



Report

2016



The University of Manchester

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Attitudes to Multilingualism in the Media

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Choice of topic

It was evident from our original fieldwork plan, that focus on the portrayal of multilingualism within the media lends itself to the opportunity for original research, with a very topical slant. The main aim of this research is to investigate whether the media portrays any opinions on multilingualism within society, and if so; does this influence the public's view? This will be investigated with specific focus and reference to a recent statement from the UK Prime Minister, David Cameron, stating that all Muslim women should learn the English language in order to integrate (*Appendix 1*). This language scheme has caused much controversy, which has been voiced through a wide range of different media outlets, which we will examine throughout this report.

It is understandable that different media outlets will encapsulate differing political ideologies, and therefore will cover stories in different ways due to different target demographics. It is therefore essential in our report that we use and analyse a fair and representative sample of media outlets in order to create a demonstrative picture of the media's influence on multilingualism.

We feel that political ideologies is a massive factor in the type of stories, and the way news stories are presented in the media. There seems to be deep-rooted links between certain media outlets and political ideologies which are presented – we aim to investigate this link, which will be explained in our methodology. Firstly, by investigating some main points of main political parties with regard to multilingualism and multiculturalism, we can gain a better understanding of what ideas are present and prevalent in British Society and therefore link this to the portrayal and backlash of Cameron's proposed language scheme. Starting with the current UK government, the Conservative's pre-election manifesto in 2015 claimed that the "Party will stand up for British values" and refers to Britain as a "Christian country", even though in the same year, 39% of Britons vowed to be non-religious Wyatt (2015). In contrast to this, the more liberal parties, Labour and the Liberal Democrats claimed that "faith communities have pioneered...for the common good" and that we ought not to "stigmatise or alienate Muslims or any other ethnic or faith group" respectively (Labour/Liberal democrat manifesto). These different ideas may reflect the views of many Britons, seen as the Conservative government won with the majority; Cameron's language scheme therefore may not have come as much of a surprise.

However, in vast contrast to these views are those encapsulated by the UK Independence Party (UKIP). Claims in this manifesto are centred on the lack of support of a multilingual and multicultural society. It reads that “multiculturalism has led to an alarming fragmentation of British society” and that “faiths and beliefs must exist firmly within a British framework”. This blatant distaste of multiculturalism is a view which is becoming more and more prevalent in the UK, perfectly demonstrated by UKIP’s rise in popularity from 1999 (7% of votes in Europe) to 2014 (27.5% of votes in Europe); we aim to investigate if this rise can be noticed in the portrayal of certain ideologies within the Media (Hunt 2014).

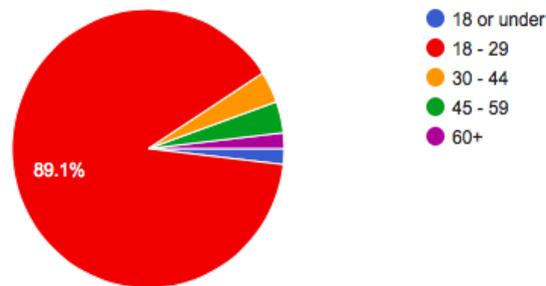
Methodology

In order to obtain data for our research we intend to collect a variety of articles and journals published from a range of media outlets such as newspapers, blogs, magazines and social media. Our general aim looks at the underlying topic of multilingualism, and its portrayal within the media, with specific focus on Cameron’s language scheme. By comparing different media coverage of the same story, it facilitates a direct cross-comparison, in terms of discourse analysis. We believe that analysing different sources, which cover the same story, will enable us to look at any key differences in the reporting style, and allowing potential inference of different media outlet’s influence on the public view. The power that the media have will be clear, as we will be able to see how different outlets can influence the public.

For this report in particular, we believe social media will play a fundamental role, as new media is ever evolving and provides a comparison for other outlets. The use of social media we hope will therefore allow us to access the conserved views, as well as the more liberal opinions of the public. A major feature of the backlash when this news story broke was the hashtag trending on Twitter - #traditionalsubmissive. Over 30,000 Muslim women took to twitter to display their distaste on the issue – this provides a massive dataset which we aim to investigate, of course analysis of only a small percentage of these tweets will be feasible due to time constraints. Furthermore, we aim to use the viral nature of this hashtag to circulate a survey which will ask participants their opinions on quotes and articles, to get detailed feedback from people about how they feel they have been influenced on such a matter. The use of social media in this sense is invaluable as a tool of communication and for people to express their views quickly and effectively – we will reach a much wider demographic using social media over a more traditional hand-written survey.

We had planned to interview women practitioners of the Islamic faith to gauge their perspectives on the recent uproar surrounding Cameron’s scheme. We aimed to do this to gather data from a range of people – specifically the group of people specifically targeted by Cameron’s scheme.

Age (55 responses)

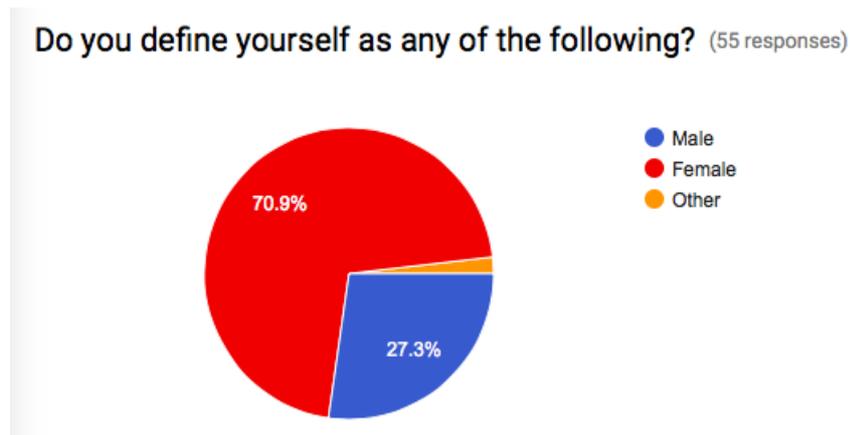


This aspect of our research would have provided very insightful and relevant comments, however we would not have had the time or resources to reach a large enough sample of people willing to participate. Instead of using this method of research, we have created the survey which will reach a far larger sample of people – yet will still reach relevant participants due to the hashtag which is deeply associated with this story. We will take into account that those who are participating in our research will be doing so anonymously and voluntarily, and if anyone decides that they want to withdraw their comments or responses, they can do without causing any detriment. Furthermore, we understand the use of offensive, discriminatory or offensive language must be avoided and this is of paramount importance. In addition to this, we believe a high level of objectivity should be displayed in our survey questions and further discussion. By collecting a range of data types – newspaper articles, social media posts and survey responses – we believe that we can begin to piece together how the media has taken one story and it has been presented in many different ways, resulting in a vast range of opinions.

Seen as we are no longer interviewing Muslim women practitioners, our ethical considerations can be far more relaxed. We will of course continue to keep all survey responses anonymous, and participants will be aware of our reasons for asking such questions. When looking at tweets, the ethical considerations are less strict, as the ‘tweeter’ has already made their opinion known and it is already in the public domain – much like the newspaper articles – so there is less of a need to ask for permission.

Findings

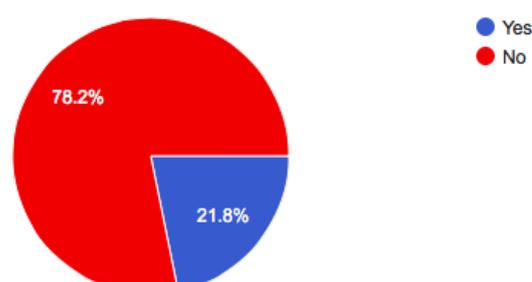
Our survey reached a total of 55 participants through the use of circulating it on Twitter using the hashtag #TraditionallySubmissive. This way the participants involved could be from anywhere in the country, and had an interest in our subject matter, otherwise they would not have participated. The vast majority of respondents were female – 70.9%.



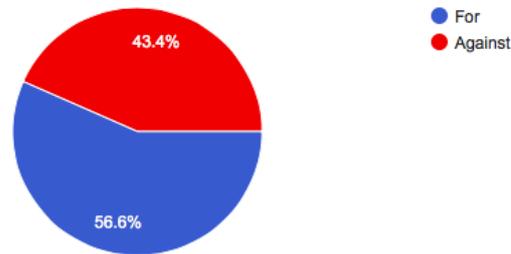
89.1% of participants were aged between 18-29 years of age, the highest frequency of age recorded. The second highest frequencies recorded were 3.6% each for 30-44 year olds and 45-59 year olds.

21.8% of individuals surveyed identified as a Muslim woman. We felt it was vital to ask this, as this is the demographic which are targeted by the proposed language fund scheme. We did want to make the survey more accessible for those who had English as a second language. However, as a group we struggled to find reliable translations to in order to successfully complete this.

Do you identify as a Muslim woman? (55 responses)



Are you for or against David Cameron's language fund proposal?

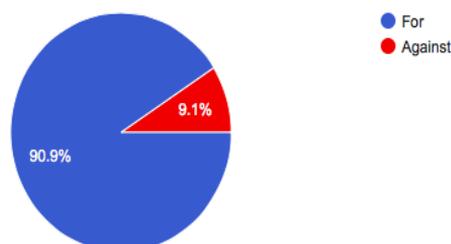


Out of all the individuals recorded there was a close divide between whether our respondents were 'for' or 'against' Prime Minister David Cameron's proposed language fund. A slight majority of respondents were 'for' the language scheme – 56.6%.

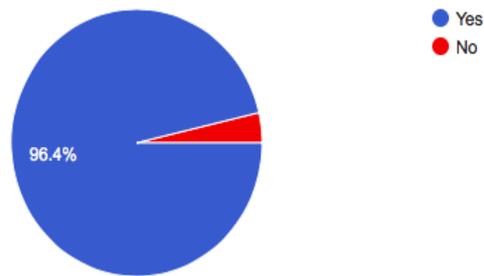
When asked whether they were 'for' or 'against' the use of social media in regard to the hashtag #TraditionallySubmissive there was a clear majority in favour with 90.9%. 40 participants (72.7%) were active users of *Twitter*, the social media platform of choice was Facebook with 53 votes (96.4%). Furthermore, 69.1% (38) of participants would use their social media account to voice their personal opinion. This demonstrates that the majority of people use social media as a means to comfortably broadcast their attitudes and feelings; others can therefore be influenced with ease. Thus, it is clear to see social media does have a major role in our society and therefore can have either a positive or negative impact on many issues, including ideas on multilingualism. The 30.9% of participants who voted that they would not use their social media account to voice their personal opinions cited reasons such as 'privacy' and 'fear of internet back lash (trolls)'.

In backlash to David Cameron's comments the Twitter hashtag #TraditionallySubmissive went viral. Tweets proudly displayed achievements of thousands of Muslim women from up and down the country. Are you for or against this use of social media?

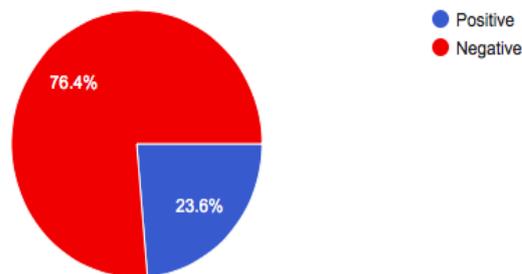
(55 responses)



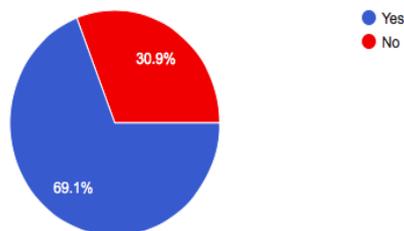
Do you believe the media to be powerful in shaping opinions of the public?
(55 responses)



If so, is this practice typically done in a positive or negative way? (55 responses)



Would you use your social media platform to voice personal opinions?
(55 responses)



A colossal 96.4% believe that the media to be a powerful force in shaping opinions of the general public. When pressed if the practice in shaping options of the general public is typically done in a positive or negative way 76.4% believed that it was done negatively.

The survey then lifted quotes and headlines from a national newspaper. We chose to use quotes with negative and positive connotations to observe the variability among the general public. The first was taken from a *Daily Mail* article. 96.4% of participants felt that the use of ‘split personality’ had negative connotations attached to it, many suggesting that it reflected connotations of ‘mental illness’ and ‘split personalities implying Good/Evil’. Thus, living up to its expectations predicting to produce and publish negative material on certain issues, such as multilingualism.

We also used a headline from the *Daily Mail* which has more positive connotations; ‘Can you speak Eleme, Nahuatl or Uyghur? Then you’ll find someone to chat to in Manchester, where 200 languages are spoken by its population of just 480,000’. The majority of participants (52.7%) believed that The Guardian published the article that celebrates multilingualism in Manchester.

In regard to politics the majority of participants believed that political parties such as UKIP (89.1%) and The Conservatives (80%) were the most likely to agree with Prime Minister David Cameron in reference to his ‘traditionally submissive’ comment. Despite a large majority of participants (76.4%) believing that the media shape opinions negatively, 70.9% believed that politicians should be able to publish their opinions within national newspapers; 90.7% stated that there was a particular effect when done. Many cited ‘propaganda’ whilst others suggested that the newspapers were their ‘own forms of social media’ accounts, as in they used the newspapers as a ‘mouthpiece’ for political proposals.

See Appendix for full survey and graph responses.

When analysing three articles from three different publications we found very noticeable differences, as mentioned in the methodology the articles covered the same events which allowed for a close cross-analysis. We took an article from *The Guardian*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun* – due to our poll findings - which concerned Prime Minister David Cameron’s English Language fund. Throughout the discourse analysis we discovered that the people surveyed correctly guessed that *The Guardian* were the most sympathetic in regard to the stereotyping of Muslim women, the headline used ‘Cameron ‘stigmatising Muslim women’ with English Language policy’ which immediately defends the Muslim women targeted. *The Daily Mail* has the second highest ranking in regard to publishing negative views on multilingualism. Similarly their headline immediately highlights their defense choosing ‘Cameron under fire over English Language skills warning for Muslim women’ focusing the article on the pressure Prime Minister David Cameron is under opposed to the muslim women targeted. Finally, *The Sun* was the most extreme in regard to the opinion it shared on the topic. It’s use of synthetic personalisation segregated the reader away from British Muslims in order to provoke a stronger reaction from the article and the way the Government are ‘bowing’ down ‘to Muslim pleas for special treatment.’ Differing from the two other publications *The Sun* directs criticism toward both the Government and British Muslims.

Discussion

The findings from our survey conform to a number of studies in regard media theory.

Edward Said (1978) portrays ‘western media’ to set itself in opposition to ‘the East’, thus laying out a platform to create bias opinions, which in turn can lead to influencing the public’s view. This supports the poll results of the majority believing the media has the opportunity to shape the general public’s opinions in a negative way. He believes that ‘the West’ portray the ‘Middle East’ as ‘backwards’ and regressive which links in to the image of the Muslim women. This also conforms to *The Sun*’s use of synthetic personalisation in order to segregate the reader away from the Muslim women in question, this can be illustrated in the quote taken from the article, ‘Although they live among us, their mode of thinking and way of life is rooted elsewhere.’

Due to the high frequency of votes in regard to *The Daily Mail*’s publishing tendencies we chose to choose both the positive and negative article from the publication in order to see what participants would select. *The Daily Mail* is a conservative, middle-market tabloid and has been criticised in the past for publishing prejudice views and is regarded by many as a bias tabloid (Pilger, 1998). Therefore, we found questioning one of its many controversial headlines would be an interesting way to observe whether people interpret it in a positive or negative light. The quote states, ‘Speaking two languages really could give you a split personality, researchers have found.’ 65.5% correctly guessed that the statement had come from the *Daily Mail*.

Our results found that the majority of participants (52.7%) believed the second and positive article to be published by *The Guardian*. Interestingly, this can be argued as expected. To the public eye, *The Guardian* is viewed as “an organ of the middle class...linked inextricably to the Labour party” (Engles, 1973). Furthermore, the Labour party was voted the second least likely (7.3%) to support Prime Minister David Cameron’s “traditionally submissive” comment in reference to Muslim women. When questioned on the connotations the positive headline held a noticeable 30.9% perceived the headline to express negative connotations. A large number of participants suggested that ‘the use of the word *‘just’* implies that not enough people speak English’ which was highlighted in a negative light. Thus, the results compiled above show a clear indication that the media publications play a fundamental role in shaping how the public view important issues in society, like multilingualism. Inclining to one tabloid

more than the other, something everybody submits to, leads to favouritism and thus causes conflict between the general public on what is right and wrong. Because of this, it can be argued the media must be pushed to publish impartial opinions that cannot influence the public negatively.

David Cameron's language scheme aims to 'help' Muslim women who cannot speak English fluently. Collecting data from this targeted demographic was vital as they play an important role in our report; as in recent months, the media has focused on Muslim women and multilingualism. Our findings have cemented the idea that the media, be it newspaper articles, television or social media, does have large part to play in the influencing of the general public.

From the results we obtained, there were more participants 'for' Cameron's proposed language scheme than 'against'. This portrays that attitudes towards learning English as a second language for Muslim women is mostly seen as a positive thing; perhaps an enriching learning experience for them to progress further in the 21st century. It is important to note that despite the negative assumptions attached to the proposal, learning a new language is fundamentally a good thing to pursue. Having a second language is evaluated positively in today's society, it is estimated that over half of the world's population are bilingual speakers. According to the UK 2011 census, 53,098,301 people in England and Wales, 5,044,683 people in Scotland, and 1,681,210 people in Northern Ireland can speak English "well" or "very well". This results in a sum of 59,824,194. 98% of the UK's population can speak "well" or "very well". Helping the 2% of the population who may struggle shouldn't be highlighted in a negative light.

Furthermore, this indicates opportunity for successful integration. However, participants 'against' the proposed scheme viewed it in a negative light. Cameron singled Muslim women out when proposing the scheme, the native language of Muslim women seems to be stigmatised. Channel Four journalist Assed Baig explored the topic of Muslim women and the English Language, he obtained opposing views from Muslim women in Manchester with some viewing the fund as positive and some viewing the fund as negative. Ghazala Hussain, a Muslim woman who was interviewed at Cheetham Hill Community School said, "I would request all sisters, regardless of what community they are from, to learn English. If someone comes to our front door, if we don't know English, then what will we say? Like the meter man, we don't know what he is saying. Are we going to slam the door shut?" In regard to

David Cameron's comment stating that the main reason young men are vulnerable to extremism is because of the traditional submissiveness of Muslim women, Kaneez Akhtar defiantly replied, "we are not oppressed. The men go to work, they do everything. We are Pakistanis, but you are all paranoid that we are oppressed."

Among his responses interviewee Rozina Akhtar pointed out that the Government's Extremism Help & Guidance page is in English. She explained this is incredibly problematic, especially as the proposed language fund is designed to counter Extremist behaviour. Kaneez Akhtar stated, "If they say that everyone should know English, and they believe that some of us cannot speak it then they should also have it in our language, so we can read and understand it. So we know what the issues are." Others remarked on how the approach came across misogynistic whilst highlighting that aspects of life such as multilingualism and the variety it brings is "the reason why Great Britain is so great." This further amplifies the issue many have raised over the Government's "clumsy" approach in introducing the English language scheme (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vg1yyFOPPEI>).

It is clear that the media plays the biggest role as a platform for voicing opinions as more and more people are using various media techniques to portray their views on certain topics; this is where the role of social media is invaluable. In this case, comparing various newspaper articles related to Muslim women portrays different ideas on the language scheme.

As part of our analysis, we took articles from '*The Sun*', '*The Daily Mail*' and '*The Guardian*' all reporting on Cameron's language scheme. *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun* were voted as the top two newspapers which are likely to negatively influence the public's views on multilingualism – whereas *The Guardian* was voted to have the least negative connotations. To look into this idea further, we analysed an article from those newspapers covering the Cameron language scheme. The analysis of these articles is in our appendix.

Furthermore, Baroness Sayeeda Warsi - former minister of state for faith and communities spoke on the matter, "Women should have the opportunity to learn English full stop. Why link it to radicalisation/ extremism?" She also added, "why should it just be Muslim women who have the opportunity to learn English? Why not anyone who lives in the UK and can't speak English?" (Twitter, 2016). Many Muslim women took to Twitter to voice their opinions how they felt immensely stereotyped by David Cameron. The scheme seems to make many unclear links between the English language skills of Muslim women and extremism. The lack of English skills portrayed Muslim women to be oppressed and subjected to vio-

lence, which is where the viral hashtag #TraditionallySubmissive emerged from. The oppression of Muslim women is often heightened within the mass media, and as a result, the empowerment of Muslim women is often subconsciously ignored.

Soon after David Cameron proposed his language scheme, Muslim women took to 'Twitter' to tell their achievement and to let the public know they are not '#TraditionallySubmissive.' They voiced their opinions through the social networking site, by expressing their concerns regarding the fund. Cameron said the push on language was "about building a more integrated, cohesive, one nation country where there's genuine opportunity for people". However, by singling out Muslim women regarding their native language and identity can change the way in which society perceives them and their way of life. In particular it is noted that this is in line with Said's theory of Orientalism (Said, 1978), which contends that "the Muslim world and its inhabitants are considered backward, barbaric and outsiders to Western society" (Possetti, 2006, p.3).

Some viewed the language scheme in a very positive light; "an opportunity for an excluded community to successfully integrate" (Response to survey). The main problem that people had with the scheme was the link to extremism – "Extremism is not due to an increase in Muslim residents in the UK, it's from an increase in extremists having access to vulnerable people in the UK" (Response to survey).

Overall, Akbarzadeh & Smith state "the media is a *significant social agent*, with the potential to influence community perceptions" (2005; p1). The representation of Muslim women being 'stigmatised' and 'singled out' in the media has thus proved to be a significant issue within the cultural diversity aspects. The negative perpetuation of stigmatised ideals poses a notable threat to the notion of multilingualism. On the one hand the lack of English spoken is proven to be extremist and oppressive which dehumanises and delimits Muslim women. Most media articles portrayed negative connotations regarding David Cameron's language policy fund. There are also certain media platforms where the audience promote female liberation and the free expression of language identity by expressing themselves through the use of social media.

With reference to our initial research aims, it is clear to us that the media plays an essential role in, not only providing information to the masses – but using this platform for influencing

the public, in regard to multilingualism. However, in an ever-developing technological society, the role of social media is possibly even more important. Websites such as Twitter and Facebook provide a platform for the everyday person to make their opinions known – and therefore are able to influence a much wider audience, much faster. It is undoubtable that the way in which society grasps the concept of multilingualism, or any high-profile concept, is highly dependent on the way in which mass media chooses to present it.

Word count - 3,840

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Labour manifesto - <http://www.labour.org.uk/manifesto> [Accessed 14th May 2016]

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Government press release of Cameron’s Language Scheme.

Full article can be found at <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/passive-tolerance-of-separate-communities-must-end-says-pm>

Press release

'Passive tolerance' of separate communities must end, says PM

From: Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, The Rt Hon David Cameron
MP and Department for Communities and Local Government

First published: 18 January 2016

Part of: Equality and Immigration and borders

£20 million English language tuition fund announced today will help combat social isolation for some Muslim women.

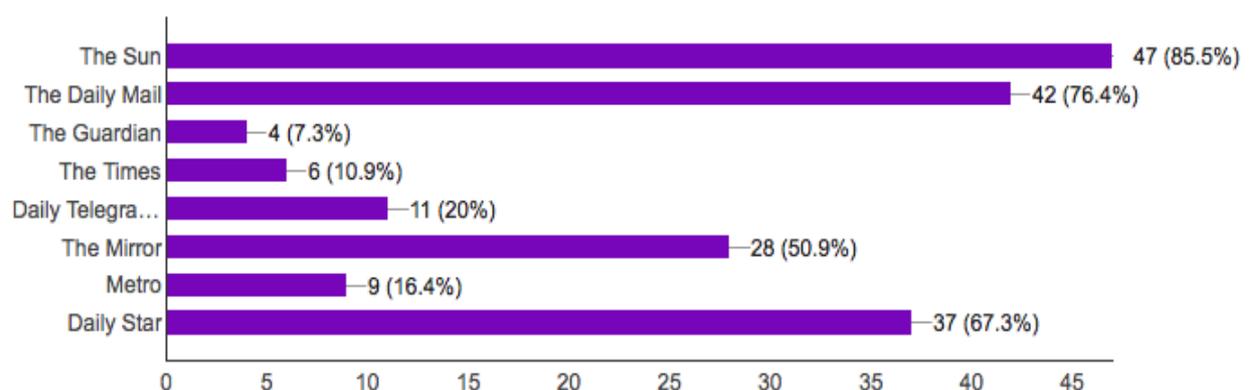


- building one nation means being more assertive about liberal values
- poor English skills leave nearly 200,000 Muslim women isolated in society
- new £20 million community fund to teach English to isolated women

Appendix 2 – Graphs of responses from the survey

Out of the papers listed below, which are the most likely to publish negative connotations towards multilingualism? Choose as many or as few as you wish.

(55 responses)



The 'passive tolerance' of separate communities must end if we are to build a strong society and allow Britain to thrive, the Prime Minister said today.

Writing in the Times, he said issues like gender segregation and discrimination and the isolation of some women in society could help lead to a slide towards radicalisation and extremism.

And, in announcing a £20 million language tuition fund, he highlighted statistics showing 190,000 Muslim women had little or no English.

Prime Minister David Cameron said:

" All too often, because of what I would call 'passive tolerance', people subscribe to the flawed idea of separate development.

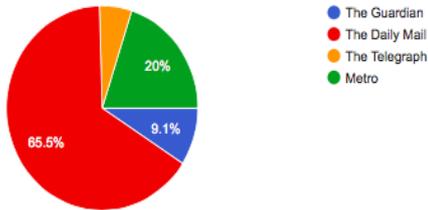
" It is time to change our approach. We will never truly build one nation unless we are more assertive about our liberal values, more clear about the expectations we place on those who come to live here and build our country together and more creative and generous in the work we do to break down barriers.

" And this is a challenge that government cannot meet on its own. I do want every part of government to play its part – health visitors, job centres, nurseries, schools – but we all have a shared responsibility to tackle prejudice and bigotry, and help integration.

" Why does this matter so much? Because we don't just need a strong

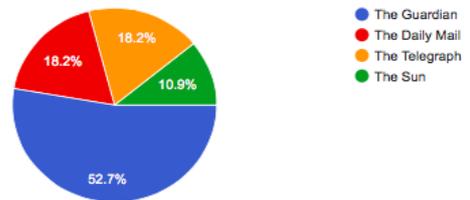
Which of the following publications do you feel published the following: 'Speaking two languages really could give you a split personality, researchers have found.'

(55 responses)



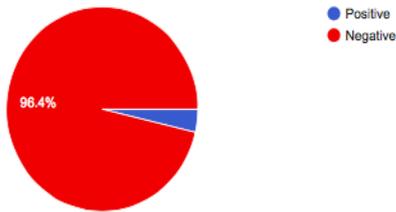
Which publication do you believe is most likely to have run with the headline: 'Can you speak Eleme, Nahuatl or Uyghur? Then you'll find someone to chat to in Manchester, where 200 languages are spoken by its population of just 480,000'

(55 responses)



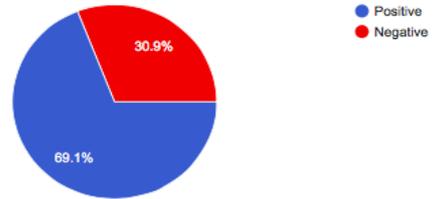
What connotations do you feel 'split personality' has attached to it?

(55 responses)



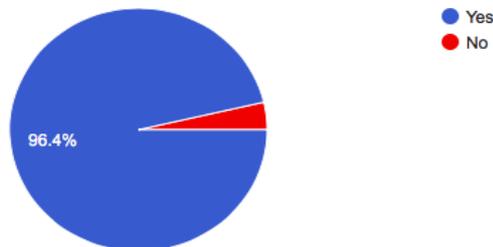
What connotations do you believe the wording of the headline to have?

(55 responses)

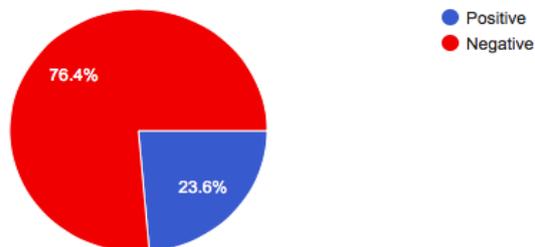


Do you believe the media to be powerful in shaping opinions of the public?

(55 responses)



If so, is this practice typically done in a positive or negative way? (55 responses)



Survey questions – Full survey can be found at

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1xE_C6hAsJSOcxabfobX98NGtmDcuWMvfxNI6m9wUQ-s/viewform?c=0&w=1

- What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- Do you identify as a Muslim woman?
- First published on the 18th of January 2016 Prime Minister David Cameron announced a £20 million English language tuition which 'will help combat social isolation for some Muslim women'. To put an end to 'passive tolerance' of separate communities and create a force against extremism, it has been reported that Cameron could send back individuals whose fluency does not improve whilst in the UK. Do you agree or disagree with this proposal? Please explain your answer.
- Are you for or against David Cameron's language fund proposal?
- In backlash to David Cameron's comments the Twitter hashtag #TraditionallySubmissive went viral. Tweets proudly displayed achievements of thousands of Muslim women from up and down the country. Are you for or against this use of social media?
- Please explain your answer.
- Do you use any of the following forms of social media?
- Would you use your social media platform to voice personal opinions?
- Based on your answer from the previous question please explain your reasoning.
- Do you believe the media to be powerful in shaping opinions of the public?
- If so, is this practice typically done in a positive or negative way?
- Please explain your answer.
- Out of the papers listed below, which are the most likely to publish negative connotations towards multilingualism? Choose as many or as few as you wish.
- Please explain your choices of newspapers.
- Which of the following publications do you feel published the following: 'Speaking two languages really could give you a split personality, researchers have found.'
- What connotations do you feel 'split personality' has attached to it?
- Please briefly explain your choice.

- Which publication do you believe is most likely to have run with the headline: 'Can you speak Eleme, Nahuatl or Uyghur? Then you'll find someone to chat to in Manchester, where 200 languages are spoken by its population of just 480,000'
- What connotations do you believe the wording of the headline to have?
- Please explain your answer.
- Which political party/parties do you feel would share the same opinion as David Cameron in reference to his 'traditionally submissive' Muslim women comment?
- Do you believe that politicians should be able to publish their opinions with national newspapers?
- Do you think being able to has a particular effect?
- Please explain your answer.

Annotated *The Sun*: It's not racist to get British Muslims to speak English. Top academic Dr Rummy

Right now, some British Muslims are calling for the introduction of Sharia law. They want to swap a legal system that ensures equality before the law for one that systematically discriminates against women, children, non-believers and homosexuals.

- Trying to change fundamental British way of



Taking a stand ... David Cameron
PA Wire

We simply cannot risk setting up a system where we have different laws for different people.

- Standing up for British people?

→ system which the majority of the population & leadership will value

journalist - highly dramatic. Prompts reader to take a further negative view of Muslims.

suggestion that Britain didn't & shouldn't have used in a 'accommodated' → negative light.

Britain, like other Western European countries, has generally accommodated Muslim demands, the latest example being the change to exam schedules during Ramadan. *Implication that Muslims are demanding to be British civilised culture.*

But this means there has been little need for Muslims to integrate into an increasingly irreligious, mainstream society.

Unsurprisingly, the result is that we are living in a country with high levels of segregation of Muslims. *Hint of sarcasm?*

At its worst, the "do-what-you-want" attitude to some segregation communities has led them to live as if they were still in countries such as Saudi Arabia or Pakistan. *synthetic personalisation.*

On occasion this has terrible consequences, such as when gangs of mostly Pakistani Muslim-background men raped young girls in UK towns. *generalisation from authorities.*

The authorities in these towns and cities — Rochdale, Rotherham, Oxford, Oldham, Birmingham — kept quiet because they were embarrassed and feared being labelled racist. *emotive.*

As if they haven't moved - should be living the 'British' way due to wear they are. *Country.*

But embarrassment and fear of causing offence is leading some Muslims to become so detached from the rest of society they might as well be living in another land. *continued segregation between Muslims & rest of society.*

Although they live among us, their mode of thinking and way of life is rooted elsewhere. Completely alienated from their neighbours, they can go through life without mixing with non-Muslims. *reiterated blame on culture.*

Indeed, radicalised Muslims reject their host society so totally that they are prepared to wreak violence against it.

Making a concerted effort to desegregate communities and force integration is not racist, but vital. *Muslims Non-Muslims*

To integrate at an institutional level. Historical reference: American schools. Consequences could be deadly.

When Cameron that there is a 'do-what-you-want' attitude to some segregation communities has led them to live as if they were still in countries such as Saudi Arabia or Pakistan.

Not specific - could occur in any UK town, including the readers!

Again, implication that consequences could be deadly

There is mounting evidence that in Britain and in other Western European countries, the population at large is very much concerned by what has come to pass, market research. *Government*

Two opinion polls last year (by Survation and YouGov) found that only 22 per cent of the population think the values of Islam are compatible with those of British society. *Implication that culture isn't welcome in UK.*

It is vital we integrate Muslims better and build a more cohesive society. Therefore the Government must stop bowing to Muslim pleas for special treatment. *suggests government are scared of causing offence or treat Muslims better than other UK residents.*

Back in 2011 David Cameron said "state multiculturalism had failed". Now is his chance to start correcting the mistakes of the past. *begs - something they are entitled to.*

focus of article is on muslims in the UK, despite other immigration statistics highlighting citizens from Poland, India & Pakistan representing high frequencies.

Both implications would anger readers.

of their separatist demands are privileges, not rights — and we need to learn to say no more often.

David Cameron is right to take a stand against laissez-faire multiculturalism.

He says he will back public institutions that want to ban the veil, oppose gender segregation in migrant communities and insist migrants learn English.

I agree with him. Multiculturalism is a nice idea. In a free society we want to treat newly settled ethnic minorities with respect.

But this tolerance has been allowed to run unchecked. For many years now, it has become clear that policies designed to promote multiculturalism have failed. Politicians have turned a blind eye and allowed people to lead parallel lives.

It is not surprising that gender segregation and the veiling of women became common in Muslim communities and tens of thousands of immigrants felt little need to speak the country's language.

Widespread translation services were provided if they wanted to use public services, and they could easily watch satellite TV programmes in their own language — so why bother learning English?

Religious and ethnic minorities often chose to live among "their own", so they preferred to speak their own languages in public, too.

Lack of a common language is a major barrier to integration, as is the face veil, which physically distances a Muslim woman from wider society.

But that is the tip of the iceberg.

Hasan says we must stop letting Muslims live independently of British Life

description of system that opposes regulation or intervention by the government.

synthetic personalisation - of the same opinion as readers - they've had enough negative
implies 'we' versus 'them' - British Muslims.
Lack of formal address. let people do as they choose

blame on their culture? conscious decision
thing of the past?

further blame on culture.

FOR too long, saying "no" to British Muslims has been seen as racist or Islamophobic. But the truth is that many ^{understand} inclusion

Annotated *The Guardian* article: Cameron 'stigmatising Muslim women' with English language policy

David Cameron
Cameron 'stigmatising Muslim women' with English language policy
 Shadow home secretary, Andy Burnham, says 'clumsy and simplistic approach' could end up stoking extremism

Defending muslim women, oppoid to sun article.
Entire section dedicated to David Cameron: criticism/celebration? criticism of approach
- pull



David Cameron and Sayeeda Warsi at Jamia Masjid in Manchester. The PM said non-English speakers could be 'more susceptible' to extremism. Photograph: Rex/Shutterstock

Rowena Mason and Harriet Sherwood
 Monday 18 January 2016 15.15 GMT
 Last modified on Saturday 7 May 2016 15.27 BST

David Cameron has been accused of stigmatising Muslim women after he announced plans to help them learn English and warned that migrant spouses who fail language tests may have to leave the UK. Announcing the plans on Monday, the prime minister suggested the language classes for Muslim women could help stop radicalisation.

language fund in positive light.
As by our poll.
Article from 'The Guardian' least likely to publish negative content on multilingualism

Lacks use of formal title.

Cameron: migrants on spousal visas may have to leave if English doesn't improve - Politics live
 Rolling coverage of all the day's political developments as they happen, including David Cameron's interview on the Today programme
 Read more

Cameron said a £20m fund would provide classes for all women struggling with English, but he highlighted 38,000 Muslim women who could not speak the language and 190,000 with limited skills in it. Separately, there would be a new regime meaning those on a five-year spousal visa would have to pass language tests after two and a half years in the country or face having to leave. "After two and half years they should be improving their English and we will be testing them," the prime minister said. "We will bring this in in October and it will apply to people who have come in on a spousal visa recently and they will be tested."

Cameron stressed that he was not blaming those who could not speak English because "some of these people have come from quite patriarchal societies and perhaps the menfolk haven't wanted them to speak English". He said there was no causal link between radicalisation and language skills but non-English speakers could be "more susceptible" to extremism. "If you're not able to speak English, not able to integrate, you may find therefore you have challenges understanding what your identity is and therefore you could be more susceptible to the extremist message coming from Daesh," he told BBC Radio 4's Today programme. However, he was quickly criticised for singling out Muslim women as the main group that needed help. Andy Burnham, the shadow home secretary, said Cameron risked "doing more harm than good" in a desire to grab headlines.

"His clumsy and simplistic approach to challenging extremism is unfairly stigmatising a whole community. There is a real danger that it could end up driving further radicalisation, rather than tackling it," he said.

Meanwhile, Tim Farron, the Liberal Democrat leader, said the announcement was "dog-whistle politics at its best". "Linking women in the Muslim community who struggle with the English language to homegrown extremism only serves to isolate the very people

- sympathetic in comparison to The Sun.

further defence of muslim women

Cameron says he is trying to help," he said. "Liberal Democrats support English language classes for anyone regardless of race, religion or gender and blocked these plans to cut funding for them in coalition." Cameron was also criticised by Sayeeda Warsi, the Tory peer and former party co-chairman, who said it was a good policy to encourage language skills to help people get a job, help with homework, manage finances, and get a driving licence, but questioned the link to counter-terrorism. She said "evidence suggests gang culture, Islamophobia, [and] responses to foreign policy are greater drivers of radicalisation" than failure to learn English.

This was echoed by Shaista Gohir, chair of the Muslim Women's Network, who said "it should be directed at all communities, not just Muslims - and it shouldn't be linked to radicalisation". "People learning English is a good thing, so they know their rights and can participate in society. Cameron says he wants to empower Muslim women. But what about Muslim women who already speak English and still face barriers to participation?" she asked.

Ed Kessler, director of the Woolf Institute, which convened the recent commission on religion and belief in public life, said: "It is extremely unfortunate that the prime minister has chosen to focus solely on Muslim women to make an important point about the integration of immigrants. The commission explicitly called on the government to use sensitive and inclusive language when dealing with matters of faith, yet once again points that apply equally to immigrants from a wide variety of nationalities, backgrounds and religions - Iraqi Christians for example - have been used to associate all Muslims with difficulties associated with integration.

"As a result, rather than empowering women, the Muslim communities can be further alienated, making it harder rather than easier for Muslim women to seek help from public authorities."

Migrant communities with similar backgrounds whilst alienating Muslim women further from main stream British culture

discrepancy

fundamental point
scare monger and challenged
at other times we are not necessarily forced by indignation
highlight that we need not worry not just in areas but government

issue is that community facilities - especially those aimed at women - have faced significant cuts." - highlights hypocrisy
 Others also questioned Cameron's logic in announcing the plans for language classes when the government cut £40m last year from funding for migrants wanting to learn English. Martin Doel, chief executive of the Association of Colleges, said the extra £20m for language classes targeted at migrant women did not make up for the £160m reduction in funds available for teaching English to migrants made between 2008 and 2015. "Recent spending cuts have had an impact on the number of people learning English in our further education colleges, with approximately 2,000 fewer women attending Esol courses in the last year," he said.

- root problem is the product of government decisions.