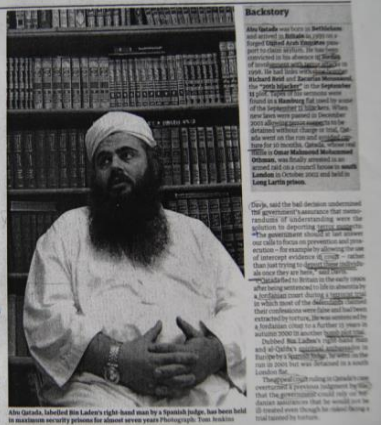


Newspaper: Daily Mirror, 23/06/08, Mixed, Art 29

Title/Sub-title:  
 Anti-terror secrets left on a train.

Caption: Scene rail station

Rational: Image of a building, illustrating where anti-terror documents were left.



Newspaper: Guardian, 09/05/08, National, Art 9

Title/sub-title:  
 High court orders release of radical preacher Qatada : Home Secretary expresses 'extreme disappointment' : tough bail conditions to be imposed on Jordanian.

Caption: Abu Qatada, labelled Bin Laden's right-hand man by a Spanish judge, has been held in a maximum security prison for almost seven years.

Rational: the picture shows a neutral image of the preacher. Nevertheless, caption links it to terrorism at the same time that the headline links the preacher to a liberty recognised by the High court.



4.2.5. Cases to discuss: implicit mentions to minority groups

**Brilliant baronesses** 1960 P127

It's 50 years since women were first allowed into the House of Lords. Lola Young, herself a life peer, looks at how they have transformed the national debate

When I entered the House of Lords, I was only regularly present that month had my name been added to the list of names who would be invited to attend the next session. I was one of the first women to be invited to attend the next session. I was one of the first women to be invited to attend the next session. I was one of the first women to be invited to attend the next session.

After all this discussion, negative and positive, the idea of women in the House of Lords was finally accepted. I was one of the first women to be invited to attend the next session. I was one of the first women to be invited to attend the next session. I was one of the first women to be invited to attend the next session.

Young: 'The House of Lords is becoming more and more of a place where women are doing more and more of the work'.

Newspaper: Guardian, 07/05/08, Women, Art 156

Title/sub-title:  
Brilliant baronesses: It's 50 years since women were first allowed into the House of Lords. Lola Young, herself a life peer, looks how they have transformed the national debate

Caption: Young ... 'the House of the Lords is occasionally paternalistic, but we're strong women, so that doesn't deter us'.

DISCUSSION: the article in any moment defines the woman in the picture as a black woman. Nevertheless, her image is clearly composed by African symbols (collars and hair style). The minority content coded in the article refers to the history of minorities that migrated to UK in the past.

**'I'm popular in cold countries'**

How did the son of a South African tank commander become a hot one-man band beloved by New York clubbers, asks Dave Simpson

At 29, Yoav Sadan already has a lifetime's worth of stories. There's the one about how - as an Israeli-born, Cape Town-reared Jewish kid who had grown up with big hair and braces on his teeth - he suddenly found himself scouted by a modelling agency. "So there I was, strutting down the catwalk, and my eyes met Kate Moss," he says. "I thought, 'This is bizarre.' Then there's the time, aged 15, he was at a Crowded House gig and found himself being invited on stage to sing in front of 15,000 people - and getting an ovation. These are just two of the "freaky occurrences" that have helped him get where he is today: in his management's London office, where the chatty six-foot-er is demonstrating the music that he hopes will eclipse even his stories.

Leaping up from the sofa, he starts tapping out a rhythm on a battered acoustic guitar, which he feeds through electronic boxes to create an enormous sound. He plays some guitar, loops it so it sounds like a synthesiser and then adds an extraordinary falsetto. Sadan has been compared to everyone from Jeff Buckley to Beck to Justin Timberlake, though none of them are literally one-man bands, as he is. "It's not an exact science," he says of his unusual, hypnotic guitar-wail-and-gizmo combination. "But what it's working, it's like riding a wave of music."

Others are now catching that wave. Sadan's silky Club Thing single went to No 1 in Denmark and is taking off in Canada; he's now the most played English-language singer in Russia. "I'm popular in cold countries," he sniggers, with the UK follow-up? Since he was tipped as a star for 2008 in Music Week and the single played on Radio 1, his gigs have been booked.

Sadan has fought long, strange battles to become a rock star, beginning in South Africa, where his father is a former armaments turned tank commander

**I got fairly involved in New York's club scene, and it was pretty dark - some of the stuff that goes on with the promoters and girls'**

banned pop music from the house. "He's quite a hardcore dude," grins Sadan. The cultural boycott of South Africa meant there wasn't much pop around anyway. His neighbour had Paul Simon and Peter Gabriel records, and his brother, who had left home, found himself accumulating the detritus of British pop.

"Some terrible records," he laughs. "But Pink Floyd's *The Dark Side of the Moon* was huge for me. I felt I was being spoken to." One day, something else caught his interest: the guitar his opera singer mother sometimes left lying around the house. She had started Sadan on classical piano at the age of four, but he was more taken with the illicit guitar lessons offered by his sister's folk boyfriend (whom Sadan Sr had also banned from the house).

"Life didn't get any easier at school, where Sadan was the only Jewish kid in an otherwise established. Aged 13, he started drinking heavily to fit in, acquiring the nickname Tolerance Man because he could neck a bottle of whisky. "Just my inhibitions, so it was good for me," he says, but at the time he was totally miserable. "I was a wilder person in Africa, there's that feeling that you're not meant to be there."

But Sadan says he never thought about leaving, beyond a "vague idea that I'd follow the music." Then another of those "freaky occurrences" put paid to any thoughts of modelling. While on holiday in America, a family member had a chance meeting with a man who turned out to be a record executive, and gave him a tape of Sadan's music.

Sadan found himself in New York, on his way to perform a showcase gig in front of the president of Columbia Records. He was slumped down a

Newspaper: Guardian, 07/05/08, Arts and Music, Art 162

Title/sub-title:  
I'm popular in cold countries: How did the son of a South African tank commander become a hot one-man band beloved by New York clubbers

Caption: Riding a wave of music ... Yoav Sadan

DISCUSSION: the article defines the person in the picture as a minority, nevertheless, visually, there is no symbol that supports the definition. The minority content coded in the article refers to a history of minorities (his family) that migrated to UK.

## 5. ANALYSIS PART II – THE REPRESENTATION OF MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES

### 5.1.1. Analysis of headlines (includes analysis of groups and other relevant categories)

Of the 538 relevant articles analysed through the four phases of the study (8% of all articles), 513 have a headline. However, fewer than half of these (n=206), or 3% of the overall number of articles, include a headline with minority content. The most important General groups mentioned in headlines with relevant minority content are Religious minorities (34%), Immigrants (16%), Minority ethnic populations (12%), and Majority population (9%). Among Broadsheets, the most relevant General groups mentioned are similar: Religious minorities (30%), Immigrants (15%), Minority ethnic populations (13%) and Majority population (10%); there is also emphasis on Historical minority groups without territorial/governmental autonomy (8%) and Historical minority groups with territorial/governmental autonomy, 7%. Among Tabloids, almost half of the headlines refer to Religious minorities (46%), and some emphasis is given to Immigrants (18%), and Minority ethnic populations (9%). 5% of the sample do not refer to a particular General group (6% in BRS, 2% in TBL).

Broadsheets refer to a much wider variety of General groups than Tabloids do. While almost half of the Tabloid sample focuses on Religious minorities (46% vs. 30% in BRS), Broadsheets refer more frequently than Tabloids to groups such as Historical minority groups (with autonomy, 7% vs. 4%, and without 8% vs. 2%), Minority ethnic populations (13% vs. 9%), and Majority population (10% vs. 5%). Tabloids, on the other hand, refer more frequently to General groups related to immigration: Immigrants (18% vs. 15%), Temporary immigrants (9% vs. 7%), Illegal immigrants (4% vs. 1%), and Refugees and asylum seekers (4% vs. 3%).

**TABLE 9 – GENERAL GROUPS IN RELEVANT ARTICLE HEADLINES**

#### PHASE 1 EXCLUDED

Description: Percentage of article headlines that refer to a General group (with minority content in the headline only, n=207)

ALL vs. Broadsheet vs. Tabloids (showing only items with more than 10 entries)

GeneralGroup	%		Total %	Total #
	BRS	TBL		
08 Religious minorities	29%	46%	34%	70
04 Immigrants	15%	18%	16%	32
03 Minority ethnic populations	13%	9%	12%	24
09 Majority population	10%	5%	9%	18
05 Temporary immigrants	7%	9%	7%	15
01 Historical national minority groups with territorial/governmental autonomy	7%	4%	6%	13
02 Historical minority groups without territorial/governmental autonomy	8%	2%	6%	13
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	207

**TABLE 10 – SPECIFIC GROUPS IN RELEVANT ARTICLE HEADLINES****PHASE 1 EXCLUDED**

Description: Percentage of article headlines that refer to a Specific group (with a minority group mentioned in the headline only, n=197)

ALL vs. Broadsheet vs. Tabloids (showing only items with more than 10 entries)

SpecificGroup	%		Total %	Total #
	BRS	TBL		
01 No specific group mentioned	34%	38%	35%	69
70 British	21%	34%	25%	49
07 Other Asian	9%	2%	7%	13
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	197

In more than one third of the cases, no Specific group is mentioned in relevant article headlines. Among the ones that refer to a Specific group, the most relevant are: British (25%), Other Asian (7%), Chinese (5%), and Black African (4%). Among Broadsheets, in 34% of the cases no Specific group is mentioned, and the Specific groups mentioned are similar to the general pattern: British (21%), Other Asian (9%), and Chinese (6%). Among Tabloids, in 38% of the cases no Specific group is mentioned, and the Specific groups mentioned are different from the general pattern: British (34%), Black African (5%), Arabs (4%) and EU Eastern Europeans (4%).

Broadsheets and Tabloids mention more frequently the British Specific group (n=13) than any other group (21% in BRS, 34% in Tabloids). Most of the other coded Specific groups, however, have been mentioned no more than 5 times in general, which limits the analysis of the table. Among those with more than 5 entries, Other Asian (n=13) have been referred to more frequently by Broadsheet headlines than by Tabloid ones (12 out of 13 cases); the tendency is the same with the Chinese (n=9) (6% vs. 2%, respectively). At the same time, however, the opposite happens with the Black African Specific group (n=7): Tabloid headlines mention them in 6%, whereas Broadsheet headlines refer to the group in only 3% of the cases.

The most important Minority issues mentioned in relevant article headlines are: Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (17%), Immigration (7%), Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (7%), Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (7%), Racism & Xenophobia (7%), Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (6%), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (5%).

Broadsheet headlines refer more than Tabloid ones to the following Minority issues: Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (9% vs. 4%), and Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (6% vs. 2%). Tabloid headlines refer more than Broadsheet ones to the following Minority issues: Terrorism with

minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (23% vs. 15%), Immigration (9% vs. 7%), Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (9% vs. 6%), Racism & Xenophobia (9% vs. 6%), and Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (9% vs. 5%).

The most common Headline Appraisal mentioned in relevant content article is Explicit negative (36%), followed by Explicit positive (32%), No appraisal (21%), Explicit ambiguous (8%) and Explicit ambivalent (3%). Broadsheets use more frequently Explicit positive appraisal to refer to minority content in their headlines (37% vs. 19%), while Tabloids usually refer to minority content in their headlines with an Explicit negative appraisal (63% vs. 26%). It is worth mentioning that although Broadsheets use more positive appraisal in their headlines than Tabloids do, they also use more headlines with no appraisal at all (26% vs. 7%). Explicit ambivalent and Explicit ambiguous appraisals are evenly distributed between the two paper types (3% BRS vs. 4% TBL, and 8% BRS vs. 7% TBL, respectively). Headlines with No appraisal are present in one fifth of the sample (21%), but this is more recurrent in Broadsheets than in Tabloids (26% BRS vs. 7% TBL), which indicates that Tabloids almost never use No appraisal in their headlines.

#### *5.1.2. Analysis of references (analysis of speakers, other actors and other relevant categories)*

In references and in relation to General group, more than half of the coded references are Majority population (54%), followed by Religious minorities (17%) and Minority ethnic populations (10%). The most referred Specific group is the British (41%), followed by references to No Specific group (14%). In relation to Religion, almost three-quarters of the coded references do not mention a religion (74%), but when they do, the most common is Islam (15%), followed by Judaism (4%), Buddhism (2%) and Christianity (2%). The most common affiliation coded is the State (13%) and Unaffiliated groups (13%), followed by Unaffiliated individuals (10%), Police and Armed forces (7%), and Terrorist organisations (7%). The victim dimension does not apply in 75% of the cases, but when it does, the most frequently referred category is Islamist terrorist (5%). The most important Minority issues coded with respect to Speakers and Other actors are Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (17%), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (7%), Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (7%), and Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (5%).

Speakers are coded as having Implicit majority background more frequently than Other actors are (44% Speakers vs. 39% Other actors), and the same happens with reference to No evidence (25% Speakers vs. 11% Other actors). On the other hand, Other actors are more frequently classed as having Explicit minority background than Speakers are (39% Other actors vs. 23% Speakers). Speakers of the British Specific group (52% vs. 37%) are more frequently encountered than Other actors of this group, whereas the frequencies of occurrence of Speakers and Other actors from other minority groups seem to be comparable: Chinese (7% Speakers vs. 4% Other actors), Other Asian (7% Speakers vs. 8% Other actors), Other EU Europeans (4% Speakers vs. 5% Other actors). However, Other Actor references are more frequently than Speakers related to No Specific group (16% Other actors vs. 9% Speakers). Speakers are more frequently affiliated to Media than Other actors are (14% Speakers vs. 3% Other actors). Other actors tend to belong to Unaffiliated groups more frequently than Speakers do (17% vs. 2%, respectively), and present a slightly higher percentage in their affiliation to Terrorist organisations compared to Speakers (7% vs. 5%, respectively).

Other actors tend to be victims more frequently than Speakers do (84% of No victim dimension in Speakers vs. 72% in Other actors). The most frequent victim dimensions for Other actors are Victim of a crime and Islamic terrorist, and the corresponding percentages for Speakers tend to be lower: Victim of a crime (5% Other actors vs. 1% Speakers) and Islamist terrorist (5% Other actors vs. 3% Speakers).

Speakers are more frequently than Other actors related to Minority issues such as Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (10% Speakers vs. 6% Other actors). Both Speakers and Other actors are equally associated with Minority issues such as Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (17% each), Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (5% each), Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (6% Speakers and 5% Other actors), Diversity & Integration (3% Speakers and 5% Other actors), and Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (5% Speakers and 4% Other actors).

With Speakers, almost half of the sample falls into the Implicit majority background (44%), followed by 25% No evidence and 23% Explicit minority background. Speakers of Implicit majority background are encountered as frequently in Broadsheets as in Tabloids (44% BRS vs. 46% TBL), and the trend is similar for Speakers with Explicit minority background (22% BRS vs. 27% TBL) and Speakers

of whose background there is no evidence (25% BRS vs. 23% TBL). 52% of the Speakers are British, 7% Other Asian, 7% Chinese, 4% White Others, 4% Other EU Europeans, and 7% of no Specific group. 77% of the Speakers do not belong to a specific religion, but when they do they tend to be Muslims (13%), followed by Jews (4%) and Buddhists (3%). Speakers are most frequently affiliated to the State (14%) and the Media (14%), followed by Public authorities (9%) and Unaffiliated individuals (9%), Police and Armed forces (7%), Terrorist organisation (5%) and NGOs (5%). Speakers in Broadsheets are more frequently affiliated to the State than Speakers in Tabloids are (15% BRS vs. 10% TBL), a trend which is reversed when it comes to Terrorist organisations (12% TBL vs. 3% BRS) and Unaffiliated individuals (13% TBL vs. 7% BRS). 84% of the Speakers do not have a victim dimension. Among those cases in which the category applies, the most frequently referred one is Crime Suspect (4%), Islamist Terrorist (3%) and Victim of political oppression (3%). With Speakers in Broadsheets Violators of human rights are more frequently encountered than among Speakers in Tabloids (2% BRS vs. 0% TBL), which also happens with respect to the no victim dimension (87% BRS vs. 73% TBL). The opposite trend is valid when it comes to Crime suspects (9% TBL vs. 2% BRS), and Islamist terrorists (7% TBL vs. 1% BRS), who are over-represented as Speakers in Tabloids. The most frequently associated Minority issue with Speakers is Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (17%), followed by Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (10%), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (6%), and Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities (6%). Broadsheet Speakers more frequently than Tabloid speakers refer to Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (11% BRS vs. 4% TBL), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (7% BRS vs. 2% TBL) and Diversity & Integration (4% BRS vs. 1% TBL). The opposite happens in relation to Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (31% TBL vs. 13% BRS), and Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (8% TBL vs. 5% BRS).

Thirty nine percent (39%) of the Other actors have Explicit minority background as well as Implicit majority background. For 11% of the Other actors there is no evidence as to their background. Other actors of Implicit majority background are more typical of Tabloids (45%) than of Broadsheets (37%); the trend is the opposite with respect to Other actors of Explicit minority background (35% TBL vs. 40% BRS). 37% of the Other actors are British, followed by Other Asian (8%), Other EU

Europeans (5%), and Chinese (4%). Again, the representation of British Other actors in the different types of newspaper presents the biggest gap - (48% TBL vs. 34% BRS) – with Tabloids referring more frequently than Broadsheets to actors from this Specific group. 73% of the Other actors do not belong to a specific religion, but the most frequently encountered religious group among Other actors is Islam (15%), followed by Judaism (4%), Buddhism (2%) and Christianity (2%). Other actors tend to belong to Unaffiliated groups (17%), followed by the State (13%), Unaffiliated individuals (10%), Police and Armed forces (8%), Terrorist organisations (7%), and Sports (5%). Other actors in Broadsheets are more frequently affiliated to the State than they are in Tabloids (14% BRS vs. 10% TBL), which can also be observed in terms of Unaffiliated groups affiliation (18% BRS vs. 13% TBL). The trend is reversed when it comes to Unaffiliated individuals (15% TBL vs. 9% BRS) and affiliation with Terrorist organisations (14% TBL vs. 5% BRS). 72% of the Other actors do have not a victim dimension. Among those cases in which the dimension applies, the most frequent ones are Islamist Terrorists and Victims of crime (5% each), followed by Crime suspects and Victim of political oppression (4% each). Other actors in Broadsheets tend to have no victim dimension more frequently than those in Tabloids (75% BRS vs. 64% TBL). Although, Other actors in Broadsheets tend to be more frequently Victims of political oppression (4% BRS vs. 2% TBL), and Violators of Human rights (3%). With Other actors, the most frequently referred Minority issue is Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (17%), followed by Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (7%), Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (6%), Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (5%), and Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (5%). Other actors in Broadsheet more frequently than those in Tabloids are mentioned with reference to Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (7% BRS vs. 3% TBL), and Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (8% BRS vs. 3% TBL). The trend is reversed when it comes to Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (30% TBL vs. 14% BRS), and Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (10% TBL vs. 3% BRS), where Tabloid representation of Other actors more frequently links them to these issues than Broadsheets do.

### 5.1.3. Gender

More than half of the coded references do not include gender identification (51%). Among Speakers, 34% of the cases do not contain gender identification, while with Other actors the percentage is much higher, 57%. Among those with gender identification, 27% refer to male, 15% to mixed and 7% to female gender. Two main types of backgrounds are present in the reference section: Implicit Majority Background (41%) and Explicit minority background (35%). Speakers are more frequently male than in the case of Other actors (50% vs. 20%). The same is the case with the references related to females (12% vs. 5%). This happens mostly because Other actors are more frequently unidentified in gender terms than Speakers are (57% vs. 34%). Among Speakers, almost half of the sample is composed by male Speakers (49%), female being 12% and mixed 5%. The percentage of female Speakers is approximately the same in Broadsheets and in Tabloids (12% BRS vs. 11% TBL), whereas male Speakers are more representative of the Tabloid press (57% TBL vs. 46% BRS). Broadsheets also more frequently leave gender identification undetermined than Tabloids do (36% BRS vs. 29% TBL).

Among Other actors, more than half of the sample does not have determined gender identification (57%), percentage that is slightly higher in Broadsheets than in Tabloids (58% BRS vs. 53% TBL). The distribution by gender within the Other actors reference is as follows: male (20%), mixed (18%) and female (5%). The percentage of female Other actors in Broadsheets is comparable to that in Tabloids (5% BRS vs. 7% TBL); nonetheless, the Tabloid sample is more representative of male Other actors than the Broadsheet one (27% TBL vs. 18% BRS).

## 5.2. Who are the Speakers?

### 5.2.1. General Group

Speakers from Historical national minority groups with territorial/governmental autonomy (n=35; 31 in BRS) are in most of the cases seen as having Explicit minority background (69%). They are usually affiliated to Public authorities (23%), are Politicians (20%) or belong to a Political party (17%). In most of the cases they do not have a victim dimensions (83%). Speakers from this group are usually associated with Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (31%), and Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (14%). The appraisal they tend to use with reference to minority groups is positive (74%). Speakers from Historical



minority groups without territorial/governmental autonomy (n=29; 23 in BRS) are usually identified as having Explicit minority background (83%). They tend to belong to Unaffiliated groups (21%), be Unaffiliated individuals (17%) and or work for Minority self-government (14%). These speakers mostly do not have a victim dimension, but in one-quarter of the coded sample they see themselves as Victims of political oppression dimension (24%). The minority issues associated with this groups of speakers are Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (55%) and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (14%). These speakers tend to use positive appraisal with reference to minority groups and minority issues (79%).

Speakers from Minority ethnic populations (n=68) fall into Explicit minority background (87%). They tend to be Unaffiliated individuals (23%), work for NGOs (15%), or have Artistic background (13%). The group in almost three-quarters of the cases does not have a victim dimension. Speakers from this category tend to be associated with Racism & Xenophobia (13%), Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (12%). They use more frequently positive appraisal than a negative one (79% vs. 12%), and it is worth mentioning that no appraisal has never been coded. In Broadsheets (57 out of 68 cases), the appraisal is in 84% of the cases positive, while in Tabloids (11 out of 68) the appraisal is positive in more than half of the cases (54%), but also negative (18%) and ambivalent (18%). Speakers identified as Immigrants (n=36) are in almost three-quarters of the cases related to an Explicit minority background (69%), but in one-quarter of the cases it represents minority organisations (25%). 25% of the Speakers work for NGOs and in another quarter of the cases are Entrepreneurs/Company representatives. They do not tend to have a victim dimension in 89% of the sample. The main minority issues related to the group are Immigration (19%), Effect of immigration on majority ethnic jobs and wages (14%), and Effect of immigration on the social and economic situation (14%). These speakers more frequently refer to minority groups and issues with a positive appraisal (64%). In Broadsheets (26 out of 36 cases), the appraisal used in more than three quarters of the cases is positive (77%), while in Tabloids (10 out of 36) the appraisal is not used in almost half of the cases (40%), it is negative in 30% and positive in another 30%.

Speakers from Religious minorities (n=140) are mainly seen as having Explicit minority background (84%). They tend to be affiliated with Terrorist organisations (41%), as well as Official churches & religious organisations (14%), and NGOs (10%). The victim dimension variable does not apply to 46% of the cases, but when it

applies, it falls mostly into the Islamist terrorist category (20%) and the Crime suspect one (20%). These speakers tend to be associated with Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (40%), and to a lesser extent with Education situation of minorities (9%). The appraisal this group of minority speakers give to minority groups and issues tends to be positive rather than negative (58% positive vs. 16% negative). In Broadsheets (94 out of 140), the appraisal is in almost three-quarters of the cases positive (68%), while in Tabloids (46 out of 140) the appraisal is more balanced (37% positive vs. 28% negative).

Speakers from the Majority population (n=562) are almost always identified as having Implicit majority background (91%). They are usually affiliated with the State (25%), Public authorities (16%), the Media (13%), and the Police & armed forces affiliation (12%). The victim dimension almost does not apply to this group (92%). The minority issues most associated with these speakers are Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (20%), Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (8%) and Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (8%). They tend to be balanced in their appraisal – positive 32% vs. negative 33%), but in 20% of the cases no appraisal has been used. This trend is replicated in Broadsheets (423 out of 562 cases), where 36% of the appraisal is positive and 30% negative, whereas in Tabloids (139 out of 562) the appraisal of minority groups and issues is overwhelmingly negative (45% negative vs. 19% positive).

In the Speaker references sample, positive appraisals are prevalent when the Speakers belong to minority groups, with Religious minorities speakers having the most negative appraisal of all minority groups (in relative weight). Speakers from the Majority group, however, are more balanced in their appraisal of minority groups and issues, and in Tabloid representations they are even predominantly negative!

### *5.2.2. Specific Group*

British Speakers (n=469) are identified primarily in the Implicit majority background (78%). They tend to be affiliated with the State (21%), Public authorities (14%) and the Media (13%). British Speakers almost never have a victim dimension (89%). They are in most cases associated with issues of Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (23%), Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (9%). These Speakers' appraisal of minority groups and issues is almost balanced (38% positive vs. 31% negative). In Broadsheets (325 out of

469 cases), the appraisal is in almost half of the cases positive (45%), whereas in Tabloids (144 out of 469 cases) the appraisal is negative in almost half of the cases (42%).

Other Asian Speakers (n=58) fall mostly into the Implicit majority background (62%), as well as into Explicit minority background (29%). They are usually affiliated with the State (21%), as well as with Terrorist organisations (16%). In 72% of the cases there is no victim dimension. Nevertheless, in 12% of the rest, these Speakers are Islamist terrorists. This group is most associated with issues such as Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (21%), Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (19%). They tend to give positive appraisal (40% vs. 22% negative), although in 24% of the cases no appraisal is used. Most of the cases are in Broadsheets (n=49).

Other EU European Speaker (n=34) are usually seen as having Implicit majority background (59%). They usually affiliate with the State (24%), and the Police and Armed forces (12%). In 77% of the cases there is no victim dimension, but of those that do 12% are seen as Violators of human rights dimension. The Speakers from this group tend to be associated with the minority issues of Secularism (15%), and Foreigners in sports (12%). Their appraisal is predominantly positive (44% vs. 29% negative). Most of the cases are in Broadsheets (n=30).

Chinese Speakers (n=59) are usually identified as having Implicit minority background (34%) or Explicit majority background (31%). They tend to be affiliated with NGOs (22%) and the State (17%). The Victim dimension does not apply to three-quarters of the cases (75%), but when it does, the group is related to some extent to the Victim of political oppression (14%). Minority issues associated with Chinese Speakers include Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (76%). This group tends to be positive rather than negative in their appraisal (54% vs. 27%, respectively). Most of the cases can be found in Broadsheets (n=54).

Black African Speakers (n=26) are mostly identified as having Implicit minority background (69%), followed by Explicit majority background (23%). They tend to be Unaffiliated individuals (15%) or work for the Media (15%). In more than half of the cases, 54%, the victim dimension cannot be applied; nonetheless, Black African Speakers are seen as Victims of political oppression dimension (35%). In relation to Minority issues, Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (42%), and Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (23%) are most frequently associated with

this group. The Speakers tend to give almost always positive appraisal of minority groups and issues (81% positive vs. 4% negative). Most of the cases are in Broadsheets (n=18).

White (other) Speakers (n=35) fall mostly into the Implicit majority background (74%). They tend to be affiliated with the Police and armed forces (23%), the State (11%), the Media (11%) and Legal authorities (11%). The group almost never has a victim dimension (86%). White (other) Speakers tend to be associated with issues of Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (14%), and Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (11%). The group used a balanced appraisal: (34% positive, 34% negative, and 17% no appraisal. Most of the cases can be found in Broadsheets (n=28).

**TABLE 11 – SPEAKERS: RELIGION VS. BACKGROUND**

PHASE 1 EXCLUDED

Description: Speaker references cross-tabbed with Religion and Background  
ALL (showing only items with more than 10 entries)

Background	01 No religion mentioned	03 Muslims	04 Jews	10 Buddhist	02 Christians	Grand Total
1 Explicit minority background	20%	77%	39%	63%	81%	31%
2 Representing minority organisation	3%	10%	10%	33%	0%	5%
4 Explicit majority background	5%	1%	7%	4%	0%	4%
5 Implicit majority background	72%	13%	45%	0%	19%	59%
8 No evidence	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total #	683	112	31	24	16	888

Religion is not mentioned in most cases. However, when referred to, Muslim Speakers (n=112) are usually seen as having Explicit minority background (77%), but there are also cases when the group is identified as having Explicit majority background (13%). Jewish Speakers (n=31) are seen as having Implicit majority background (45%), as well as Implicit minority background (39%), while Buddhist Speakers (n=24) are identified as having Explicit minority background (63%), but also seen as Representing minority organisation (33%). Christian Speakers (n=16) are identified as having Explicit minority background (81%) and Implicit majority background (19%).

When it comes to the minority issues religious group speakers are associated with, Muslims Speakers tend to be associated with Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (55%), as well as with Discrimination by public bodies &

institutions minority issue (6%) and Islam (6%). Jewish Speakers tend to be linked to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (26%), War (armed conflict) between religious groups (13%), and Minority members as entrepreneurs (10%). Buddhist Speakers usually are connected to Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (75%), as well as Persecution and discrimination of minorities during communism (13%), while Christian Speakers tend to be associated with Education situation of minorities (19%), Terrorism with minorities as victims (13%), Freedom of religion (13%), Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (13%), and Diversity and Integration (13%).

Muslims stand out as the group most often associated with religion and in most cases in a negative way. Muslim Speakers (n=112) are usually identified as having Explicit minority background (77%), but they are also seen as having Explicit majority background (13%). They are overwhelmingly affiliated with Terrorist organisations (56%), and in almost one-third of the cases are Islamist terrorists (30%) or Crime suspects (24%). The minority issues associated with this religious minority group are Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (55%), and Discrimination by public bodies & institutions minority issue (6%). Muslim Speakers tend to use positive appraisal (55% vs. 21% negative). In Broadsheets (67 out of 112 cases), the appraisal is in more than half of the cases positive (61% vs. 18% negative), while in Tabloids (45 out of 112 cases) the appraisal is negative in almost half of the cases (47% vs. 27% positive).

British Speakers (n=465) almost never belong to a specific religious group (88%), but when they do, the most common one is Islam (8%).

Other Asian Speakers (n=58) in 55% of the cases do not belong to any religious group, but when a religion is mentioned, the most common one is Islam (28%), followed by Judaism (16%).

Other EU Europeans Speakers (n=34) are almost never related to a religion (82%), but in 18% of the cases the group is also related to Jews. Chinese Speakers (n=59) in more than half of the cases do not belong to a specific religious group (56%), but when they do, the most common is Buddhism (37%). Black African Speakers (n=26) are almost never related to a religion (89%), but when they are, the most common religion referred to is Christianity (8%). White (other) Speakers (n=34) almost never belong to a specific religious group (91%). Muslim Speakers (n=112) in one third of

the cases are not identified as belonging to any Specific minority group in particular (33%), but in 31% of the sample they are British and in 14% Other Asian.

### **5.3. Other actors:**

#### *5.3.1. General group*

Other actors from Historical national minority groups with territorial/governmental autonomy (n=170) are usually appraised in a balanced way (31% positive vs. 30% negative). The group in general tends to be identified as having Explicit minority background (69%), and to a lesser degree Implicit majority background (19%). Most actors in this category act as an unaffiliated group (22%) or are affiliated with the State (21%). They mostly do not have a victim dimension (84%); however, when they do they are seen as Other terrorists (4%) or into Violators of Human rights (4%). The minority issue associated with this group in 22% of the cases is Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status.

Other actors from Historical minority groups without territorial/governmental autonomy (n=105) tend to be appraised positively rather than negatively (51% and 15%, respectively). They tend to be seen as having Explicit minority background (90%), but also to a smaller extent as Representing a minority organisation (9%). In 31% of the cases they act as an Unaffiliated group, in 14% they are affiliated with Unofficial churches & religious organisations and in 10% with forms of Minority Self-government. Almost half of the cases coded are Victims of political oppression (44%), but also a significant 28% do not have a victim dimension, and another 6% are represented as Islamist terrorists. The minority issue most frequently associated with this group of Other actors is Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (33%), followed by Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (9%), the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (9%) and Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (9%).

Other actors from Minority ethnic populations (n=310) tend to be appraised positively (50% vs. 21% negative). The group is almost always identified as having Explicit minority background (97%), and usually acts as an Unaffiliated group (39%) or Unaffiliated individuals (20%). In 63% of the cases the victim dimension variable does not apply to the group; however, when it does these actors are seen as Victims of discrimination (13%). Minority ethnic actors are usually associated with the minority

issues of History of migrant/minority groups (11%), Racism & Xenophobia (9%), and Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (8%).

Other actors coded as Immigrants (n=216) are appraised positively rather than negatively (32% vs. 25%, respectively). In 16% of the cases no appraisal is used, and the percentage is the same for ambivalent appraisal. They are almost exclusively identified as having Explicit minority background (98%), and appear as an Unaffiliated group (71%) or Unaffiliated individuals (16%). In 85% of the cases the victim dimension does not apply. Immigrant actors are usually represented as part of the minority issues of Immigration (26%), the Effect of immigration on majority ethnic jobs and wages (15%), and Effect of immigration on the social and economic situation (13%).

Other actors coded as Temporary immigrants (n=92) are appraised negatively rather than positively (40% vs. 26%, respectively). Only in 11% of the cases no appraisal is used and in 16% ambiguous appraisal is given (the highest proportion in the General group category). They are always identified as having Explicit minority background (100%), and in more than half of the cases they are affiliated with Sports (52%). The group mostly does not have a victim dimension (84%). In almost half of the cases, actors from this group are associated with the minority issue Foreigners in sports (49%).

Other actors from Religious minorities (n=535) tend to receive negative appraisal (46% vs. 29% positive). The group is primarily seen as having Explicit minority background (92%), and in 31% identified as affiliated with Terrorist organisations, in 19% with Official churches & religious organisations, in 18% as Unaffiliated group. Almost half of the cases do not have a victim dimension (48%), but when they do these actors are represented as Islamist terrorists (24%). The minority issue of Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators is associated with actors from Religious minorities in 34% of the cases, Discrimination by public bodies & institutions with 6%, Education situation of minorities with 6%, and Religious fundamentalism with another 6%.

Other actors from the Majority population (n=1576) are appraised positively rather than negatively (32% vs. 28%). In one-quarter of the cases no appraisal is used. These actors tend to be seen as having Implicit majority background (85%). They are usually affiliated with the State (25%), and the Police & armed forces (14%). The victim dimension does not apply to 81% of the cases, but when it does, these actors are seen

as Victims of crime (6%). The minority issue most frequently mentioned with respect to this group are Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (19%), Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (7%), Discrimination by public bodies and institutions (7%), and Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (7%).

### 5.3.2. *Specific group*

British actors (n=1138) are usually given a positive appraisal rather than a negative one (34% vs. 25%, respectively). In 26% of the cases, no appraisal is used. They are usually identified as having Implicit majority background (65%), but also to an extent as having Explicit minority background (23%), and Explicit majority background (10%). British actors are frequently affiliated with the State (19%), and the Police & armed forces (12%), or act as Members of the majority society (7%). They tend not to have a victim dimension (87%). The group are in most cases related to the minority issue of Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (18%), followed by Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (9%), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (7%), Diversity and integration (7%), and Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (7%).

Other Asian actors (n=245) are usually appraised in a negative rather than positive way (46% vs. 22%, respectively). They are usually seen as having Implicit majority background (56%), and Explicit minority background (32%). In 10% of the cases they are identified as having Explicit majority background. Other Asian actors are in one-third of the cases part of an Unaffiliated group, followed by Terrorist organisation (18%), and Official churches & religious organisations (11%). They usually do not have a victim dimension (48%), but the group is also frequently represented as Islamist terrorists (21%). In more than one quarter of the cases, Other Asians are associated with Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (27%), as well as with Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (13%), the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (11%), and War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups (10%).

Other EU European actors (n=154) are usually more related to positive than negative appraisal (40% vs. 31%, respectively). They tend to be identified as having Implicit majority background (50%) and Explicit minority background (43%). The group tend to be equally affiliated with the State (24%) and Terrorist organisations (24%), and



almost never have a victim dimension (73%), but when they do they are represented as International aggressors (7%). They are usually mentioned with reference to the minority issues of Foreigners in sports (12%), Diversity & Integration (10%) and World War II (10%).

Chinese actors (n=125) are usually appraised in a more positive way (42% vs. 32% negative). They are generally seen as having Explicit minority background (55%), as well as Implicit majority background (30%). In 12% of the cases the group is identified as having Explicit majority background. Chinese actors act as an Unaffiliated group in 20% of the cases, are affiliated with the State in 16%, with Unofficial churches & religious organisation in 15%, and with the Police & armed forces in 9%. They tend not to have a victim dimension (42%), but the group is also frequently seen as a Victim of political oppression (27%) as well as a Violator of human rights (14%). The group tends to be associated with the minority issue of Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (46%), and to a smaller extent to Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (10%) and Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (9%).

Black African actors (n=107) are appraised in a balanced way (36% negative vs. 38% positive). They are identified as having Implicit majority background (48%) and Explicit minority background (43%). In 8% of the cases the group is seen as having Explicit majority background. Black African actors act in 22% of the cases as an Unaffiliated group and in 18% as Unaffiliated individuals. When a particular affiliation is mentioned, they tend to be affiliated mostly with the State (13%) and the Police & armed forces (11%). They do not tend to have a victim dimension (46%), but the group is also seen as a Violator of human rights (21%), and a Victim of political oppression (17%). In 22% of the cases they are mentioned in the context of the minority issue Violence & Crime with minorities as victims, as well as that of Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (14%) and War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups (11%).

White (other) actors (n=91) are usually appraised in a positive rather than negative way (44% vs. 23%, respectively). They tend to be seen as having Implicit majority background (70%), and to a lesser degree Explicit minority background (19%) and Explicit majority background (10%). The group tends to be affiliated with the State (29%), and the Police & armed forces (17%). They almost never have a victim dimension (84%). White (others) are mostly associated with the minority issues Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (15%), the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict (9%), Discrimination by public bodies and Institutions (9%), and Minority members as politicians (8%).

Arab actors (n=91) are usually appraised in a negative manner (56% vs. 22% positive). They tend to be identified as having Implicit majority background (62%), and Explicit minority background (30%). Only 2% of the cases are seen as having Explicit majority background. The group are usually affiliated with Terrorist organisations (39%), as well as the State (20%) or act as Unaffiliated individuals (15%). They usually do not have a victim dimension (46%), but are also frequently represented as Islamist terrorists (34%). Arabs are in almost half of the cases mentioned in the context of Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (48%).

EU Eastern European actors (n=69) are usually appraised in a positive way (35% vs. 20% negative). The group are almost exclusively identified as having Explicit minority background (87%) – an exception from the general trend in the Specific groups – but they also appear to be seen as having Implicit majority background in 10% of the cases, and only in 1% as having Explicit majority background. They act in almost half of the cases as an Unaffiliated group (49%), and in another quarter as Unaffiliated individuals. No particular affiliation is present with respect to this group. EU Eastern Europeans almost never a victim dimension (71%), but when they do the group is seen as the Victim of crimes (10%). These actors are in 20% of the cases referred to in the context of the minority issue of Immigration, as well as those of Effect of immigration on the social and economic situation (13%), Effect of immigration on majority ethnic jobs and wages (10%) and Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (10%).

African American actors (n=65) are considerably more frequently appraised positively (50% vs. 9%, negative). They are the only group that are always seen as having Explicit minority background (100%). African Americans are in 23% of the cases part of an Unaffiliated group, and in another 20% act as Unaffiliated individuals. Nevertheless, one particular affiliation is present with respect to this group: Politicians (31%). They tend not to have a victim dimension (66%), but the group is also frequently seen as the Victim of discrimination (19%). The group are in 34% of the cases associated with the minority issue Minority members as politicians, as well as those of Racism & Xenophobia (20%), Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (11%) and Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (11%).

Black British actors (n=58) are in more than three-quarters of the cases related to positive appraisal (76%), and almost never no negative (3%). They are almost always seen as having Explicit minority background (98%), and are part of an Unaffiliated group in 29% of the cases, or are Unaffiliated individuals in another 19%. Nevertheless, one particular affiliation is related to this Specific group: Arts background/institution (33%). Black British actors almost never have a victim dimension (79%), but the group is also seen as the Victim of crimes (10%). They refer in more than one quarter of the cases to the issue of Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (28%), in 14% to that of History of migrant/minority groups and in 12 % to Violence & Crime with minorities as victims.

We decided to conduct some additional analysis of the sample in order to examine whether the political orientation of the newspapers plays a role in the way appraisals of religion/religious affiliation of subjects is reported. The findings are presented in the Table 12 and discussed below.

**TABLE 12 – OTHER ACTORS: POLITICAL ORIENTATION VS. APPRAISAL VS. RELIGION**

PHASE 1 EXCLUDED

Description: Other actor references cross-tabbed per political orientation, per appraisal and per religion (showing only cases with at least 30 entries).

ALL

Religion	Political Orientation	%					Total %	Total #
		01 Explicit positive	02 Explicit negative	03 Explicit ambivalent	04 Explicit ambiguous (incl. ironic statements)	09 No appraisal		
01 No religion mentioned	LEFT	36%	23%	7%	8%	26%	100%	1095
	RIGHT	35%	27%	7%	11%	21%	100%	1134
01 No religion mentioned Total		36%	25%	7%	10%	23%	100%	2229
02 Christians	LEFT	27%	35%	3%	11%	24%	100%	37
	RIGHT	44%	32%	4%	12%	8%	100%	25
02 Christians Total		34%	34%	3%	11%	18%	100%	62
03 Muslims	LEFT	20%	52%	9%	7%	12%	100%	233
	RIGHT	15%	67%	8%	4%	6%	100%	238
03 Muslims Total		17%	60%	8%	6%	9%	100%	471
04 Jews	LEFT	66%	13%	4%	11%	7%	100%	76
	RIGHT	45%	26%	11%	3%	16%	100%	38
04 Jews Total		59%	18%	6%	8%	10%	100%	114
06 Protestant	LEFT	40%	10%	10%	10%	30%	100%	10
	RIGHT	22%	26%	17%	30%	4%	100%	23
06 Protestant Total		27%	21%	15%	24%	12%	100%	33
07 Catholics	LEFT	29%	57%	5%	5%	5%	100%	21
	RIGHT	22%	39%	13%	9%	17%	100%	23
07 Catholics Total		25%	48%	9%	7%	11%	100%	44
10 Buddhist	LEFT	50%	25%	19%	3%	3%	100%	32
	RIGHT	58%	7%	29%	7%	0%	100%	31
10 Buddhist Total		54%	16%	24%	5%	2%	100%	63
11 Mixed	LEFT	33%	17%	17%	8%	25%	100%	12
	RIGHT	50%	20%	25%	5%	0%	100%	20
11 Mixed Total		44%	19%	22%	6%	9%	100%	32
99 Not applicable	LEFT	25%	24%	3%	13%	35%	100%	277
	RIGHT	30%	25%	4%	12%	29%	100%	211
99 Not applicable Total		28%	24%	3%	13%	32%	100%	488
Grand Total		33%	29%	7%	9%	21%	100%	3552

Christians (n=62) are less frequently referred with positive appraisal by left-oriented newspapers than by right-oriented newspapers (27% left vs. 44% right). The same does not happen in relation to Other actor references coded with explicit negative appraisal, in which both papers refer to the group in a similar way (35% left vs. 32% right). In general, references to the group are more positive than negative in right-oriented papers, and more negative than positive in left-oriented papers.

When it comes to Muslims (n=471), they are more frequently referred with positive appraisal by left-oriented newspapers than by right-oriented newspapers (20% left vs. 15% right). The opposite happens in relation to Other actor references coded with explicit negative appraisal (52% left vs. 67% right). In general, references to the Muslim group are more negative than positive, confirming one of our main conclusions regarding the role of the press in reinforcing the current climate of Islamophobia in the UK.

Jews (n=114) are more frequently referred with positive appraisal by left-oriented newspapers than by right-oriented newspapers (66% left vs. 45% right). The opposite happens in relation to Other actor references coded with explicit negative appraisal (13% left vs. 26% right). In general, references to the group are more positive than negative, reflecting an overall sensitivity across the press to anti-Semitism and its various political and discursive expressions.

Catholics (n=44) are more frequently referred with positive appraisal by left-oriented newspapers than by right-oriented newspapers (29% left vs. 22% right). The same happens in relation to Other actor references coded with explicit negative appraisal (57% left vs. 39% right). Right-oriented newspapers, however, refer more frequently to the group with no appraisal at all (5% left vs. 17% right). In general, references to the group are more negative than positive, which could possibly relate to the long historical and political tension between the Catholic and the Anglican church and the tensions in Northern Ireland around religious affiliation (and the Catholic affiliations within the nationalist movement there).

During the conduct of our study, Buddhists received extensive coverage, mostly because of the tensions in Tibet and the countdown to the Beijing Olympics. It is interesting that Buddhists (n=63) are less frequently referred with positive appraisal by left-oriented newspapers than by right-oriented newspapers (50% left vs. 58% right). The group is frequently referred with Explicit ambivalent appraisal by all the papers of the political spectrum, however, right-oriented papers use more frequently

ambivalent appraisal to refer to the group than left-oriented papers do (19% left vs. 29% right). In general, references to the group are more positive than negative. The coverage of Buddhists is likely to reflect some of the tone in the political critique of China's record in human rights and the overall political positioning of the left and the right towards China. However, it is important to also highlight that the difference in the appraisal of Buddhists between the rightwing and leftwing press is not numerically significant and thus we cannot support a strong claim about political variations in the politics towards China or Tibet based on this sample.

## 5.4. Additional analysis

### 5.4.1. *Lack of minority visibility*

When it comes to mentioning specific groups in headlines, by far the most referred to group is the British (25% of the cases within a mention to a Specific group); they are being referred as Speakers in 52% of articles and as Other actors in 37%. When it comes to ethnic minorities – in terms of specific group references especially – reference to groups is statistically almost insignificant. This absence of minorities, in their particularity especially, as visible speakers and actors indicates their marginal position in the mainstream media and vis-à-vis what is seen as the dominant British population. At least based on the data we have, it is difficult to say that any particular minority group in the UK (as a Specific group variable) is widely present in the British press.

### 5.4.2. *Significance of newspapers' political orientation*

Religious minorities are evenly mentioned by right and leftwing newspaper headlines (33% left vs. 34% right); Immigrants are more frequently referred by right than by leftwing newspaper (10% left vs. 19% right). While ethnic minority populations are more frequently referred to by left than by right politically oriented newspaper (17% left vs. 8% right), the majority population is more frequently referred to by right than by leftwing newspaper (6% left vs. 11% right). The British are evenly mentioned by right and left politically oriented newspaper (24% left vs. 26% right) and so are *Other Asian* specific groups (6% left vs. 7% right). Muslims on the other hand, are more referred by left than by right politically oriented newspaper (32% left vs. 23% right). A more discursive style of analysis would have revealed more of the means whereby left and right political stances are represented in the stylistic construction of news stories.

### 5.4.3. *Immigration*

Given the centrality of immigration in the discourse of British party politics it has proved fruitful to explore the treatment of immigrants in the press. Since our coding allows us to make distinctions between '*immigrants*', *temporary immigrants*, *illegal immigrants*, and *refugees and asylum seekers* it will be possible to identify whether there is any nuanced differentiation in the reporting of different forms of immigration. However, it is striking to note that when we sum in headlines these four expressions of concern with immigration (16% *Immigrants*, 7% *Temporary immigrants*, 2%

*Illegal immigrants* and 3% *Refugees and asylum seekers*), then immigrants, in one form or another, constitute 25% of the headlines in relevant articles. When looking at headlines, if we sum all the headlines given to these four categories there is remarkably little difference between the broadsheets and the tabloid in the proportion of the headlines relating to immigration given to each subcategory

This suggests that there was a consensual news frame operating in shaping the salience of these different categories of reporting migrant populations. The greater focus upon illegal immigration in the tabloid press might be consistent with the political construction of illegal immigration as a major electoral issue, and the greater sensationalism of the tabloid press in pursuing the most contentious category. The way in which the headlines carry positive or negative connotations further underlines this distinction between the tabloid and broadsheet press.

The breakdown of these headlines by the four categories of news between broadsheet and tabloid reveals more of the dynamics behind this area of reporting. It becomes apparent that the greater average negativity of the tabloid headlines relating to immigrants is in fact focused around specific categories of immigration. It may seem surprising that, in this sample there is no difference between the tabloids and the broadsheets in the way in which their headlines send messages about the values to be attached to specific forms of immigration; when these are *illegal immigration* and *refugees and asylum seekers*. However, not for the first time in this study the small number of instances (*illegal immigrants* n=4 and *refugees* n=2) make any interpretation highly speculative. The latter are consensually seen as having some positive properties whilst the former are universally bad. *Temporary immigrants*, however, are disproportionately signalled as negative in the tabloids. However, the frequency with which items dealing with immigration are not related to any specific group, (*immigrants* 81%, *temporary immigrants* 53%, *illegal immigrants* 75% and *refugees and asylum seekers* 50%) is interesting. This suggest that the issue of immigration is itself such a taken for granted trope that individual stories can be constructed around ‘the issue’ as much as around specific instances.

And again, given this lack of specificity it is consistent that there is virtually no linkage made between religion and the category of immigrant being spoken about. (The proportion of instances where *no religion is mentioned* are respectively: *immigrants* 97%, *temporary immigrants* 93%, *illegal immigrants*, 100%, and *refugees and asylum seekers* 100%). It might have been expected that given the high visibility of Islamophobia within the British public sphere and given the central focus upon the

British Muslim communities within the government policies around social cohesion and the prevention of violent extremism that there might have been some echoes of this agenda tracked into the discussion of immigrants. This is particularly so since when *terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators* is a minority issue in a headline text then in the broadsheets *no religion* is mentioned on 30% of the occasions and *Muslims* are mentioned on 70% of the cases; the respective figures for tabloids are; 0% and 100%). Islam and terror is a strongly linked equation.

There has been a debate in Britain about the necessity of cheap migrant labour to service the catering and agricultural industries; however, there has simultaneously been localised strong opposition to the arrival of large numbers of East European migrant labour and their impact on local resources. There have additionally been labour union concerns about this migrant labour generally driving down working class pay in the unskilled sector. It is noticeable that when we look at the headlines relating to EU Eastern Europeans 40% are explicitly positive and none are explicitly negative. This may reflect the positive views that have been aired about the educated and skilled Polish migrants in comparison to the unskilled labour coming from beyond the EU. There is also something of an underlying stereotypical Eurocentrism in some of this debate where the Poles, with whom the British are historically familiar, being regarded as within the European fold.

It seems likely that the broadsheet press has given coverage to both aspects of this debate whilst the tabloids have echoed the populist resentments. Thus whilst the headlines tend to signal that refugees and asylum seekers may be positively construed other immigrant categories are routinely signalled as problematic, and particularly by the tabloid press.

Something of the potential underlying dynamics can be seen when we look at the appraisal of Other actors in the news copy itself: but not by tabloid/broadsheet: but rather by a left /right split. Now we see that when the political orientation of the press is included even *refugees and asylum seekers* may be regarded negatively by the right wing press, and *illegal immigrants* become a much more ambivalent entity, where the left wing press has a much more positive perspective: perhaps reflecting the extent to which illegal immigration is itself a product of British and European border policies, and may include issues of the super exploitation of illegal labour by gang masters and the employers who use them. As above the ambivalence of the British policy debate around temporary labour is reflected in the response to *temporary immigrants* as actors, where both left and right reflect both positive and negative opinions: which is a



marked shift of balance from the hostile headlines that temporary migrants had received in the tabloids, perhaps suggesting that the tabloid style is disposed towards negative headlines, irrespective of editorial position. Unsurprisingly the propensity of the right wing press to represent immigrants and immigration in a negative light is replicated in these findings.

When we return again to look at the whole database and examine where in the newspaper issues around immigrants appear, in each of their four categories reported, we learn some useful insights about both the nature of this coverage, and the limitations of our sample.

For, *immigrants, temporary immigrants, and refugees and asylum seekers* the major location for this issue is in news stories in the headline: 47%, 60% and 67% respectively, which suggests the extent to which these issues are driven by events that render them newsworthy. This is hardly surprising given the salience of immigration in the routine life of British politics and the succession of ‘issues’ which have focused press attention. However, only 25% of the material related to *illegal immigrant* headlines is to be found in news stories; 75% are in letters to the editor. This, however, constitutes only 3 of the 4 relevant headlines in this sample and suggests that we should be very conservative in the generic claims that are made on the basis of this pilot study. The thematic areas addressed when these four forms of migrant group are signalled in the headline reveal something more of the ways in which issues around immigration are cumulatively constructed through news making. If we take the three largest thematic categories linked to each group; and look at this in relation to tabloids and broadsheets the following story emerges:

**TABLE 13: Themes**

Table contains only selected data

Group	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Immigrants ( N =22 Broadsheets / 10 Tabloids)	Immigration, 73% Politics, 9% Labour market issues, 9%	Immigration, 70% Violence and crime, 10% Finance and economy, 10%
Temporary Immigrants (n= 10 Broadsheets / 5 Tabloids)	Sports, 90% War and conflict, 10%	Sports, 40% Violence and crime, 20% Traffic, 20% Celebrity, 20%
Illegal Immigrants (n= 2 Broadsheets / 2 Tabloids)	Immigration, 100%	Violence and crime, 100%
Refugees and Asylum seekers (n= 4 Broadsheets / 2 Tabloids)	Corruption, 25% War and conflict, 25% Freedom of opinion, 25% Immigration, 25%	Corruption, 50% Politics, 50%

Whilst, as with much of the data reported here, the absolute number of relevant articles is small making percentage differences dangerous tools, it remains apparent that the news stories significantly have followed the current political discourse around immigration within British politics: which of course they have been central in constructing. That immigrants should have been preponderantly reported in relation to the theme of immigration is hardly a surprise. Violence and crime, however, occur more significantly as themes within the tabloids whilst war and conflict occur in broadsheets, perhaps reflecting the more internationalist perspective of the broadsheets and the domestic focus of the tabloids. That sport should be a major theme in the reporting of temporary immigrants is a happy reminder that immigration may occur as a topic across a very wide range of themes, as immigration is such an ubiquitous element of contemporary society.

There are no real surprises in this account of the reporting of immigration in this data. The findings tend to confirm the way in which news follows the major defining features of events which they have initially constructed. Immigration has been a major issue in the internal political discourse of contemporary Britain for decades and new events have a tendency to be fitted into the tropes of economic and cultural threat that have served British political parties so well in their pursuit of the popular vote. However, as this data indicates the news is not monolithic and different immigrant populations are reported in relation to their distinct circumstances. The evidence here is far from showing a universally negative portrayal of immigrants. The differences that have been noted between the tabloids and broadsheet press, whilst being qualified by the size of the sample, nevertheless indicate that the editorial style and news orientation of these different products do impact on the reporting of migrant issues.

#### *5.4.4. Muslims*

Overall, religion is not an issue widely discussed in the British press and this possibly relates to the dominant secular, liberal ideology in the British society. Even in stories that engage with ethnic minority related issues, there is relatively limited mention of religion. For example, 58% of headlines referring to minorities make no mention to religion. However, there is an interesting exception: when there is a reference to religion, Muslims are by far the most referred group (in 27% of headlines) followed by the small percentages of 4% for Christians, 4% for Buddhists and 3% for Jews. This intense interest in Muslims and the association made between religion, ethnicity, and terrorism reflect the dominant political discourse in British public life which deals

with Islam and Muslim populations as an area of concern (and it is an issue often associated with the attacks by politicians and the press on the very idea multiculturalism).

When we cross-tabulate Specific group and Religion (deliberately looking only at domestic articles, in order to get a clearer image of coverage of national politics), we can confirm that Muslims represent the only religion mentioned with significance by the British press. This is also a group often referred to as a group *based* on religion (which is something that, as a rule, does not apply to any other religious and ethnic minority group). Among the headline references coded, Muslims are present in domestic articles 34 times (30% of the headlines coded with minority content), while any other religions reaches no more than three coded references. Among Speaker references coded, Muslims are present 66 times (14% of the cases), while Jews, the second most mentioned religious group, is coded only 10 times (2% of the cases). Among Other Actor references coded, Muslims are mentioned 208 times (13% of the cases), while Jews, the second most mentioned religion, are coded only 45 times (3% of the cases). In sum, what the sample indicates is that when we refer to religious groups, the only relevant group mentioned by the press in domestic articles are Muslims.

Muslims are almost twice more frequently referred to in tabloid minority content headlines (38%) compared to broadsheet titles (23%). More than any other affiliation, Muslims appear as affiliated to a terrorist organisation (47% when referred to as Other actors). Muslims (n=471) as Other actor coded references fall in more than half of the cases into the Terrorism with *minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators* (51%), but to some extent, they also fall into the category Violence and Crime with *minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators* (6%). *Discrimination by public bodies and institutions*, when related to religion in the headlines, in almost half of the cases relate to Muslims (40%), while 9 out of 10 of these cases appear in the broadsheets. This indicates that whilst the press may reproduce the negative associations with Islam that have become central to contemporary British politics, they at the same time act as a vehicles for the rehearsal of core British values of tolerance and the rule of law in their defence of the rights of Muslim citizens and communities.

As discussed in more detail in the next section, there is a close relation between the coverage of terrorism and Islam, with almost all headlines (81%) that refer to religion, *terrorism and minorities as (presumed) treat or perpetrators* referring to Muslims. The intensity of the topic, its sensational presentation and the personalisation of what

often appears as ‘the enemy within’ is more visible in the headlines. The tabloid press’ more graphic and sensationalist style chooses headlines such as: ‘Labour: We’ll Break Up Islam Ghettos’ (*The Mirror*, 03/04/08) or ‘Videos of Hate: “Non-believers will be killed. You are too busy watching *Home and Away* and *Eastenders*<sup>3</sup> and complaining about the World Cup and drinking alcohol to care about anything”’ (*The Mirror*, 05/04/08) or the similarly gory ‘We’ll take revenge...scattering your people’s body parts decorating streets’ in relation to a trial of suspect terrorists (*The Sun*, 01/04/08). When it comes to broadsheets, headlines are less melodramatic, yet often they reveal the similarity in the agenda of the press and the engagement – if not confirmation – with the discourse of the ‘enemy within’ and the Muslim *Otherness*. Headlines such as ‘Bombers ready to sacrifice families’ (*The Telegraph*, 05/04/08) and ‘Failed Bomber’s Wife Guilty of Staying Silent about Terror Plot’ (*The Guardian*, 12/06/08) are some examples.

The differences are visible when it comes to the style of reporting and writing in the broadsheets versus the tabloids, yet when it comes to analysing our sample based on its political orientation, we can see that negative appraisal towards Muslims dominate the coverage of both the left leaning and the right leaning press (explicit negative appraisal: 52% in left and 67% in right politically oriented press). It is worth mentioning that other religious groups attract negative appraisals, but Muslims stand out as the most negatively represented in terms of appraisal.

#### 5.4.5. *Terrorism*

Among the articles with minority content *terrorism* (10%) is one of the most referred to thematic areas: compared with – *politics* (19%) *sport* (10%), *violence and crime* (8%), *war* (8%), and *immigration* (8%). Terrorism as a thematic area is referred to more frequently in articles with minority content (10%), than in articles without minority content (0.2%), thus linking minority identities with terrorism. Among articles with minority content, *Terrorism* is also more likely to be referred to in the tabloids (18%) than in the broadsheets (7%).

When we look at articles whose headlines refer to a specific minority issue we find that the major issue emerging is *terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators* with the tabloids (23%) giving more visibility to this issue than the broadsheets (15%). In the majority of cases the appraisal used in headlines in relation

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<sup>3</sup> Popular television soap operas on British television.

to this issue is explicitly negative (69%): but in 20% of the cases the associated appraisal is explicitly positive. There are, however, distinct differences between broadsheets and the tabloids in the distribution of these appraisals with broadsheets having 55% explicitly negative and 32% explicitly positive appraisals, whilst in the tabloids 93% of the accounts are explicitly negative and there are no (0%) instances of explicitly positive appraisal. The focus on negativity in the tabloid press may be a reflection of the less reflective and extended news analysis that is found in tabloids, and of their more sensationalist house style. Something of the newsworthiness of terrorism is also suggested by the fact that where terrorism occurs as a minority issue, in 60% of cases there is a picture attached, and in 57% of these cases the connotation of the picture is negative (10% positive and 24% neutral).

When *terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators* occurs in the headlines, the item is most usually found in the *National affairs news section* (49%), and 29% in the *mixed news section*: with 11% in *international and EU affairs*, and 6% in *Frontpage news*. When we then look at the news genre within which these items are constructed it is apparent that the very great majority of them occur as *news stories* 86%: and 6% in the *opinion column*. Terrorism is then a story with a very real immediate and domestic interest that merits coverage as a news story. It is clearly signalled as an issue that has salience for journalists, and their readers: although given the political centrality of terrorism as an issue and its immediacy for the public, it is interesting that only 6% are presented as *frontpage news*, suggesting that it is an ongoing important topic rather than ‘hot’ news. However, the ongoing significance of this issue in national politics and local community sensibilities does mean that when specific events occur they can immediately demand front page status: such as when suspected ‘home-grown’ terrorists are arrested in British cities, or when they are tried in court.

Since Britain has had the recent experience of terrorist outrages on her own soil it is hardly a surprise that terrorism should figure in the news coverage of ethnic relations. This is particularly so since the government policies to counter violent extremism have impacted on civil rights, and consequently extended the range of issues that can be discussed around terrorism. Local Muslim communities have been identified by the government as the likely source of future suicide bombers, with the dual effect of increasing Islamophobia, and increasing the perceived sense of isolation of Muslim communities. Local tensions have thus entered into national news as issues of social cohesion are permeated by a concern for the prevention of terrorist assaults. Thus it is

perhaps not surprising that when *terrorism* is a minority issue *no religion* is mentioned on 30% of the occasions in broadsheets and never (0%) in tabloids, whereas the equivalent figures for mentioning *Muslims* are 70% and 100%. Added to this is the case that when we look at the affiliation of Muslim *speakers* 56% of these persons are depicted as having an affiliation with *a terrorist organisation*.

This pattern of news coverage clearly echoes something of the de facto reality in contemporary Britain. The international concern with Muslim terrorist activity following the American 9/11 was given a very specific British dimension following the bombings of 7/7. The fact these were carried out by ‘home grown’ terrorists has given a very particular edge to the British government’s policy response. Subsequent government policy has led to a focus on the nature of Muslim communities in Britain which has placed British Muslim communities in the front line of policies addressing the prevention of violent extremism. In this context the close linkage of Muslim’s with terror found in this account can hardly be regarded as a manifestation of journalistic Islamophobia. However, as an instance where primary definers set a political agenda and news agencies convert this into a tight framing of events the current coverage of terrorism in Britain has the capacity to be a self fuelling cycle. However, there are indications lurking beneath this data, in the differences between broadsheets and tabloids, that British journalism is capable of engaging in a critical discussion of the underlying dynamics of terrorism that goes beyond a mere recital of its threatening symptoms.

## 6. ANALYSIS PART III - TERMINOLOGY

The whole terminology table was redesigned from Phase 1 to Phase 2, and we feel that many of our team's suggestions have been incorporated in the scheme for analysis from Phase 2 onwards (see UK team's technical report for Phase 1). Our team has made significant effort to group the 'qualitative' data but we felt it was impossible to 'quantify' it (plus we felt that an attempt for 'quantification' of the qualitative data would defeat the purpose). What we have done with the qualitative analysis is summarised into three points:

- We coded almost all the terms used in the article, but we did not spend the significant amount of time required to count how many times each term was used (which would also be redundant taking the content analysis also conducted for this study).
- We didn't code more than once terms that were too similar (e.g. Eastern European vs. Eastern Europeans).
- Doing a quantitative analysis of the terms, even with restrictions, would require a new design of the final report. In this light, what we did was to group each phase's analysis report in one final report (e.g. All comments about Muslim from phase 2, 3, and 4, grouped in one final comment). These comments allow us to discuss the general use of the terms. We haven't used a huge number of examples, but just a few, and only when they are really relevant. We tried to construct a 'Top 10' list with the terms used, but we were restricted in our effort by the limitations set by Excel. Because Excel considers typos and small variations as different entries, it was misleading to look at the tables and construct a 'Top 10' list as was our ambition. In order to do this with precision, we would have to create a new column in the report, and associate each term with a general entry, and then count entries. Considering that we have more than 3,000 terms coded, this would be an impossible task under the time and resources' restrictions. What we did instead, was to use our team's expertise to re-read the partial reports and write a final comment. Examples were used, but only when *really* outstanding.

In sum, when they ask for us to do the analysis based on:

- Analysis of explicit and implicit terminology for naming the group;
- Examples of positive, negative and neutral attributes used by newspapers in relation to the group;
- Analysis of overall connotation of group.

We simplified the table considering the distinction between implicit/explicit and among positive/negative/neutral only to understand outstanding cases. This in itself was a significant task, as we had to define in detail and in context the actual meanings of implicit/explicit, and positive/negative/neutral; our team and the dedicated and expert coders spent significant amount of time on developing a rigour and relevant framework of analysis. Without being ‘quantitative’, we have managed to present a good analysis of overall connotations and these are presented in all its extent in the tables sent already with previous reports. Here, we will present the main points of discussion in relation to the minority groups that have emerged as the most important and widely referred to in the analysis of the press, taking also into consideration the significance of these groups within the broader political context in the UK. The presentation of the terminology here takes the form of ‘meta-analysis’ as we believe that only in this way this discussion contributes with something new to the analysis presented in this report around the content analysis of the study. Only a small number of specific examples is used for illustration purposes.

### **6.1. Discussion of terminology**

The case of Muslims (including Arabs, Other Asians, Palestinians, Pakistani) and immigrants (including all the variations, i.e. Immigrants, Illegal immigrants, Temporary Immigrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers, Eastern Europeans and Other EU Europeans) are the two categories that predominantly grab the attention of the British press. Thus, in our analysis of terminology, we are primarily focus on these two main groups, which are discussed below. In addition, we discuss the terminology used for a third significant group in the British context – Blacks (including Other Blacks, British Blacks, African Blacks, Caribbean Blacks, African Americans). All relevant tables are also presented in the Appendix.



### 6.1.1. Muslims

At the individual word level, the terms used to refer to Muslims tend to be neutral or negative. The latter usually invoke terrorism, extremist organisations, religious fanaticism, and militancy. This terminology is reflected in these typical examples: 'A gang of Muslim fanatics discussed "sacrificing" their wives and babies by taking them on an alleged suicide mission to blow up transatlantic jets, a court heard yesterday.' (*The Telegraph*, 5/4/08) and 'A Saudi woman was beaten and shot dead' (*The Telegraph*, 1/4/08). In cases of positive connotations (instances in *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*), the religious group is again framed within the discourse of terrorism, this time as a victim suffering from terrorism or as a group whose faith includes non-militant forms of Islam. It is worth pointing out that Muslims are frequently referred to implicitly, using as a shorthand names of terrorist organisations (al-Qa'eda, Hizbollah, Hamas, the Revolutionary Guards and the Taliban). An implicit reference to plotters for a terrorist attack for example, appears in *The Telegraph* on 5/4/08: 'promised to unleash "volcanoes of anger and revenge" and "rain terror and destruction" down on "non-believers"' – there is no direct reference to the plotter as Muslims or Islamists but this association is implicit throughout this story and in many similar ones, especially terrorist suspects and perpetrators.

At the level of the text, there is more ambivalence. Positive connotations tend to represent Muslims as a community targeted by Western military interventions (the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan) or Western racial and religious prejudice (especially in the British national context), as well as a community torn by internal disputes (between Sunni and Shia, progressive and conservative, moderate and extremists). Outside the 'war on terror' discourse, Muslims are also represented as a religious community of peace and multicultural tolerance, or as suffering the oppression of regimes in China, Libya, and Saudi Arabia.

This image of victimisation, however, is outweighed by the negative representation of Muslims as dangerous extremists and terrorists (e.g. 'Wright said that as police listened in on conversations in a bomb factory used by the alleged terrorists, they heard two of the cell discuss a train bombing in which one participant wanted to take his child', *The Guardian*, 5/4/08), as a self-segregated community unwilling to integrate in the host society (British context) (e.g. 'Labour: We'll Break up Islamic Ghettos'/ But Ms. Blears risks provoking fury with claims Labour are "pandering to the right" by attacking immigrants', *The Mirror*, 3/4/08), as a threat to Western values and other religious communities (mainly Christians and Jews), as a backward ethnic

group. Similarly, Islam is discussed as a faith potentially hostile and violent to unbelievers, but also as a system that can be taken advantage of both by fundamentalist preachers/terrorists and by Western political leaders (for election campaigns, for example). An interesting take of the press also includes such comments that imply that Muslims have tendencies for self-victimization. For example: 'Lord Justice Scott Baker poured scorn on Mohammed Fayed's conspiracy theories, in which he claimed the Establishment did not want Di to marry Muslim Dodi' (*The Sun*, 1/4/08). As far as coverage is concerned, Muslims were present in ALL issues of ALL papers for the period under consideration. The total number of terms used is the second highest with 570 entries (with terminology about the Majority coming first). Broadsheets considerably outnumber Tabloids as to the variety of terms used with respect to Muslims, almost twice as many. Although *The Guardian* appears to be a little ahead of *The Telegraph*, the scope of their terminology is quite comparable (the same is even more obvious with Tabloids).

Associated to Muslims, is the category of **Arabs**, which is often represented in relation to Islam. At the individual word level, most of the terminology used to refer to Arabs is neutral, apart from instances of ambiguous or negative connotations (suggesting criminality and violence, or subservience and promiscuity). At the level of the text, the connotations of social backwardness, misogyny and conservatism reinforce traditional 'Western' stereotypes of the Arab world. For example: 'Girls from rural Egyptian families might be sold to a wealthy Gulf man for between \$500 and \$1,500. Having returned to the Gulf state with her husband, most Egyptian girls find they are treated as servants in the family home and rejected by the man's existing wife or wives' (*The Guardian*, 14/6/08). Others such as criminality and militancy are an offshoot of the current political climate, framing this group within 'the war on terror' discourse (either as perpetrator or as a victim). Such examples include 'A brawl between police and Arabs who were protesting over Israel's birthday celebrations further dampened the anniversary mood. Nearly 2,000 Arab Israelis rallied near the ruins of Tzipor'/Arabs disturbing the peace' (*The Guardian*, 9/5/08) and 'Last month, the Home Office was forced to abandon plans to deport 12 Libyan suspects, leaving a memorandum of understanding with Libya signed in October 2005, effectively in tatters' (*The Guardian*, 9/5/08). All of the instances of terms used to refer to Arabs are from Broadsheets, with *The Guardian* outnumbering *The Telegraph* significantly (insofar as the variety of terms is concerned; otherwise, each newspaper has equal number of issues/editions that mention the group).

### 6.1.2. Immigrants

At the individual word level, most of the terminology used to refer to Immigrants is neutral, although there are a few instances of terms with negative connotations which tend to associate the group with chaos, unemployment, crime, poverty, ‘otherness’. This generally corresponds with the representation of Immigrants as a group that is flooding the country, causing difficulties at the labour market for the local population and chaos in the provision of other services (healthcare, education, policing, etc.). Although there are instances of terminology with positive connotations, these are still limited to the sphere of labour and employment: immigrants are referred to as skilled labourers that can benefit the British economy. At the level of the text, the connotations are more varied. On the one hand, there are cases where Immigrants are represented in positive terms as contributing in economic and intellectual terms to the host society (e.g. *The Telegraph*, 3/4/08: ‘certain sectors of the economy [...] have become dependent upon the migrant communities’), whilst at the same time recognising the hostile (and occasionally discriminatory but often somehow justified) attitude of locals and local media towards immigrant population (e.g. *The Sun*, 14/6/08: ‘People are ignorant and frightened. You have got all these new migrants, which is fine if you make provision for them, but everybody is cramming in and after the same resources’).

There appears to be a distinction between earlier immigration in the country – as a result of persecution elsewhere or the imperial past – which ultimately builds a positive image of the host society as hospitable and tolerant, and the more problematic recent arrivals – assessed primarily in economic and labour market terms. On the other hand, the number of instances of negative representation of immigrants outweighs the positive ones; they usually replay the recurrent tropes of excess and flooding, which has negative repercussions for the local economy and public services, demographics and crime rate. In such negative imagery, immigration is usually contrasted to the local population, and especially vulnerable sections of society such as lower income groups, youths, urban poor, children in schools, etc. Metaphors persisting in the representation of Immigrants are that of the flood (of foreigners) or the pandemic (of unemployment and criminality). Examples include: ‘The Government is negligent in its failure to control who comes into and goes of this country and border control is a farce’ (*The Telegraph*, 3/4/08) and ‘There is no room in Britain for such people, least of all working with the frail and elderly. The Government must sort out this farce pronto’ (*The Sun*, 3/4/08).

Immigrants are the third most frequently referred to group in terms of variety of language used (after Majority population and Muslims). Similarly, it is also a group that has been consistently present in ALL issues analysed in the duration of the project. Whilst Broadsheets over-represent the group when compared to Tabloids, in terms of political orientation it is the right-wing newspapers that have paid more attention to Immigrants (the rhetoric of *The Telegraph* and *The Sun* being consistently more varied than that of *The Guardian* and *The Mirror*). *The Mirror* is the newspaper that has given least attention to the group and that has used the most positive representations.

When it comes to **Illegal immigrants**, due to the semantic features of the term, illegal immigrants are referred to at the individual word level with a negative connotation, insofar as the term suggests illegitimacy. At the level of the text, this tendency is reinforced, especially in the rightwing press wherein the group is represented as one involved in criminal activities and whose numbers are soaring. For example, a letter to *The Sun* on 3/4/08 reads: "MY late mum spent her final years in a care home. If I'd found out she was being looked after by illegal immigrants with a criminal record I'd have gone ballistic." In the leftwing newspapers, however, there is more ambivalence, insofar as Illegal immigrants are seen as a vulnerable group that is being exploited and manipulated by economic and political factors. *The Mirror* writes on 7/5/08: 'A Prime Minister who fails to help "twilight workers" - semi-legals in care homes, hotels, haulage firms, beauty salons, the security industry, hotels, restaurants, construction sites, hairdressers or wherever they toil, can kiss goodbye to any election.' Illegal immigrants have not been present in all issues of the newspapers under consideration, and there is not being variety of terms/language used to refer to them.

At the individual word level, the terminology used to refer to **Temporary immigrants** is neutral or negative, the latter usually presenting the group as essentially 'foreign'. There are very few instances of positive terminology (from *The Sun* only) where Temporary immigrants are referred to in terms of their qualities (good footballers, sports talent, etc. – for example in *The Guardian*, 1/4/08: 'the injection of foreign talent has worked to strengthen English clubs'). At the level of the text, the group is represented more ambivalently. On the one hand, temporary migrants are seen as a significant economic factor, e.g., non-doms, overseas players, etc. On the other hand, they are depicted as having negative impact on the home economy, which necessitates caps on their numbers, and as difficult to integrate (having language barriers). *The Sun* writes on 1/4/08: 'cannabis factories set up by

foreign gangs in the UK are doubling every year' and *The Telegraph*, on 3/4/08 writes: 'The number of people allowed to live here is more likely to be determined by people traffickers than immigration officers.' Interesting exceptions from this general patterns are the instances of positive representation of low-income immigrants (and locals) who may suffer economically from the presence of wealthy non-doms, and the recognition of latent discrimination/racism towards this (usually affluent) group. Temporary immigrants have been consistently present in most of the issues covered by the project, apart from those of *The Mirror*.

At the individual word level, the terms used to refer to **Refugees and Asylum** seekers are neutral. At the level of the text, there is more ambivalence. On the one hand, leftwing newspapers tend to represent the group in positive terms as a victim of persecution at home and of discrimination in their host countries (e.g. *The Mirror*, 5/4/08 writes: 'He told us he was a Tibetan trying to cross into Nepal to escape the Chinese. The 22-year-old refugee gave us a shocking account of how he had witnessed a crackdown in Tibet's eastern Amdo province'). The rightwing press, on the other hand, is more ambivalent (*The Telegraph*, 12/6/08 for example: 'The authority saw its population rise by 1,300 in 2005-06 – almost entirely because of the arrival of Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians and Portuguese'). The rightwing press also sometimes suggests that despite the victimisation of refugees they tend to get involved in illegitimate and even terrorist activities. Although the group has been consistently represented in most of the issues covered by the project, there have not been too many examples of terminology/variety of language used with respect to them.

At the individual word level, the terminology used to refer to **EU Eastern Europeans** tends to be neutral, although there are few instances of positive and negative connotations too (primarily associating the group with stardom or criminality, respectively). The terms, also, tend to denote the country of origins of the speakers/actors (with Poland dominating the sample), even though there are general designations such as Eastern Europe, New Europe, Central Europe, etc. At the level of the text, there is more ambivalence. On the one hand, the association of Eastern Europe with economic migration has resulted in positive stereotyping whereby the minority is seen to possess the highly desirable qualities of diligence, hard work, loyalty, willing to work under stress and low pay (see for example *The Telegraph*, 3/4/08: 'I failed to find proper recognition of the current status of the ever-visible Polish workers within British society'). On the other hand, the risk that such employable minority presents to the local population constitute the bulk of the

negative representations, further reinforced by recurrent tropes for any immigrant group: criminality, burden to the system, unassimilability. For example, *The Sun*, 1/4/08 writes: ‘The British taxpayer sweats all day to raise money that is showered on grasping Bulgarians and Romanians’. EU Eastern Europeans have been referred to quite consistently by all the newspapers addressed by this project in almost ALL issues. Although Broadsheets focus more on this minority group, the right-wing newspapers, however, tend to use a wider variety of terms and language.

At the individual word level, the terminology used to refer to **Other EU Europeans** (non-Eastern Europe) tends to be primarily neutral, with some instances of negative connotations (usually invoking undeniably reprehensible regimes from the past such as Nazi Germany, problematic organisations such as Sinn Feinn or ETA, or questionable ideologies such as communism). For example, see *The Telegraph*, 1/4/08: ‘Adolf Hitler assured the American members of the International Olympic Committee that [Jewish athletes] would be [included in the team]. But the reality was very different’. There are few instances of positive connotations, primarily framing EU Western Europe as a victim within the ‘war on terror’ discourse (e.g. *The Sun*, 10/6/08: ‘Spanish police have told their British colleagues the Pakistani terrorist cell had been planning suicide bomb attacks on public transport in the UK’). Similar to the category EU Eastern Europeans, most of the terms explicitly denote the country of origin of the speakers/actors in question. At the level of the text, there is more ambivalence. On the one hand, EU Europeans are represented as the embodiment of democracy and liberty through their participation in the coalition forces in Afghanistan or through their multicultural policies, as the historical victims of past repressive regimes as that of the Nazi Germany or of present day terrorist groups. On the other hand, the margins of this group (e.g., Italians and Portuguese) appear to be represented in slightly racialised terms and seen as a potential immigrant pool for Britain. Moreover, references to the problematic past of Nazism and colonialism, as well as some reservations as to EU’s dedication to the war on terror, also resurface in some of the negative representations of this varied group. Other EU Europeans are a group that is recurrently present on the pages of all but one editions covered by this project; *The Mirror* has not registered even a single entry for this group. As to the rest, whereas *The Guardian* appears to be referring to this group primarily through historical accounts about World War II, *The Sun* and *The Telegraph* tend to invoke in their language the context of immigration and the war on terror.

**TABLE 13 – DISCUSSION OF THE GROUP IMMIGRANTS (IN ALL ITS VARIANTS)**

Row Labels	# Terminology used				# phases mentioned				Total # Terminology used	Total # phases mentioned
	Guardian	Mirror	Sun	Telegraph	Guardian	Mirror	Sun	Telegraph		
Immigrants	53	12	33	91	3	3	3	3	189	12
EU Eastern Europeans	24	5	12	30	3	3	2	3	71	11
Other EU Europeans	40	-	13	35	3	-	3	3	88	9
Temporary immigrants	32	2	11	31	3	1	2	3	76	9
Refugees and Asylum seekers	6	6	5	9	3	2	3	2	26	10
Illegal immigrants	5	2	4	2	2	2	1	2	13	7

As a major concern of the British press, immigration is an issue that is recurrently invoked in all the newspapers covered by this project. Whereas the generic group, Immigrants, appears in ALL issues and newspapers (although *The Mirror* seems to cover the least), the frequency of appearance of the more specific groups is lower but still relatively high relative to all other minority groups. The representation of immigrants is to an extent reflective of the general rhetoric used in the representation of ethnic, religious and racial minorities. Nonetheless, a prominent trope is that of economic impact, followed by social and political effects. As to the specific sub-groups of immigrants, there is a marked difference in the language used with reference to those coming from the old EU and EU-Eastern Europeans. Whilst there is a suggestion that both groups pose an economic and demographic problem for the locals, Eastern Europeans are more frequently presented in ethnic stereotypes (of inherent qualities be it diligence and hard work, or violence and criminality). Western Europeans, on the other hand, are referred to primarily through their historical past (which is used to stereotype them too) and current political present. With Illegal immigrants and Refugees the elements of criminality and illegitimacy are mostly pronounced, and this can be attributed to the wider pool of ethnic and religious affiliations that these groups of immigrants have (terrorist activities also appear here). And even though the majority of terms referring to Temporary immigrants suggest affluence and economic mobility, fears of unassimilability, lack of language proficiency and foreignness once again resurface in the media rhetoric.

### 6.1.3. Blacks

At the individual word level and the text, the terminology used to refer to the general group – Blacks – is ambiguous, associating Blackness with racial stereotypes. The few examples are to be found in Broadsheets only; one of them is from *The Guardian* (16/4/08): ‘It is difficult to encompass the world with six groups, but the Metropolitan

Police assign “white-skinned European types - English, Scottish, Welsh, Scandinavian and Russian” to IC1; “dark-skinned European types - Sardinian, Spanish, Italian” to IC2; “Negroid types - Caribbean, West Indian, African” to IC3; “Indians and Pakistanis” to IC4; “Chinese, Japanese, Mongolians, Siamese” to IC5; and “Arabians, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans and North Africans” to IC6’.

At the individual word level, the terms used to refer to **Black Africans** are primarily neutral, with some instances of negative connotations (usually associating the group with slavery, violence and criminality; e.g. *The Sun*, 1/4/08: ‘the Nigerians showed the former North London teacher fake documents saying a relative had left her £6.8million’) and positive connotations (most often referring to the group’s struggle for freedom from slavery or other repressive regimes, e.g., Robert Mugabe’s in Zimbabwe – for example, see reference to him in *The Telegraph*, 1/4/08: ‘by seizing white-owned farms and handing them out to his cronies’). At the level of the text, the representation is more varied: on the one hand, black Africans are seen as victims of colonialism and slavery, local dictatorial regimes and white racism (e.g. *The Telegraph*, 5/4/08: ‘When they’d gone we shipped the African slaves to do the work’). On the other hand, however, there is some difference from the similar victimisation of African Americans; whereas Black Africans are depicted as having problematic political regimes in place and controversial attitude towards ‘others’ – be it white farmers in Zimbabwe or Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa, African Americans are discussed as a crucial political factor in US history and society. In this sense, despite the positive connotations associated with black African freedom fighting and political empowerment, there appears to be certain ambiguity as to their moral uprightness (i.e., inflicting violence that they have historically suffered from). An important trajectory in their representation that needs to be considered is Black African cultural heritage and contribution to contemporary multicultural societies. According to newspaper coverage, the group was present in most of the issues analysed by the project, with Broadsheets having more references than Tabloids do. *The Telegraph* has used more varied terminology with reference to the group than *The Guardian* has, whereas the respective numbers are more or less the same between the two Tabloids.

At the individual word level, the terminology used to refer to the **Black British** is predominantly neutral, although there are some instances of positive connotations (which associate the group with art and entertainment), and even fewer examples of negative connotations (abusive language or ambiguity associating the group with



crime). As to the level of the text, there is certain prevalence of the positive representations of this group as one of academic and artistic achievement, whose contributions to British society need recognition (see for example *The Guardian*, 9/5/08: ‘As a relatively successful black British actor with nearly 25 years’ experience, it’s no surprise to me that Greer talks of an American actor friend who “keeps bumping into black Brits at auditions who can sound more American than he does”). As is the case with Black Africans, the group is also described as suffering from racist and discriminatory attitudes. Of the newspapers analysed by this project, *The Guardian* is definitely in the lead in the positive treatment of the Black British community, with also an overwhelmingly high number of varied terms used to refer to this minority. Although the rightwing newspapers also represent the group (with significantly smaller sample than that of *The Guardian*), they tend to be more ambivalent in their views, suggesting that despite its victimisation this minority group is prone to violence, criminality or self-victimization (e.g. *The Sun*, 5/4/08: ‘DISGRACED supermodel Naomi Campbell claimed yesterday she had been arrested at Heathrow because she was BLACK’). *The Mirror* has not recorded a single instance of representation of the Black British group.

At the individual word level, the terminology used to refer to **Black Caribbean** people is primarily neutral, with few instances of negative connotation (associating the group with the period of slavery, racial classification or gang culture). At the level of the text, the representation of the group is predominantly positive; Black Caribbean people are seen as victims, as the victims of the imperial legacy of slavery, and of racial discrimination today. Nonetheless, there is certain ambiguity insofar as the community is also seen as engaged in criminal activities. For example, *The Telegraph* (14/6/08) writes: ““There is no violence directed towards tourists,” said Burchell Whiteman, Jamaican High Commissioner to Britain. “Crime is localised and is all connected with gangs, guns and drugs””. Whereas Broadsheets appear to be referring to the group more or less as frequently, Tabloid examples of terminology/representations are few and far between.

At the individual word level, the terminology used to refer to **African Americans** is primarily neutral. However, there are several instances of negative connotations, in which the group is referred to in racist language and stereotypes, or in which the community is associated with criminal activities. In an interview of the rap musician Snoop Doggy Dog, *The Guardian* quotes him as saying: ““they [US media] just want to you to know that this nigger befriended this other nigger”” (3/4/08).

There are also positive connotations invoked by some of the terms used, primarily through reference to famous political figures fighting for black enfranchisement. As to the level of the text, the representations are mainly positive, discussing African Americans both as victims of white and institutional racism, and as empowered individuals who have fought for their civil liberties – a discussion that became increasingly relevant in the countdown of the US presidential elections. For example, *The Mirror* (5/4/08) writes: ‘Thanks to Dr King and his followers like Elaine, black Americans have won the right to eat in any restaurant across the U.S. Only true equality - and possibly the election of America's first black President - will give them the means to pay the bill’. Nonetheless, there are still instances where the group is represented negatively as manipulating the US elections through race politics, as engaging in violence and crimes, as divisive and asocial. As to coverage, *The Guardian* is significantly ahead of the other three in terms of variety of terms used to describe African Americans, with *The Sun* being the last with only two terms out of two recorded articles.

**TABLE 14 – DISCUSSION OF THE GROUP BLACKS (AND ALL ITS VARIANTS)**

Row Labels	# Terminology used				# phases mentioned				Total # Terminology used	Total # phases mentioned
	Guardian	Mirror	Sun	Telegraph	Guardian	Mirror	Sun	Telegraph		
Black (other)	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	3	2
Black African	30	9	8	43	3	2	1	3	90	9
Black British	39	-	8	7	3	-	3	3	54	9
Black Caribbean	9	1	4	12	3	1	2	3	26	9
African Americans	38	11	2	12	3	2	2	3	63	10

The Black community is significantly present in the newspapers analysed by this project, with Broadsheets offering considerably more coverage than Tabloids. A general feature in the representation of this varied group is the recognition of the phenomenon of slavery, and the concomitant racist practices within the imperialist and colonial systems. Thus, the language used to refer to each of the groups above reflects a certain level of victimisation, recognition of past injustices and violence. However, there is some difference in the treatment of the different Black communities by the press. Whereas African Americans, for instance, are being positively treated as a minority who have fought and still are fighting for their political empowerment, Black Africans are seen as more compromised through the dubious political regimes instituted in countries such as Zimbabwe, Sudan or South Africa. As to the Black Caribbean and Black British community, positive representations are prevalent too,

but the emphasis there shifts towards cultural, education and artistic achievements and integration in a multicultural society. With all the groups, negative connotations of criminality, violence and poverty persist.

## 7. ANALYSIS PART IV – THE REPRESENTATION OF RACISM, MIGRATION AND DIVERSITY ISSUES

### 7.1. Analysis of headlines (analysis of minority issues and other relevant categories)

The analysis of the data shows that the level of inclusion of Minority issues references does not related neither with the political orientation of each newspaper, nor to the paper type of each newspaper. Thus, it can be argued that the level of minority coverage relates, on the one hand, to the broader political and media culture of minorities receiving a marginal numerical presence in the press, and on the other hand, internal variations within the sample are most likely related to each paper editorial guidelines and agenda.

Most of the minority issue references were coded during Phase 2 (45%), followed by cases coded during the Phase 4 (32%) and by cases coded during the Phase 3 (24%). These percentages apply to Minority issue references coded in Broadsheets (45% Phase 2, 24% Phase 3, 31% Phase 4), and it is valid for Minority issue references coded in Tabloids (43% Phase 2, 24% Phase 3, 33% Phase 4). Among all the newspapers coded Minority issue references fall mostly into Phase 2: *The Guardian* (39%), *The Telegraph* (52%), *The Sun* (38%), and *The Mirror* (50%).

**TABLE 15 – TOTAL MINORITY ISSUES REFERENCES CODED**

ALL vs. Paper type vs. Paper label

ReferenceType	Data	PaperType	Newspaper Name	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Grand Total	
3 Issue	%	broadsheet	Guardian	39%	32%	29%	100%	
			Telegraph	52%	16%	33%	100%	
		broadsheet Total			45%	24%	31%	100%
		tabloid	Sun	38%	32%	30%	100%	
			Mirror	50%	12%	38%	100%	
	tabloid Total			43%	24%	33%	100%	
	#	broadsheet	Guardian	187	156	139	482	
			Telegraph	238	72	152	462	
		broadsheet Total			425	228	291	944
		tabloid	Sun	79	66	63	208	
Mirror			71	17	53	141		
tabloid Total			150	83	116	349		
Total %				45%	24%	32%	100%	
Total #				575	311	407	1293	

If we consider that *The Guardian* (39% of the cases coded during Phase 2) and *The Mirror* (50% of the cases coded during Phase 2) are left-oriented papers, while *The*

*Sun* (38% of the cases coded during phase two) and *The Telegraph* (52% of the cases coded during phase two) are right-oriented papers, it is possible to assume that the inclusion of Minority issues references in the sample is NOT related to the political orientation of each paper type (both leftwing and rightwing coded newspapers have opposite percentage in relation to the coding of Minority issues references).

If we consider the distribution across paper-type, among Broadsheets, Minority issues cases coded in one of the newspapers of the sample is mostly related to the Phase 2 (*Telegraph*, 52%), while the other (*The Guardian*) is almost evenly related to the three weeks of coding (39% Phase 2, 32% Phase 3, and 29% Phase 4). Tabloids follow the same pattern: cases coded referring to Minority issue references in one of the newspapers mostly fall into Phase 2 (*Mirror*, 50%), while the other (*The Sun*) is almost evenly related to the three weeks of coding (38% Phase 2, 32% Phase 3, and 30% Phase 4).

#### 7.1.1. What Minority Issues appear on the Headlines

Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators is the most referred minority issue in headlines (n=35). In most cases, the appraisal used in relation to this minority issue is negative (69%), although there are instances of positive (20%), ambivalent (3%), and no appraisal at all (9%). In Broadsheets (22 out of 35 cases) mentions of this minority issue are in more than half of the cases with negative appraisal (55%), but there is a significant percentage of positive appraisal instances too (32%). In Tabloids (13 out of 35 cases) references to this minority issue in headlines are almost always negative (93%), and never positive (0%).

The issue of Racism & Xenophobia (n=14) referred to in headlines is usually mentioned with a positive appraisal (71%), although there are instances of negative appraisal (14%). In Broadsheet headlines (9 out of 14 cases), this minority issue is mostly referred to in positive terms (89%), while in Tabloid ones (5 out of 14 cases), positive appraisal is only used in more than one third of the cases (40%), with the percentage being the same for instances of negative appraisal.

Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (n=14) is usually referred to in headlines with a positive appraisal (43%); there are also instances of neutral (21%), ambiguous (21%) and negative appraisal (14%). There is no big divergence between the appraisal of Broadsheet (9 out of 14) and Tabloid headlines (5 out of 14).

Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (n=10) mentions in the headline usually related to an Explicit positive appraisal (40%), but also related to some significance related to no appraisal at all (30%), Ambiguous appraisal (20%) and negative appraisal (10%). Most of the cases belong to Broadsheets (9 out of 10) and the only mention in headlines of this minority issue in Tabloids is related to Explicit positive appraisal.

The minority issue of Immigration (n=15) is most referred to without any appraisal in newspaper headlines (40%), but the percentage of headlines with negative appraisal (33%) is also significant. Positive appraisal is only used in 7% of the cases. In Broadsheet headlines (10 out of 15 cases), half of the instances fall into the no appraisal category (50%), while in Tabloid headlines (5 out of 15 cases), almost half of the sample uses negative appraisal (40%), compared to the 30% negative appraisal in Broadsheet headlines.

The topic of Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (n=15) is in almost half of the cases of newspaper headlines referred to in positive terms (47%). No appraisal is used in 27% of the cases, and Ambiguous and Negative appraisal are present in 13% of the cases, respectively. Most of the cases can be found in Broadsheets (13 out of 15) and the two mentions in the Tabloids are equally distributed between positive and negative appraisal (one entry each).

The minority issue of Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=12) is in three-quarters of the headlines referred to negatively (75%); this issue is never appraised positively, in 17% of the cases there is no appraisal at all and in 8% Ambivalent appraisal. In Broadsheets (7 out of 12) more than half of the headlines give negative appraisal (57%), while in Tabloids (5 out of 12) all headlines have negative appraisal.

Eighty percent (80%) of the articles whose headlines refer to the minority issue of Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators belong to the Terrorism thematic area. The percentage for Tabloids is higher than that for Broadsheets (100% TBL vs. 68% BRS), whereas Broadsheet articles with such headlines also tend to fall within the War thematic area (32% BRS). At the same time, 87% of the articles with headlines referring to Immigration are related to the Immigration thematic area. In Broadsheets, all articles with headline references to this minority issue focus on the Immigration thematic area, whereas in Tabloids there is more variety, with one entry

related to Celebrity and another to the thematic area of Travelling, Lifestyle, Cars, Pets, Health & Food.

Forty percent (40%) of the articles whose headlines refer to the minority issue of Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status belong to the Politics thematic area, but there is also a significantly high percentage of articles, 20%, that fall into the thematic area of Freedom of opinion & speech. Most of the cases belong to Broadsheets (13 out of 15), where the general tendency is consistent, whereas in Tabloids (2 out of 15 cases), one of the articles is related to the Politics thematic area and another to the Social conflicts thematic area.

Half of the articles whose headlines refer to the minority issue of Racism & Xenophobia fall into the Thematic area of Manifestations of racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, 21% in Sports and 14% in the Equality in society (including gender equality). Tabloids relate the minority issue to the Sports thematic area more frequently than Broadsheets do (40% TBL vs. 11% BRS), whereas Broadsheets focus more on the area of Equality in society (including gender equality) than Tabloids do (22% BRS vs. 0% TBL)

Forty-three percent (43%) of the articles whose headlines mention Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants fall into the Politics thematic area, followed by 14% in the Immigration thematic area (14%). The general trend is more or less replicated in Broadsheets and Tabloids.

Fifty-eight percent (58%) of the articles with headlines referring to the minority issue of Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators fall into the Violence & Crime (incl. court news, drugs, police news, prison, riots) thematic area. The trend is more or less replicated in the two types of paper; corresponding distribution between Broadsheets and Tabloids is 43% vs. 80%, respectively (the remaining percentages being statistically insignificant).

Articles whose headlines refer to Discrimination by public bodies & institutions mentions in the headline are equally distributed among several thematic areas: Manifestations of racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia (20%) and Religion (20%). Most of the cases can be found in Broadsheets (9 out of 10) and the only instance in Tabloids belongs to the thematic area of Manifestations of racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia.

### *7.1.2. Minority issues in relevant article headlines*

Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators is the most referred minority issue in headlines (n=35). In most cases, the appraisal used in relation to this minority issue is negative (69%), although there are instances of positive (20%), ambivalent (3%), and no appraisal at all (9%). In Broadsheets (22 out of 35 cases) mentions of this minority issue are in more than half of the cases with negative appraisal (55%), but there is a significant percentage of positive appraisal instances too (32%). In Tabloids (13 out of 35 cases) references to this minority issue in headlines are almost always negative (93%), and never positive (0%). In almost half of the cases (49%), these headlines appear in the National Affairs Newspaper Section, 29% in the Mixed news, and 6% in the Front Page sections. Most articles whose headlines refer to Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators belong to the News story text genre (86%). 80% of the articles belong to the Terrorism thematic area. The percentage for Tabloids is higher than that for Broadsheets (100% TBL vs. 68% BRS), whereas Broadsheet articles with such headlines also tend to fall within the War thematic area (32% BRS). 60% of the articles whose headlines refer to the minority issue of Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=21) have a picture attached. Of the 21 articles which have picture attached, 57% have negative connotation of the image, 24% neutral, 10% positive and 10% ambiguous.

The issue of Racism & Xenophobia (n=14) referred to in headlines is usually mentioned with a positive appraisal (71%), although there are instances of negative appraisal (14%). In Broadsheet headlines (9 out of 14 cases), this minority issue is mostly referred to in positive terms (89%), while in Tabloid ones (5 out of 14 cases), positive appraisal is only used in more than one third of the cases (40%), with the percentage being the same for instances of negative appraisal. In almost one-third of the cases, (29%), headlines referring to this issue fall into the Mixed News section, but a significant 21% fall into the National Affairs Newspaper section and another 14% in Opinion. Articles whose headlines mention Racism & Xenophobia are mainly News stories (57%), and Interviews (21%). Half of the articles fall into the Thematic area of Manifestations of racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, 21% in Sports and 14% in Equality in society (including gender equality). Tabloids relate the minority issue to the Sports thematic area more frequently than Broadsheets do (40% TBL vs. 11% BRS), whereas Broadsheets focus more on the area of Equality in society (including gender equality) than Tabloids do (22% BRS vs. 0% TBL). 57% of

the articles whose headlines refer to the minority issue of Racism & Xenophobia (n=8) have a picture attached.

Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (n=14) is usually referred to in headlines with a positive appraisal (43%); there are also instances of neutral (21%), ambiguous (21%) and negative appraisal (14%). There is no big divergence between the appraisal of Broadsheet (9 out of 14) and Tabloid headlines (5 out of 14). This minority issue tends to be mentioned in headlines in the Opinion Newspaper section (43%), but also in those in the National affairs (21%) and in Mixed News section (14%). 57% of the articles with headlines referring to Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants belong to the News story text genre (57%), and 29% are Editorials. 43% of the articles fall into the Politics thematic area, followed by 14% in the Immigration thematic area (14%). The general trend is more or less replicated in Broadsheets and Tabloids. 29% of the articles (n=4) have a picture attached.

Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (n=10) mentions in the headline usually related to an Explicit positive appraisal (40%), but also related to some significance related to no appraisal at all (30%), Ambiguous appraisal (20%) and negative appraisal (10%). Most of the cases belong to Broadsheets (9 out of 10) and the only mention in headlines of this minority issue in Tabloids is related to Explicit positive appraisal. This issue is mentioned in headlines primarily in the National affairs Newspaper section (70%). 80% of the articles with headlines referring to Discrimination by public bodies & institutions mentions are News stories. Articles whose headlines refer to Discrimination by public bodies & institutions mentions in the headline are equally distributed among several thematic areas: Manifestations of racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia (20%) and Religion (20%). Most of the cases can be found in Broadsheets (9 out of 10) and the only instance in Tabloids belongs to the thematic area of Manifestations of racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia. 60% of the articles (n=6) have a picture attached.

The minority issue of Immigration (n=15) is most referred to without any appraisal in newspaper headlines (40%), but the percentage of headlines with negative appraisal (33%) is also significant. Positive appraisal is only used in 7% of the cases. In Broadsheet headlines (10 out of 15 cases), half of the instances fall into the no appraisal category (50%), while in Tabloid headlines (5 out of 15 cases), almost half of the sample uses negative appraisal (40%), compared to the 30% negative appraisal in Broadsheet headlines. This is a minority issue that appears in headlines primarily



from the National affairs section (40%), as also those from the Opinion section (33%). The most popular Text genre for articles whose headlines refer to Immigration is Letters to the editor (33%), followed by News Stories (27%). 87% of the articles are related to the Immigration thematic area. In Broadsheets, all articles with headline references to this minority issue focus on the Immigration thematic area, whereas in Tabloids there is more variety, with one entry related to Celebrity and another to the thematic area of Travelling, Lifestyle, Cars, Pets, Health & Food. One-third of the articles whose headlines refer to Immigration (n=5) have a picture attached.

The topic of Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (n=15) is in almost half of the cases of newspaper headlines referred to in positive terms (47%). No appraisal is used in 27% of the cases, and Ambiguous and Negative appraisal are present in 13% of the cases, respectively. Most of the cases can be found in Broadsheets (13 out of 15) and the two mentions in the Tabloids are equally distributed between positive and negative appraisal (one entry each). The minority issue is referred to in headlines that can be found primarily in the International & EU Affairs and in the National affairs Newspaper sections (27% each), and in one-fifth of the cases in headlines in the Opinion section. More than half, (53%) of the articles whose headlines mention Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status are News stories. 40% of the articles belong to the Politics thematic area, but there is also a significantly high percentage of articles, 20%, that fall into the thematic area of Freedom of opinion & speech. Most of the cases belong to Broadsheets (13 out of 15), where the general tendency is consistent, whereas in Tabloids (2 out of 15 cases), one of the articles is related to the Politics thematic area and another to the Social conflicts thematic area. 40% of the articles whose headlines refer to Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (n=6) have a picture attached.

The minority issue of Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=12) is in three-quarters of the headlines referred to negatively (75%); this issue is never appraised positively, in 17% of the cases there is no appraisal at all and in 8% Ambivalent appraisal. In Broadsheets (7 out of 12) more than half of the headlines give negative appraisal (57%), while in Tabloids (5 out of 12) all headlines have negative appraisal. The issue recurrent in the headlines from the National Affairs, International & EU Affairs and the Opinion Newspaper sections (25% each). The genre used most frequently in articles whose headlines refer to Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators is the News story text genre (67%

of the cases). 58% of the articles fall in the Violence & Crime (incl. court news, drugs, police news, prison, riots) thematic area. The trend is more or less replicated in the two types of paper; corresponding distribution between Broadsheets and Tabloids is 43% vs. 80%, respectively (the remaining percentages being statistically insignificant). Most of the articles whose headlines refer to Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators mentions (92% or n=11) and Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (89% or n=8) almost never have a picture attached.

### *7.1.3. Analysis of references (analysis of minority issues and other relevant categories)*

A number of Minority issues are more referred to in Tabloids than in Broadsheets, in particular Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (8% BRS vs. 12% TBL), Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (7% BRS vs. 12% TBL), Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (4% BRS vs. 7% TBL), and Immigration (3% BRS vs. 6% TBL).

A number of other Minority issues – especially those that relate with minorities as potential victims and political process for minority representation and inclusion – are more referred to in Broadsheets than in Tabloids; these issues include in particular Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (5% BRS vs. 4% TBL), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (7% BRS vs. 5% TBL), and Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (4% BRS vs. 2% TBL). Other Minority issues, such as Diversity & Integration, are almost evenly represented in Broadsheets and in Tabloids (5% BRS vs. 5% TBL respectively).

The most frequently referred Minority issues coded are Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (9%), Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (8%), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (7%), Diversity & Integration (in general) (5%), Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (5%), Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (5%), Immigration (4%), Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (4%), Racism & Xenophobia (4%), Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (4%), and other minority issues coded with fewer than 45 entries.

**TABLE 16 – MINORITY ISSUE REFERENCES**

## PHASE 1 EXCLUDED

Description: Percentage of Minority issue references (showing only items with at least 30 entries)  
ALL vs. Broadsheets vs. Tabloids

Minority Issue	%		#		Total %	Total #
	broadsheet	tabloid	broadsheet	tabloid		
01 Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants	659%	35%	74	40	100%	114
04 Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators	59%	41%	61	43	100%	104
34 Discrimination by public bodies & institutions	77%	2%	65	20	100%	85
48 Diversity & Integration (in general)	75%	25%	49	16	100%	65
03 Violence & Crime with minorities as victims	78%	22%	50	14	100%	64
02 Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators	59%	41%	36	25	100%	61
06 Immigration	60%	40%	31	21	100%	52
20 Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity	60%	40%	31	21	100%	52
16 Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status	86%	14%	42	7	100%	49
36 Racism & Xenophobia	76%	24%	35	11	100%	46
11 War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups	60%	41%	25	17	100%	42
27 Effect of immigration on the social and economic situation (in general)	72%	28%	28	11	100%	39
22 History of migrant/minority groups	89%	11%	31	4	100%	35
59 Foreigners in sports	53%	47%	16	14	100%	30
55 Religious fundamentalism	67%	33%	20	10	100%	30
17 Minority members as politicians	80%	20%	24	6	100%	30
Grand Total	73%	27%	944	349	100%	1293

*7.1.4. Appraisal*

In general, Minority issues tend to be appraised positively rather than negatively (41% vs. 28%). On average, in 8% of the cases no appraisal has been given, in 14% ambivalent, and in 10% of the cases ambiguous appraisal has been used. Among the statistically significant Minority issues coded (more than 30 entries), the three Minority issue most frequently referred to with a positive appraisal are Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (77%), Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (72%), and Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (64%). The three Minority issues most frequently referred to with a negative appraisal are Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (79%), Religious fundamentalism (67%), and Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (66%).

The Minority issue most frequently appraised ambivalently is Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (33%), whereas the ones most often appraised in an ambiguous manner are Religious fundamentalism (21%) and Minority members as politicians (20%). The issue that has the highest percentage of neutral appraisal is History of migrant/minority groups (26%).

**TABLE 17 – MINORITY ISSUES: APPRAISAL**

PHASE 1 EXCLUDED

Description: Minority issue references cross-tabbed with Appraisal (showing only items with at least 40 entries)

ALL vs. Broadsheets vs. Tabloids

Minority Issue	Paper Type	%					Total %	Total #
		01 Explicit positive	02 Explicit negative	03 Explicit ambivalent	04 Explicit ambiguous	09 No appraisal		
01 Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants	BRS	43%	26%	14%	9.5%	8%	100%	74
	TBL	8%	53%	8%	18%	15%	100%	40
01 Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants Total		31%	35%	11%	12%	11%	100%	114
04 Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators	BRS	8%	72%	15%	3%	2%	100%	61
	TBL	2%	88%	7%	2%	0%	100%	43
04 Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators Total		6%	79%	12%	3%	1%	100%	104
34 Discrimination by public bodies & institutions	BRS	69%	8%	13.8%	6%	3%	100%	65
	TBL	80%	5%	5%	10%	0%	100%	20
34 Discrimination by public bodies & institutions Total		72%	7%	11.8%	7%	2%	100%	85
48 Diversity & Integration (in general)	BRS	69%	10%	6%	12%	2%	100%	49
	TBL	38%	25%	6%	31%	0%	100%	16
48 Diversity & Integration (in general) Total		62%	14%	6%	17%	2%	100%	65
03 Violence & Crime with minorities as victims	BRS	76%	4%	8%	4%	8%	100%	50
	TBL	79%	7%	0%	7%	7%	100%	14
03 Violence & Crime with minorities as victims Total		77%	5%	6%	5%	8%	100%	64
02 Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators	BRS	11%	50%	22%	3%	14%	100%	36
	TBL	0%	88%	8%	4%	0%	100%	25
02 Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators Total		7%	66%	16%	3%	8%	100%	61
06 Immigration	BRS	52%	23%	23%	0%	3%	100%	31
	TBL	10%	38%	14%	24%	14%	100%	21
06 Immigration Total		35%	29%	19%	10%	8%	100%	52
20 Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity	BRS	74%	3%	7%	7%	10%	100%	31
	TBL	48%	19%	10%	24%	0%	100%	21
20 Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity Total		64%	10%	8%	14%	6%	100%	52
16 Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status	BRS	29%	12%	33%	14%	12%	100%	42
	TBL	29%	0%	29%	14%	29%	100%	7
16 Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status Total		29%	10%	33%	14%	14%	100%	49
36 Racism & Xenophobia	BRS	69%	9%	6%	9%	9%	100%	35
	TBL	46%	18%	9%	27%	0%	100%	11
36 Racism & Xenophobia Total		63%	11%	7%	13%	7%	100%	46
11 War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups	BRS	28%	40%	20%	4%	8%	100%	25
	TBL	12%	65%	18%	0%	6%	100%	17
11 War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups Total		21%	50%	19%	2%	7%	100%	42
Grand Total		41%	28%	14%	10%	8%	100%	1293

The issue of Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (n=114, 74 BRS + 44 TBL) in 31% of the cases has been appraised positively and in 35% negatively. Broadsheets have been more positive than Tabloids (43% BRS vs. 8% TBL). In 11% of the cases no appraisal has been given (8% BRS and 15% TBL), in another 11% ambivalent appraisal has been used (14% BRS and 8% TBL), and in 12% ambiguous (10% BRS vs. 18% TBL).

The Minority issue Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=104, 61 BRS and 43 TBL) has been appraised negatively in 79% of the cases, with only 6% of positive appraisal. Broadsheets have given positive appraisal more

frequently than Tabloids have (positive appraisal 8% BRS vs. 2% TBL, negative appraisal 72% BRS vs. 88% TBL). Only 1% of the cases do not give any appraisal of the issue (2% BRS and 0% TBL), 12% give ambivalent appraisal (15% BRS and 7% TBL), and 3% ambiguous (3% BRS and 2% TBL). Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (n=85, 65 BRS + 20 TBL) is an issue that has been appraised primarily positively (72% vs. 7% negative). Broadsheets refer less frequently to positive appraisal than Tabloids do (positive appraisal 69% BRS vs. 80% TBL, negative appraisal 8% BRS vs. 5% TBL). Two percent (2%) of the cases do not give any appraisal of the issue (3% BRS and 0% TBL), 12% use ambivalent appraisal (14% BRS and 5% TBL), and 7% ambiguous (6% BRS and 10% TBL). Diversity & Integration (n=65, 49 BRS + 16 TBL) is a Minority issue that has attracted more positive appraisal (62% vs. 14% negative). Broadsheets have been more positive than Tabloids (positive appraisal 70% BRS vs. 38% TBL, negative appraisal 10% BRS vs. 25% TBL). 2% of the cases do not use any appraisal (2% BRS and 0% TBL), 6% give ambivalent appraisal (6% BRS and 6% TBL), and 17% ambiguous (12% BRS and 31% TBL). It is worth mentioning that Tabloids use ambiguous appraisal almost three times more frequently than Broadsheets do. The Minority issue of Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (n=64, 50 BRS + 14 TBL) has been appraised primarily positively (77% vs. 5% negative). Broadsheets use positive appraisal less frequently to than Tabloids do (76% BRS vs. 79% TBL), and they are also more cautious with their use of negative appraisal too (4% BRS vs. 7% TBL). In 8% of the cases no appraisal has been used (8% BRS and 7% TBL), in 6% ambivalent appraisal (8% BRS and 0% TBL), and in 5% ambiguous appraisal (4% BRS and 7% TBL). Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=61, 36 BRS + 25 TBL) has hardly received any positive appraisal (7% vs. 66% negative). Broadsheets tend to be more positive than Tabloids (positive appraisal, 11% BRS vs. 0% TBL, negative appraisal 50% BRS vs. 88% TBL). 8% of the references to this issue do not use any appraisal (14% BRS and 0% TBL), 16% are ambivalent (22% BRS and 8% TBL), and 3% ambiguous (3% BRS and 4% TBL). It is worth mentioning that Broadsheets are prone to use ambiguous appraisal almost three times more frequently than Tabloids do.

References to the Minority issue of Immigration (n=52, 31 BRS + 21 TBL) are in 35% of the cases appraised positively and the percentage of negative appraisal is quite similar too, 29%. Broadsheets tend to be more positive than Tabloids (positive appraisal 52% BRS vs. 10% TBL, negative appraisal 23% BRS vs. 38% TBL). Coded

references addressing this issue in 8% of the cases do not use any appraisal (3% BRS and 14% TBL), in 19% of the cases they are ambivalent (23% BRS and 14% TBL), and in 10% ambiguous (0% BRS and 24% TBL). It is worth mentioning that in 24% of the cases Tabloids are ambiguous about this issue, whereas Broadsheets never are (0%). It is also worth mentioning that Tabloids tend to use neutral appraisal of this issue almost five times more frequently than Broadsheets do (14% vs. 3%, respectively).

The issue of Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (n=52, 31 BRS + 21 TBL) tends to get positive appraisal (63% vs. 10% negative). Broadsheets use positive appraisal more often than Tabloids do (positive appraisal 74% BRS vs. 48% TBL, negative appraisal 3% BRS vs. 19% TBL). Coded references addressing this issue in 6% of the cases do not use any appraisal (10% BRS and 0% TBL), in 8% they use ambivalent (7% BRS and 10% TBL), and in 14% ambiguous (7% BRS and 24% TBL). It is worth mentioning that Tabloids use ambiguous appraisal four times more frequently than Broadsheets do (24% vs. 7%). It is also worth mentioning that Broadsheets use neutral appraisal in 10% of the cases, while Tabloids never do (10% vs. 0%).

References to Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (n=49, 42 BRS + 7 TBL) are in most of the cases positive (29% vs. 10% negative). In a similar way Broadsheets and Tabloids refer to the Minority issue using positive appraisal (29% BRS vs. 29% TBL), but it is Broadsheets only that refer to the issue negatively (12% BRS vs. 0% TBL). Coded references addressing this issue in 14% of the cases do not use any appraisal (12% BRS and 29% TBL), in 33% of the cases they are ambivalent (33% BRS and 29% TBL), and in 14% ambiguous (14% BRS and 14% TBL). It is worth pointing out that Broadsheets only use negative appraisal, but that 7 articles only have been coded into the Tabloid sample.

The issue of Racism & Xenophobia (n=46, 35 BRS + 11 TBL) has been appraised primarily in a positive manner (63% vs. 11% negative). Broadsheets tend to be more positive than Tabloids (positive appraisal, 69% BRS vs. 46% TBL, negative appraisal, 9% BRS vs. 18% TBL). Coded references addressing this issue in 7% of the cases do not use any appraisal (9% BRS vs. 0% TBL), in 7% of the cases they are ambivalent (6% BRS and 9% TBL), and in 13% ambiguous (9% BRS vs. 27% TBL). It is worth mentioning that Tabloids use ambiguous appraisal more than twice as frequently as Broadsheets. It is also worth pointing out that Broadsheets are neutral 9% of the cases, while Tabloids never are.

### 7.1.5. First appearance

In general, Minority issues tend to be addressed for the first time Elsewhere in the article (44%), followed by appearances in Headlines (29%), in the First paragraph (26%), and almost never in Sub-headlines/Captions (1%) or in Captions (0.1%). Among the statistically significant references to Minority issues, the three Minority issues which appear for the first time most frequently in the Headline are: Terrorism with minorities as victims (42%), Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (42%), Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (39%) and Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (39%). The three Minority issues that appear for the first time most frequently Elsewhere in the article are Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (53%), Racism & Xenophobia (46%), and Diversity & Integration (40%).

**TABLE 18 – MINORITY ISSUES: FIRST APPEARANCE**

**PHASE 1 EXCLUDED**

Description: Minority issue references cross-tabbed with First appearance (only items with at least 40 entries)

ALL vs. Broadsheets vs. Tabloids

Minority Issue	Paper Type	%					Total %	Total #
		1 Headline	2 Subhead/ caption	3 Caption	4 First paragraph	5 Elsewhere		
01 Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants	BRS	39%	1%	0%	27%	32%	100%	74
	TBL	38%	0%	0%	20%	43%	100%	40
01 Political decisions and debates on regulations for min. and migr. Total		39%	1%	0%	25%	36%	100%	114
04 Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators	BRS	41%	0%	0%	34%	25%	100%	61
	TBL	44%	0%	0%	30%	26%	100%	43
04 Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators Total		42%	0%	0%	33%	25%	100%	104
34 Discrimination by public bodies & institutions	BRS	17%	2%	0%	32%	49%	100%	65
	TBL	10%	0%	0%	25%	65%	100%	20
34 Discrimination by public bodies & institutions Total		15%	1%	0%	31%	53%	100%	85
48 Diversity & Integration (in general)	BRS	29%	0%	0%	33%	39%	100%	49
	TBL	31%	0%	0%	25%	44%	100%	16
48 Diversity & Integration (in general) Total		29%	0%	0%	31%	40%	100%	65
03 Violence & Crime with minorities as victims	BRS	44%	0%	0%	26%	30%	100%	50
	TBL	36%	0%	0%	43%	21%	100%	14
03 Violence & Crime with minorities as victims Total		42%	0%	0%	30%	28%	100%	64
02 Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators	BRS	36%	0%	0%	22%	42%	100%	36
	TBL	28%	0%	0%	40%	32%	100%	25
02 Violence & Crime with min. as (presumed) threat or perpetrators Total		33%	0%	0%	30%	38%	100%	61
20 Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity	BRS	42%	3%	3%	32%	19%	100%	31
	TBL	33%	0%	0%	33%	33%	100%	21
20 Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity Total		39%	2%	2%	33%	25%	100%	52
06 Immigration	BRS	39%	0%	0%	39%	23%	100%	31
	TBL	19%	0%	0%	38%	43%	100%	21
06 Immigration Total		31%	0%	0%	39%	31%	100%	52
16 Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status	BRS	39%	5%	0%	31%	36%	100%	42
	TBL	29%	0%	0%	29%	43%	100%	7
16 Claims of min. for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status Total		29%	4%	0%	31%	37%	100%	49
36 Racism & Xenophobia	BRS	29%	3%	0%	20%	49%	100%	35
	TBL	64%	0%	0%	0%	36%	100%	11
36 Racism & Xenophobia Total		37%	2%	0%	15%	46%	100%	46
11 War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups	BRS	36%	0%	0%	24%	40%	100%	25
	TBL	35%	0%	0%	29%	35%	100%	17
11 War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups Total		36%	0%	0%	26%	38%	100%	42
Grand Total		29%	1%	0%	26%	44%	100%	1293

Coded references addressing Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (n=114, 74 in BRS and 40 in TBL) appear for the first time in Headlines in 39% of the cases, Elsewhere in the article in 36%, and in the First paragraph in 25% of the cases. Coded references addressing Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=104, 61 in BRS and 43 in TBL) appear for the first time in Headlines in 42% of the cases, followed by appearance in the First paragraph in 33% and Elsewhere in the article in 25% of the cases. Coded references addressing Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (n=85, 65 in BRS and 20 in TBL) appear for the first time Elsewhere in the article (53%), followed by first appearance in the First paragraph (31%) and in Headlines (15%). Coded references addressing Diversity & Integration (n=65, 49 in BRS and 16 in TBL) appear for the first time primarily Elsewhere in the article (40%), then in the First paragraph (31%) and in Headlines (29%). Coded references addressing Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (n=64, 50 in BRS and 14 in TBL) tend to appear for the first time in Headlines (42%), followed by first appearance the First paragraph (30%), and Elsewhere in the article (28%). Coded references addressing Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=61, 38 in BRS and 25 in TBL) tend to appear for the first time Elsewhere in the article (38%), followed by first appearance in the First paragraph (33%) and in Headlines (30%). Coded references addressing Immigration (n=52, 31 in BRS and 21 in TBL) appear for the first time mostly in the First paragraph (39%), in Headlines (31%) and Elsewhere in the article (31%). Coded references addressing Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (n=52, 31 in BRS and 21 in TBL) are to be found mentioned for the first time in Headlines mainly (39%), in the First paragraph (33%) or Elsewhere in the article (25%). Coded references addressing Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (n=49, 42 in BRS and 7 in TBL) appear mostly for the first time Elsewhere in the article (37%), followed by first appearance in the First paragraph (31%) and in Headlines (29%). Coded references addressing Racism & Xenophobia (n=46, 35 in BRS and 11 in TBL) are mentioned for the first time mostly Elsewhere in the article (46%), in Headlines (37%) and in the First paragraph (15%).



### 7.1.6. *The National and the International Domain*

In general, coded Minority issues are in 53% of the cases with a Domestic scope and in 36% with a Non-domestic/International scope; in 11% they refer to Both scopes (including global issues) and in 1% they have Unclear/Undetermined scope. Among the statistically significant Minority issues coded, the three Minority issues most relevant to the UK context are Effect of immigration on the social and economic situation (87%), Immigration (85%) and Foreigners in sports (74%). The three Minority issues most relevant to the Non-domestic/International context are War (armed conflict) between ethnic groups (88%), Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (64%) and Minority members as politicians (57%). The three Minority issues whose scope is both domestic and international are History of migrant/minority groups (26%), Foreigners in sports (23%) and Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (21%).

Coded references addressing Political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants (n=114) in 68% of the cases refer to Domestic scope and in 19% International scope. Broadsheets refer less frequently to the UK context than Tabloids do (62% BRS vs. 80% TBL), and the opposite happens when it comes to International scope (24% BRS vs. 10% TBL.). Coded references addressing this issue in 12% of the cases refer to Both scopes (14% BRS and 10% TBL). Coded references addressing Terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=104) in 55% of the cases address a Non-domestic context and in 32% the Domestic one. Broadsheets tend to focus more on the International rather than on the Domestic scope, unlike Tabloids (Domestic, 41% BRS vs. 74% TBL; International 43% BRS vs. 16% TBL). Coded references addressing this minority issue in 14% of the cases refer to Both scopes (16% BRS and 9% TBL). Coded references addressing Discrimination by public bodies & institutions (n=85) are equally relevant to the Domestic and International context (47% each). Broadsheets tend to focus more on the Domestic rather than on the International scope, unlike Tabloids (Domestic, 48% BRS vs. 45% TBL, International 46% BRS vs. 50% TBL). It is worth mentioning that there are not big divergences in the coverage of this Minority issue according to national/international relevance by paper type.

Coded references addressing Diversity & Integration (n=65) more frequently refer to the Domestic (66%) than to the Non-domestic scope (17%). In 17% of the cases Both scopes are referred to. Broadsheets refer less frequently to Domestic scope than

Tabloids do (Domestic 55% BRS vs. 100% TBL, International 22% BRS vs. 0% TBL). It is worth mentioning that in Tabloid coverage this Minority issue has domestic relevance only. Coded references addressing Violence & Crime with minorities as victims (n=64) in 31% of the cases have Domestic scope and in 64% International scope. Broadsheets tend to focus more on the International rather than on the Domestic scope, unlike Tabloids (Domestic 22% BRS vs. 64% TBL, International 72% BRS vs. 36% TBL). Coded references addressing Violence & Crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators (n=61) in 53% of the cases are related to the UK context and in 38% to Non-domestic one. Again, Tabloids cover the issue primarily in terms of the domestic context with international relevance references being three times fewer (Domestic, 36% BRS vs. 76% TBL, International 50% BRS vs. 20% TBL). Coded references addressing this issue in 10% of the cases refer to Both scopes (14% BRS and 4% TBL).

Coded references addressing Immigration (n=52) in most of the cases are related to Domestic (85%) and in only 6% to Non-domestic scope. In 10% of the cases they refer to Both scopes. Broadsheets refer more frequently to the Domestic scope than Tabloids do (90% BRS vs. 76% TBL), and both paper types relate this issue to the International context in a similar way (7% BRS vs. 5% TBL). Coded references addressing Minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity (n=52) are in 65% of the cases related to the UK context and in 12% to the non-UK one. Broadsheets tend to focus more on the International rather than on the Domestic scope, unlike Tabloids (Domestic, 55% BRS vs. 81% TBL, International 13% BRS vs. 10% TBL). Coded references addressing this issue in 21% of the cases refer to Both scopes (32% BRS and 5% TBL). It is worth mentioning that Broadsheets refer to Both scopes six times more frequently than Tabloids do.

Coded references addressing Claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status (n=49) are in 39% of the cases related to the Domestic context, and in 49% to the International one. Broadsheets tend to focus more on the International rather than on the Domestic scope, unlike Tabloids (Domestic 38% BRS vs. 43% TBL, International 48% BRS vs. 57% TBL). Coded references addressing this issue in 12% of the cases refer to Both scope (14% BRS and 0% TBL).

Coded references addressing Racism & Xenophobia (n=46) are in 41% of the cases related to the UK context and in 48% to an International context. Broadsheets tend to focus more on the International rather than on the Domestic scope (Domestic, 31% BRS vs. 73% TBL, International 54% BRS vs. 27% TBL). Among Headline

references, 62% of the cases refer to no Religion, and the only statistically relevant religion coded is Muslims (29%).

#### 7.1.7. *Anti-racist politics*

There is little discussion in the press of issues that directly relate to anti-racist politics, discrimination or equality. The thematic area *Equality in Society* represents only 0.5% of references in broadsheets and 0.1% references in tabloids, while *Manifestations of racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and Xenophobia* represent a mere 0.3% of references in broadsheets and 0.2% references in tabloids. While *Manifestations of Racism and anti-Semitism* have some prominence (21%) among *ethnic minority population* mentions in headlines, the numbers are still small and confirm the limited attention and space dedicated to minorities and issues around racism. *Racism and Xenophobia* (n=14) mentions in headlines are usually related to explicit positive appraisal (71%), but also to some extent they are related to explicit negative appraisal (14%). In broadsheets, 8 out of 9 mentions to this minority issue relate to explicit positive appraisal (89%), while in tabloids positive appraisal is only used in more than one third of the cases (40%, the same percentage that refer to explicit negative appraisal in tabloids). Both the small number of articles addressing anti-racist politics, as well as the cautious embracing (or selective distance of the press) towards such politics (reflected in the limited positive appraisal, especially in the tabloid press but not exclusively) reveals the hesitation of the newspapers to be associated with any form of activism – anti-racist politics are often seen as such.

In this context the current British retreat from a commitment to positive and confident multiculturalism, and its replacement by an essentially assimilationist politics wrapped in a discourse of social cohesion, has rendered explicit anti-racist rhetoric seemingly dated and radical. Yet Britain does have in place a robust body of anti-discriminatory legislation and a strong NGO sector that maintains a vigorous defence of their relevance. For example, anti-discriminatory policies are routinely in place in public sector institutions, and elsewhere in the employment sector. This legislative and policy environment therefore currently has a degree of inertia in resisting the populist assimilationist and nationalist discourses emanating from Government. And in this environment it is important to recognise the role of the press as a voice for the defence of these policies and the rights that they guarantee. Thus in the period of this study the press has: covered stories critiquing the Government plans to repatriate child asylum seekers; has voiced concern at the potential discriminatory misuse of new

plans to extend the ‘stop and search’ powers of the police, and has reported a range of instances of racist behaviour toward members of minority communities. Thus whilst we have been concerned to indicate the extent to which news values may make journalists victims of events and their definition by ‘primary definers’, it is also the case that the press can, and do, act as the voice of human rights values in opposition to the drift of Government policy and popular opinion. This is of course heavily determined by the newspaper format and editorial stance.

#### 7.1.8. Conclusions: the representation of racism, migration and diversity issues

Looking at the way in which the very rich diversity of identities extant in Britain are represented in this news coverage of ethnic related content it is striking how frequently no specific group is identified in the story: the issue being discussed, whether immigration, terrorism or Islam, is sufficiently familiar so that it can be discussed without being grounded in specific cases. As we will develop in the discussion of policy implications below, this style of reportage homogenises the ‘problem’ in such a way as to inclusively generalize the story to an undifferentiated ethnic minority subject; who, because their identity is implicit in the story, is then excluded as an active voice in the reportage.

When we look at religion as a marker of difference the emerging picture is not necessarily as simple, nor as stereotypical as might have been anticipated. When looking at headline references to *Muslims* more than half of them have a *negative appraisal* (53%); and 28% have positive appraisal. Within this the tabloids are much more negative. The broadsheets and tabloids have relatively equivalent *positive appraisal* 31% and 24 % in each case; whilst they diverge markedly in their representation of *negative appraisal* with the broadsheets recording 41% and the tabloids 71%. In comparison the equivalent data for headlines referring to *Christians* are broadsheets 33% and tabloids 0% *positive appraisal*, and 67% and 100% *negative appraisal*. This is not what might have been expected given the reported Islamophobia present in Britain. However, it is important to look at the number of articles relating to each religion in the different papers. There are only 3 articles in the broadsheets and 4 in the tabloids referring to *Christians*; and 32 articles in the broadsheets and 21 in the tabloids referring to *Muslims*. Some explanation for this peculiarly negative presentation of Christians may be found in examining the news sections in which *Christians* and *Muslims* are respectively reported. The *Christian* copy is disproportionately to be found in the *Opinion* section (71%) with a further 29% in

*International and EU affairs*: whilst for *Muslims* 38% are found in *National affairs*, 23% in *International and EU affairs*, and 21% in *mixed news*. This picture is further reinforced when we look at the text genre in which *Christian* and *Muslim* copy is written up. Fifty seven per cent (57%) of the *Christian* references are found in *Letters to the Editor*, 14% in *editorial* and only 29% as *news stories*, whilst for *Muslims* 77% are written as *news stories*. Thus *Muslims* are much more heavily treated within a standard news framework; and the much smaller instance of *Christian* copy is found in the *Opinion* pages where a more discursive and reflexive style may predominate.

Some insights into the ways in which the negative and positive dialogue around religion may be shaped can be glimpsed by looking at the headline thematic areas in which *Christians* and *Muslims* explicitly figure. Christians are contained within two thematic fields, namely; *religion* 86% and *violence and crime* 14%, whilst *Muslims* are predominantly situated in relation to *terrorism* (45%), *politics (including elections and local government news)* 11% and *war (armed conflicts)* (9%). Thus in this sample *Christians* figure predominantly in soft news around a theme of *religion*, whereas *Muslims* figure in 'hard news' where terrorism and the reality of current politics and conflict figure heavily. It is tempting to see the majority religion of Christianity being treated with confident, and critical reflection, whilst the circumstances of the minority Muslim religion are seen more concretely in oppositional terms within a framework where Islam has been powerfully defined as the 'other'. When we consider those who are allowed to speak and those who are reported as *other actors* it is, as would be expected, the case that the majority population predominate as *the speaker* (67%) and identified religious minorities are speakers only 16% of the time.

Similarly as *other actors* it is the majority that are most visible (51%) and *religious minorities* figure only (17%). In fact when we look at the specific ethnic minority communities in Britain who might speak out on behalf of Islam we also find that, when coded as specific groups, the *Bangladeshi* and *Pakistani* communities hardly figure as speakers: ( 0.3%) and (1.5%) respectively.

We need not impute rabid ethnocentrism in order to generate these findings. The national demography should alone skew the pattern of reporting: but the data reported above does tend to underline the experience of marginality that ethnic minority communities may feel in entering into the majority news media: and the role of routine journalist practice in shaping the content of news copy. And, it further underlines the vital necessity of ethnic minority media to counterbalance the inherent disposition of the majority media.



## 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is little in our findings that would contradict the expectations that one might have of the British press on the basis of previous research. It is apparent that whilst we refer to the greater sensationalism of the tabloid press there remains the fundamental power of the press to frame issues in such a way that a partisan perspective is already built into the readers' understanding. We could say that this was the case in the construction of the 'war on terror'; and in the heavy relationship established in the press between Muslims and terrorism. We have seen a highly consistent pattern in the reporting of immigration across the tabloids and broadsheets, which again suggests that news values and the power of primary definers continue to generate dominant interpretations of events. The power of the media to set agendas, and frame the ways in which they are interpreted, remains one of the core reasons to be concerned about the relationship between the media and ethnic minority communities. Invisibility and negativity remain major features of the way in which ethnic minority persons are represented in the British news media.

However, lurking beneath the data we have presented there is evidence of the British press stepping back from the immediacy of newsworthy events in order to provide a more balanced and critical account of the forces that shape the events being discussed. Particularly is this the case with the broadsheets, where irrespective of their political orientation, there remains a commitment to a public sphere function of contributing to the construction of an informed electorate.

Whilst the qualitative data has not produced a discursive analysis that would allow us to demonstrate the nature of the rhetorical styles employed by the press it remains the case that in an international comparative context the British press does not typically carry the extremely partisan and rabid diatribes that are intended to inflame opinion against minorities. However, that this is not *typically* the case does not mean that the British press are immune to the construction of moral panics (Chritcher, 2006), and the fabrication of anti-minority stories that have no foundation in fact (Curran et al., 2005). There is no reason for complacency, but we do need to recognise and nurture the forms of constraint that operate within British journalism. The British Union of Journalists has a long history of taking the reporting of ethnic relations seriously. But codes of practice have proved internationally to be vulnerable to editorial and other pressures. (Downing and Husband, 2005, Chapter 6): and, for example, the recent prolonged campaign by the London Evening Standard to bring down Ken

Livingstone, included a sustained assault upon the ethnic minority sector in London that caused widespread disquiet. In the British context the continuing cosy relationship between the newspaper industry and the press complaints procedure is a situation that requires serious attention. The press too often rely upon the financially putative costs facing individuals or minority organizations, who might wish to seek redress for their misrepresentation in the press, to protect them from the consequences of the sort of scandalous failure of journalistic standards analysed in detail by Curran et al (2005).

### **8.1. Policy Implications**

The almost inevitable findings reported here of the marginal presence of ethnic minority persons as speakers in news copy, and their more general invisibility in the news as actors, is a salutary warning to the news media about their limited relevance to large numbers of the British population; who are their potential readers. The newspapers, national and local, no longer enjoy the near monopoly in news provision they once enjoyed. The rich infrastructure of ethnic minority media in Britain guarantees to large numbers of ethnic minority citizens alternative routes to finding a news source that they feel to be relevant and congenial. This is not only a threat to the financial viability of a national press, but it also holds up to question the viability of a really inclusive public sphere. How shall citizens engage in shared dialogue if they have no shared media for exchanging information and opinions.

It is noticeable in the data the frequency with which issues that are highly pertinent to ethnic minority citizens are discussed as generic issues: that is with no reference to a named group. It could be said that this is a means of avoiding stigmatizing specific communities. But they are already coded into the story in its initial framing. What is significant in this style of writing is that it invokes a consensus, that we all know what we are talking about, and it makes it easy to have no balancing minority voice built into the account, since they are technically not present. In the construction of the stories we have reported here it is possible to see the powerful operation of news values and news making routines in creating a shared framing of events within a limited range of themes. This data strongly argues for the necessity of actively seeking to include ethnic minority voices in the news stories in which they are the explicit, or implicit, subject. The recruitment of ethnic minority staff into British newsrooms has yet to challenge the power of news making routines established by the majority. The little information available in relation to the representation of minorities



in print media production give a grim picture; the numbers of minority journalists are very low, while on editorial level, the presence of ethnic minority professionals is only marginal.

Very many of the ethnic minority communities in Britain have a long established presence and they have built an infrastructure of leadership and NGOs that means that they are no longer voiceless, or lacking in an expertise that can contribute to British political debate: but again we see here the relative exclusion of this expertise and these voices from routine reporting. The power of the 'usual suspects' of elite opinion formers to create news is at one level structured into the power relations of British politics. Where government ministers introduce initiatives that impact on the liberties and wealth of citizens it is hardly surprising that they have an immediacy, in terms of news values, but it is a form of professional inertia for British journalists to continue to ignore the deep reservoir of ethnic minority expertise that needs to build into the accounts of multicultural Britain. If this has to be seen as a specific form of assertive action: so be it.

The differences we have noted between the tabloid and broadsheet press are not based on a wilful conspiracy to deny a proportion of the population news in depth. The distinction is based upon a real difference in markets: and if we are honest difference in education. The dunning down of British news copy, and indeed television news, is an issue that needs recognition. Literacy has not become a lost art, as the huge success of the Harry Potter novels have demonstrated with children, and the market in paperback novels reveals for adults. However, it seems that there has been developed an impatience with the effort required to generate an understanding of current affairs through a considered reading of newspapers. There is an issue here that links the disaffection of the British public from politics per se, and a need for media literacy. The British electorate have found good reason to become sceptical about the relevance of their vote for the behaviour of their elected government: particularly if they were not numbered amongst the middle England that has been the focus of policies for three decades. Newspapers cannot be blamed for a profound ambivalence amongst the electorate toward the pleasures of participative democracy.

## **8.2. Methodology: Some Recommendations for the Development of the Study**

If this study is to be expanded, we strongly recommend that:

- The study scope and the methodology employed are radically revised in order for the textual analysis to record relevant data in a meaningful manner – i.e. instead of being a micro-analysis to become a discursive analysis that captures the rhetoric, the tone and the imaginary in press texts and to record the themes and issues that dominate minority coverage across various European countries (for good practice for media content analysis and discourse analysis research please see Bell and Garrett, 1996; Burn and Parker, 2003; Fairclough, 2003; Fowler, 1991; Neundorf, 2002; Krippendorf, 2004 and in relation to minority representation in particular, see Hartman and Husband, 1974; Van Dijk, 1991a, 1991b) for the textual study of minority representation in the press in particular). As this is a demanding task, we recommend the expansion of the consultation process and the development of a team of experts with diverse theoretical and methodological expertise and an interdisciplinary scope. The teams participating in the study thus far should share their experience and participate in this consultation process.
- Communication becomes transnational and includes all teams, rather than being fragmented and centralised – i.e. communication should not be constrained within a singular flow between FRA and each individual team separately. The teams should meet before the beginning of the project, just after the pilot phase, before the final analysis and on completion of the project. Coders should participate in the two middle meetings, at least.
- The pilot phase is clearly defined as such. This would mean that the data collected in a pilot phase should not be considered for analysis. Additionally, feedback collected from the teams after the pilot study should be taken into serious account and discussed across the international team.
- The cross-national perspective of the study is clearly defined and problematised. This would mean that both FRA and the national teams are clear about: (i.) the nature and scope of the cross-national comparison; (ii.) the challenges of cross-national research and engage in dealing with such challenges; and (iii.) how each team relates to the other (for the challenges of cross-national comparative research see Livingstone, 2003; Georgiou 2005, 2007).
- The current design of the database makes it difficult to separate minority issues from issues of race coverage. This design does not allow us to identify if minority issues are related to race, or to religion or to ethnicity. Although divides according to these themes apply when we look at specific groups,

when it comes to minority issues all three themes are merged. Thus, the minority issues' database should be broken down to address these themes more specifically. This would increase the amount of data generated but it would make the findings more relevant. It would also allow us to understand when the topics are connected and when they are not.

- We would suggest that after the completion of this final stage of analysis there is a search for key issues /themes that occur across the sample; and then there is initiated a three month period in which cross country teams explore in detail the similarities and differences in the construction of news around these issues. At present the comparative nature of the project emerges out of the data gathered independently. In order to understand the real nature of the national differences, teams working actively together would be able to explore in finer detail the national processes of constructing news around ethnic diversity: including a much more explicit examination of the relevance of the political context and national journalistic traditions.
- We would suggest that the empirical content analysis be complemented by a qualitative study of the relationship between news media and ethnic minority NGOs. This would involve interviewing members of NGOs and journalists in order to reveal what are their experiences and expectations of each other, in order to develop recommendations about the greater inclusion of minority voices in the press.

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