"A Good Muslim is not Afraid of Death"

A Corpus-Assisted Study of the Representation of Muslims in the American Press

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how Muslims are portrayed in the American press by examining the nominal collocates of the adjective *Muslim,* and the adjectival collocates of the noun *Muslim.* The dominating approach in this study is Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS). CADS combines discourse analysis with the methodology of corpus linguistics, and is both quantitative and qualitative, and thus less prone to bias and 'cherry-picking'. The material used in this thesis is primarily drawn from the Contemporary Corpus of American English (COCA), and the framework used for the qualitative analysis is based on Baker *et al.* (2012) who investigated the representation of Muslims in the British press.

The study found that the use of both the adjective *Muslim,* and the noun *Muslim* is constantly increasing. In other words, the American press has never been more interested in *Muslims* than they are now. Furthermore, the American press seems to be concerned mainly with gender inequality, especially in terms of veiling, integration, and terrorism. To sum up, the word *Muslim* appears predominantly in a negative context, and in contexts that might suggest that the American press has adopted to use a discourse based on an 'us' versus 'they' mentality.

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I love you.

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List of Abbreviations

AJC: Atlanta Journal Constitution

AP: Associated Press

BNC: British National Corpus

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CADA: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis

CADS: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies

CDS: Critical Discourse Studies

CST: Chicago Sun-Times

CL: Corpus Linguistics

COCA: Corpus of Contemporary American English

CSM: Christian Science Monitor

DA: Discourse Analysis

DS: Discourse Studies

DP: Denver Post

HC: Houston Chronicle

KWIC: Keyword in Context

NYT: New York Times

POS: Part of Speech

SFC: San Francisco Chronicle

UT: USA Today

WP: Washington Post

Chapter One: Introduction

"But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought."
– George Orwell, 1946

This quote is from the essay "Politics and the English Language", written by George Orwell in 1946. In this essay, Orwell argued that language could manipulate the truth, and that political language, in particular, was "designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable" (Orwell 1946, 28). I first read this essay several years ago, and found Orwell's criticism of language to be both thought-provoking and different, simply because the criticism I had read prior to this was aimed at the politics or the politicians, and not their use of language. Over the years, I developed a greater interest in language, and especially to what extent it reflects the society we live in. However, my interest was not primarily concerned with the language of politics, but with the language of the press. The purpose of the press is to provide the public with information, ranging from world events, to local trivia. However, the information is given at a cost – news can also affect, or even define, social values and norms. The press has an undeniable ability to influence the society, and *vice versa*. The presidential election in the U.S. is the perfect illustration of how money, power and the discourse of the press can give one man more power than intended. In other words, language, and especially the language of the press, has several abilities; it can influence or be influenced, it can give power and take it away again, and it can differentiate and assimilate people – all in all, it is a powerful tool.

In this study, I wish to look closer at how this powerful tool has been put to use in the American press to describe ethnicities and minorities. It would have been interesting to look at the descriptions of several minorities in America, but due to the size of the study, the research will be confined to how Muslims are characterized by the American press.

1.1. Aim, Scope and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to investigate the representation of Muslims in the American press through CADS (section 2.7.) to see whether or not discourse can contribute to the process of producing and reproducing social issues. As described in more detailed in chapter three, I will use the Corpus of Contemporary American (COCA) to investigate nouns that frequently collocate with the adjective *Muslim,* and the adjectives that frequently collocate with the noun *Muslim* through a 1:1 analysis. The analysis will include a quantitative part that looks at frequency lists and collocations, as well as a qualitative part that categorizes the quantitative data, and look closer at samples of concordances of two-word clusters, as these are thought to reflect representations to a certain extent. My study seeks an answer to the research question as stated:

> Research question*: How is journalistic language/discourse used to portray Muslims in the American press?*

I will also address the following supporting questions:

> 1. *What adjectives and nouns are the most frequent collocates used by the American press and what do they reveal about how Muslims are represented in the press?*
>
> 2. *How does the wider context of adjectival or nominal collocates contribute to the representation of Muslims in the American press?*
>
> 3. *To what extent has the American press developed a language, or discourse, that colors the readers' opinion of Muslims?*

This thesis is inspired by Baker *et al.* (2012) and their study "Sketching Muslims: A Corpus Driven Analysis of Representations Around the Word 'Muslim' in the British Press 1998–2009". I will base my study on their framework, but modify it slightly. My methodological choices are outlined and discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.4. This study differs from Baker *et al.* (2012) in that it investigates the American press, not the British press. In addition, I have decided to include a qualitative and quantitative analysis of both the noun *Muslim* and adjective *Muslim*, which contrasts to the study of Baker *et al.* which only investigates the noun *Muslim*. Previous studies and findings are covered in more detail in section 2.8, while the specifics of my thesis are described more fully in section 2.9.

1.2. Thesis Outline

The thesis is organized into seven chapters. While this chapter gives an outline of the thesis, and includes information about its aim and scope, chapter two presents the theoretical background and methodological choices of this thesis. Chapter three covers the choice of method and material used, whereas chapter four and five present the quantitative and qualitative collocational and thematic analysis of *Muslim*. Chapter four presents the analysis of the adjective *Muslim* followed by a noun, and chapter five presents the analysis of the noun *Muslim* preceded by an adjective. Chapter six offers a brief comparison of the findings in COCA with more recent material from the NOW corpus, in order to look at general tendencies found in the previous analysis (Ch. 4 and 5). The final chapter, chapter seven, presents my concluding remarks, and includes a discussion of the research questions, as well as thoughts on difficulties and limitations, and future studies.

1.3. Muslims in the News Today

Over the last two decades the 'Muslim- and Arab world' has become a frequent topic in Western news. *The New York Times* archive serves to illustrate the diachronic development of the word *Muslim,* and how the use of the word has changed over time. In the eighties, articles that contained the word *Muslim* was an oddity. Over a five-year span (1981-1986), as illustrated by Table 1, the word *Muslim* had been used in no more than 260 articles, compared to the nineties, where the use of the word had increased notably, and *Muslim* appeared in as many as 5556 different articles. Since the nineties, the use of *Muslim* has continued to increase, and in 2011-2016 the word *Muslim* appeared in as many as 9887 different articles.

Table 1. Number of articles that used the word *Muslim* in New York Times

1981-1986	1991-1996	*1996-2001*	*2001-2006*	*2006-2011*	*2011-2016*
260	5556	3777	8246	8958	9887

Source: Data collected from http://www.nytimes.com
Note: The dates were from the 1st of August to the 1st of August, and the search word was *Muslim.*

A partial explanation for the diachronic development of the word *Muslim*, and the ever-growing interest in the Muslim- and Arab world, is related to the 'newsworthiness' of the topic. In the next section, I will briefly outline the criteria of 'newsworthiness' and discuss the criteria, or news values, that might explain why the press takes such an interest in stories related to the Muslim- and Arab world.

1.4. News Values

The press has the power to decide what is significant and what is not. In other words, news is not randomly selected, but selected after certain criteria, or factors, that are called *news values* (Fowler 1991, 13). The twelve news values, were first formulated by Galtung and Ruge (1965, 68), and are listed below:

F_1 Frequency

F_2 Threshold

F_3 Unambiguity

F_4 Meaningfulness

F_5 Consonance

F_6 Unexpectedness

F_7 Continuity

F_8 Composition

F_9 Reference to elite nations

F_{10} Reference to elite people

F_{11} Reference to persons

F_{12} Reference to something negative[1]

Fowler argues that news values can be regarded as "intersubjective mental categories" (1991, 17), in which stereotypes are used to make sense of events and individuals. *Terrorists* and *foreigners* are well-known stereotypes in newspapers, but one might also find stereotypes such as the 'veiled Muslim woman', or the 'victimized Muslim woman' (see section 4.3.1.). The news values that contribute to such stereotypes are F_3-F_7 and F_9-F_{12}. To explain the relevance of news values in relation to the topic of this thesis, I will use the increased

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[1] Galtung and Ruge (1965) used the word *factors* (F) to refer to news values. Today, the more commonly used term is *news values*.

references to Muslim women in American newspapers as an example. In the following paragraphs, I will first explain the relevance of F_3-F_7, followed by a more thorough summary of F_4 'meaningfulness' in section 1.4.1., and F_{11} 'personalization' in section 1.4.2.

 A range of different news values might explain why Muslim women have become 'newsworthy'. The most obvious one is, perhaps, F_{12} 'references to something negative'. Muslim women seem to have become a symbol of Islam and fundamentalism in the West due to their use of veils (section 4.3.1.). 'Unambiguity' (F_3), on the other hand, refers to events that are easy to understand, e.g. a terrorist is an enemy. Since fundamentalism is closely associated with terrorism, it can explain why 'consonance' (F_5) and 'unexpectedness' (F_6) are values that reinforce the newsworthiness of Muslim women. 'Unexpectedness' refers to events such as terror attacks, while 'consonance' refers to an expectation of similar events to occur again. The final two news values that reinforce the stereotype *Muslim women* are 'continuity' (F_7) and 'meaningfulness' (F_4). While 'continuity', refers to an ongoing conflict or event, 'meaningfulness' refers to ethnocentrism, homocentrism, cultural proximity and relevance. In other words, 'meaningfulness' can explain why the press finds Muslim men who defend the use of burqa more newsworthy than Christian men who defend the uniform of a nun. It can also explain why the press are more concerned with veiled Muslim women in 'Western countries', than with veiled Muslim women 'Muslim countries'.

To sum up, Muslim women who wear hijabs have become 'newsworthy' because their religion, Islam, is associated with fundamentalism and acts of terror, thus becoming an 'enemy' of the West. In other words, it seems like Muslim women are more different from 'us', than they are of the enemy, 'them'.

1.4.1. 'Us' *versus* 'Them'

The correlation between consensus and 'meaningfulness' can explain how negative cultural stereotypes, or a 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy, are constructed by the press.

As previously mentioned, 'meaningfulness', reflects ethnocentrism and homocentrism, or the tendency of fixating at the characteristics that 'we' believe to be alike our own, as well as the characteristics we believe to be different from our own (Fowler 1991, 16). Consensus, on the other hand, refers to the idea of 'us', and 'our' shared opinions and knowledge. Van Dijk

(2008) argues that news has the power to influence the public opinion and the public knowledge, and writes that news values, such as 'meaningfulness', "essentially determine the contents and the organization of public knowledge, the hierarchy of beliefs and the pervasiveness of the consensus, which in turn are potent factors in the formation and reproduction of opinions, attitudes and ideologies" (2008, 36).

Put differently, the news values decide what accumulates most clicks, what triggers the audience and what makes a story newsworthy. Hence, negative stories about Muslims will sell more than positive stories, and the best stories will exemplify behavior (terror) or characteristics (hijab) that are associated with 'them' (Muslims). In other words, "newspapers fill their columns with murder, rape, fraud, espionage, riot, natural disaster, freaks: stories of 'the other', 'them', rather than 'the familiar', 'us'." (Fowler 1991, 53).

1.4.2. Symbols in the Press: Hijab = Suppressed?

Personalization, or $F_{11,}$ 'reference to persons', is according to Fowler one of the most dangerous aspects of journalism due to how journalists use individuals as symbols without including a wider portrayal of underlying factors (1991, 16). In other words, as symbols of oppression, radicalism, terrorism etc.

Byng's study of the hijab debate in Britain can illustrate how personalization of veiled women can create a "symbolic representation of Islam in the public…" (2010, 109). Byng argues that the newspaper reporting created a common-sense understanding that women who veil themselves are "a threat to the national identities of Western nations…" (ibid, 117), and symbolize a failure of assimilation and integration, consequently creating fear of terrorism performed by Muslims. Furthermore, she argues that the representations created by the media "…construct socially shared knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values that inform the public mind thereby creating common sense" (ibid, 114)

Chapter Two: Theoretical Background and Methodological Choices

2.1. Introduction

This study seeks to investigate *discourse* – more specifically, the discourse used by the American press when writing about Muslims and the world of Islam. The study of discourse is referred to as Discourse Studies (DS), or Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and is interdisciplinary. In other words, there is not one theory and one method in CDS, rather a variety of theories, approaches and methods depending on one's area of research. The common interest for researchers in the field of CDS is the relationship between society and language, especially "those properties of discourse that are more typically associated with the expression, confirmation, reproduction or challenge of the social power of the speaker(s) or writer(s) as members of dominant groups" (van Dijk 2008, 5).

Since this study will look at discourse used by the press about a specific religious minority, the theoretical background will include a discussion of discourse used by the media, discursive power, and how discourse can be used to (re)produce racism (section 2.2.). As for my methodological choices, I will consider traditional approaches in CDS, such as the ones developed by Fairclough (section 2.4.1.) and Van Dijk (section 2.4.2.). However, neither of the approaches will be applied by themselves, but will rather be combined with the methodology of corpus linguistics (section 2.6.) in what is called Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (section 2.7). This is an approach that can, through a triangulation, be both quantitative and qualitative and thus contribute to less bias, 'cherry-picking' and other issues associated with the field of CDS (see sections 2.3. and 2.5.). I will briefly outline previous studies regarding the representation of Muslims in section 2.8., before summarizing my theoretical and methodological choices in section 2.9.

2.2. What is Discourse?

Discourse is not easily defined or described, but can, in its simplest form, be any linguistic unit of speech or writing that is larger than a sentence (McEnery and Hardie 2012, 242).

However, the term discourse is multifaceted, and has been given many definitions. Cook defines discourse as "stretches of language perceived to be meaningful, unified and purposive" (1989, 256), whilst Conboy defines it as "the process of combining power, language and knowledge" (2007, 117). However, the most common definition is that discourse can be influenced by society, and influence society. In other words, it can influence situations, general knowledge and social status, as well as the relationship between people or groups of people.

Furthermore, discourse can produce and reproduce social status, and thus produce and reproduce discrimination, or "unequal power relations between … women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 258). There are several 'discourses', but the ones most imperative to this study are the 'discourses' of media, power and racism.

2.2.1. Discourse and the Press

Fairclough states that the discourse used by the press contributes to social and cultural change, especially in relation to cultural values, social identities and power relations (1995, 2). He argues that the press is unique in that it has a specific way of representing the world, as well as constructing social identities and social relations. Take Fairclough's study of a topic closely related to that of this thesis as an illustration of this argument; the discourse found that the press has a specific way of portraying the Arab world, constructing the stereotypical Muslim, and constructing the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' (Fairclough 1995, 12).

In other words, representations, relations and identities are crucial elements in any text produced by the press, not only because they appear in debates about racism, power, bias, manipulation and so on, but because they are related to how social relationships are created between majorities and minorities (1995, 17). The discourse used by the press is unique because of its distinctive grammatical style (neologisms, nominalizations, postpositioned declaratives), its syntactic structures (active vs. passive constructions) and its freedom with regard to lexical choices (*terrorists* vs. *freedom fighters)* and in that it can "show systematic links between texts, discursive practices, and sociocultural practices" (van Dijk 1988, 177 and Fairclough 1995, 16-17).

2.2.2. Discourse and Power

The author and feminist Angela Carter wrote that "language is power, life and the instrument of culture, the instrument of domination and liberation" (1998, 43), thus summarizing the relationship between discourse and power. Fairclough reasons that discourse is a part of social practice, e.g. that language is both a part of society and a social process, and is therefore a part of reproducing social structures (2001, 61). As a consequence, discourse can "have long-term effects on the knowledge and beliefs, social relationships and social identities of an institution or society" (Fairclough 2001, 61).

Van Dijk states that discursive power can be speech acts, and text types such as laws and regulations, as well as representations of specific expressions and descriptions of powerful groups and their ideology. He further argues that discursive power is normally persuasive and can be identified through arguments, promises, examples and other rhetorical means. Discursive power also includes the ability to control the discourse, which again controls "the formation of social cognitions through the subtle management of knowledge and beliefs, the preformulation of beliefs and the censorship of counter-ideologies" (2008, 63).

2.2.3. Discourse and Racism

To understand the relationship between discourse and racism, one first has to define what racism is. According to Renkema (2004), racism can be defined as "a prejudice or stereotypical belief that discriminates against a minority group (however, not necessarily of another race) or a group with less statues than the group in power" (2004, 288). In most cases, racism overlaps with other phenomena such as 'ethnicism', prejudice based on ethnicity, and 'xenophobia', prejudice of the foreign or unknown (ibid.).

Van Dijk (1983) argues that the discriminatory acts against minority groups are rationalized and justified through seven patterns of discourse – called the seven D's: dominance, differentiation, distance, diffusion, diversion, depersonalization and daily discrimination (1983, 40). In later research, more systematic approaches have been developed (some by van Dijk himself) to examine discourse strategies of discrimination. Flowerdew, Li and Tran (2002, 329) divide discriminatory discourse into four categories. The first category, 'negative other representation' refers to discourses that focus on positive *us* representation and negative

they representation in the press (see section 1.4.1.). Patterns include the use of: over-lexicalization to stigmatize, adjectives to label, nouns to stereotype, and negative singularization to combine certain attributes to a specific group of people. The patterns of the second category, 'scare tactics' include exaggeration, abnormalization and criminalization of *them*, whilst the third strategy 'blaming the victim' refers to the act of scapegoating, meaning structures of discourse that blame minorities for a negative development in the society. The last category 'delegitimation', refers to patterns in discourse that discredit, disempower or problematize a minority group, especially in relation to topics such as social norms, immigration and culture (2002, 330-31).

2.3. Critical Discourse Studies

In this study, I will use the approach Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), which combines Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and Corpus Linguistics (CL), but before I discuss and describe the approach in more detail (2.7), I wish to clarify a general misunderstanding associated with discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is both a general term that refers to the overarching discipline of discourse analysis, which includes a variety of approaches, methods and theories, as well as one of the most prominent approaches within the field of discourse analysis. In other words, the discipline of discourse analysis has often been mistaken for the approach CDA, and *vice versa*. To avoid such confusions, Van Dijk (2013) strongly advices to use the term CDS and writes as follows:

> So, there is not 'a' or 'one' method of CDA, but many. I recommend to use the term *Critical Discourse Studies* for the theories, methods, analyses, applications and other practices of critical discourse analysts, and to forget about the confusing term 'CDA'. (Van Dijk 2013, in Wodak and Mayer 2016, 1-2).

To avoid further confusion, I will refer to CDS, and not CDA, when referring to the overarching discipline of discourse analysis.

Furthermore, Wodak and Mayer (2015) state that the common objective of CDS is to investigate different types of discourse, and especially "hidden, opaque and visible structures

of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (2015, 13). This objective is reinforced by Baker *et al.* (2013) who argue CDS is "the analysis of discourse that holds that language is a social practice and examines how ideologies and power relations are expressed in language" (2013, 20). Wodak and Fairclough (1997, 271-80) summarized CDS with the following eight principles:

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

2.4. Central Approaches within the Field of CDS

As previously mentioned, there are several approaches within the field of CDS. The most widely known approaches are Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and van Dijk's sociocognitive approach. These two approaches will be outlined briefly in sections 2.4.1. and 2.4.2., respectively. More recently Baker and McEnery (2012), to mention some, have combined these approaches with corpus linguistics – seemingly with great success. Section 2.5. discusses the challenges of CDA, while section 2.7. is devoted to the approach CDAS.

2.4.1. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the most prominent approaches on discourse and culture. CDA explores the tension between how language can be both 'socially shaped' and 'socially constitutive', meaning how language simultaneously can be shaped by society and control society (1995, 55). In his book, *Media Discourse* (1995), Fairclough claims that discourse can produce, reproduce and maintain existing social identities and shared knowledge (1995, 55), and that every single text produced by the press, will always establish 'social identities', 'social relations' and 'systems of knowledge and belief', which again shape society and culture.

Fairclough's approach is based on a belief that media discourse ought to be analyzed on several different levels to understand the complexity of it. In his terms, an analysis of media discourse should include both 'the order of discourse' and 'communicative events'. The order of discourse refers to the language of a community and how it is used in different *genres* and *discourses*. By *genre,* Fairclough means the language used in interviews, reports, advertisement and so on. *Discourses,* on the other hand, refers to the different ways in which language is used to represent different point of views, as can be seen in newspaper articles and how different newspapers use different language to discuss topics such as Muslim immigration. It is important to note that *discourses* is strongly connected to knowledge and the construction of knowledge (1995, 56).

A communicative event, on the other hand, can be analyzed in terms of three different components; *text, discourse practice* and *sociocultural practices* (1995, 57). Fairclough does, however, state that the emphasis should be on one component. As a linguist, his emphasis naturally lies with the text component, in which both meaning and form are analyzed. Fairclough outlines the text component as follows:

> The analysis of texts…covers traditional forms of linguistic analysis – analysis of vocabulary and semantics, the grammar of sentences and units, and the sound system ('phonology') and writing system … it also includes the organization of turn-taking in interviews and the overall structure of newspaper article (Fairclough 1995, 57)

2.4.2. Van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach

Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach shares many of the features of Fairclough's CDA, especially regarding the relationship between discourse and society and how they equally and simultaneously can influence each other. However, the sociocognitive approach argues that the relations are cognitively mediated (van Dijk 2016, 64) and focuses mainly on how discourse in relation to racism, ideology and knowledge. The approach has three components: the cognitive, social and discursive.

The cognitive component looks at "the mind, memory and the cognitive processes and representations involved in the production and comprehension of discourse" (van Dijk 2016, 66). Cognitive structures in discourse include what is unique and individual in terms of

memory and mental models, but also social cognition, which is shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies that exist within a community (ibid). Van Dijk defines knowledge as "beliefs that meet the (historically developing) epistemic criteria of each community" (2016, 68) and argues that knowledge is a power recourse, that can easily be used to manipulate a community. Attitudes and ideologies differ from knowledge because knowledge relates to beliefs shared by a specific group. In other words, people can have different attitudes about a topic such as immigration (e.g. good, bad or dangerous), caused by different beliefs about the 'others'. Van Dijk argues that "attitudes tend to be based on or organized by more fundamental ideologies that control the acquisition and change more specific attitudes" (2016, 69).

The social component can be divided into microstructures and macrostructures. The microstructures are related to unique and individual knowledge used in interaction and discourse in-between social members of a community, whilst macrostructures relate to shared knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values shared and controlled by communities, groups and organizations (Van Dijk 2016, 71).

The last component is most relevant to this study since it seeks to analyze news discourse in relation to grammatical and linguistic structures. News discourse is unique in terms of both grammatical choices and linguistic choices. The former is especially interesting in relation to the use of neologisms (*burkini*), nominalization (*radicalization*) and word or clause order, whilst the latter of the two is related to the choice and use of specific terms such as *freedom fighters* versus *terrorist* or *devout* versus *religious* (van Dijk 1988, 177).

2.5. Criticism of CDS

CDS in general, and especially the approaches mentioned above, have been highly criticized by scholars such as Fowler (1996a) Orpin (2005), Partington (2004) and Widdowson (2004) for being biased and unsystematic. Widdowson argues that CDS brings interpretations to the table that are both interesting and engaging, but that the interest is connected to the cause of discourse analysis rather than the "…analytic precision of the case made" (2004, 166).

The issues of discourse analysis are many, and the questions on how to solve them are many. Scholars and students alike ask questions about procedure, ranging from how one is supposed

to analyze a text, what linguistic features one should include, to the analysis of context and the importance of context (2004, 166). According to Fowler (1996a), discourse analysis needs "a comprehensive methodological guide, tailored to the needs of the discipline" though not in the form of a schoolbook, but rather through explicit and replicable analysis (8-9). Similarly, Widdowson argues that practitioners of CDS need to follow clear, consistent and replicable principles of procedure, and that they ought to be as systematic and comprehensive as possible" (2004, 110). However, the critics of CDS, also value its importance and believe that some of the issues can get fixed by combining existing approaches and theories with methods typically associated with corpus linguistics (Widdowson 2004, 110).

2.6. Corpus Linguistics

Gray and Biber (2011) argue that corpus linguistics is "a methodology for linguistic analysis that focuses on describing linguistic variation in large collections of authentic texts (the corpus), using automatic and interactive computer programs to aid in analysis" (139). In other words, this methodology makes it possible to look at language data on a larger scale, and can identify generalizable linguistic patterns in a range of different discourses, such as the discourse used by American newspapers. The methodology has four main characteristics according to Gray and Biber (ibid.): One, the approach is empirical. Two, the analysis is based on a representative corpus. Three, computers and software developed for CL are used to analyze the corpus, and four, the analysis is both qualitative and quantitative (ibid. 140).

With this said, CL has a lot to contribute to the field of CDS, especially concerning the investigation of large quantities of data, reducing bias, enhancing validity, and enabling replication – thus strengthening the empirical foundations of CDS (Mautner 2016, 176).

Mautner (2016) argues that the methodology can strengthen the field of CDS because it allows a methodological triangulation. It can also expand the empirical base in CDS, which contributes to reducing bias and the problem of 'cherry-picking'. She also argues that CL provides both a quantitative and qualitative perspective on textual data through:

…computing frequencies and measures of statistical significance, as well as presenting data extracts in such a way that the researcher can assess individual occurrences of search words, qualitatively examine their collocational environments, describe salient semantics patterns and identify discourse functions. (Mautner 2016, 156)

In spite of the apparent advantages of combining CDS and CL, there are some concerns including lack of standardization (replicability), lack of cooperation between disciplines, the issue of deliberately excluding or including specific data, decontextualized data, and the issue of language innovation or how language change with social change (Mautner 2016, 171-174)

2.7. Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies – A Third Approach

The approach referred to as Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), has become increasingly popular due to the reciprocal benefits already mentioned. A methodological triangulation, made possible by combining theories of CDS with CL, has four steps according to Mautner (2016, 177). The first step includes compiling a corpus, or using an existing multi-million-word reference corpus, such as the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American (COCA), that makes it possible for a researcher to investigate questions related to social issues. This is followed by a quantitative analysis through the use of a concordancer that allows the researcher to identify keywords, as well as collecting information about collocations and their frequency. The third step normally involves a qualitative analysis of the concordances in order to investigate semantic preferences and prosodies of lexical items (thematic categorization). In the last step, one would normally compare the results to evidence from other research or other corpora. (Mautner 2016, 177).

2.7.1. CADS, as used by Baker *et al.* (2012)

The approach referred to as Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) was first used by Partington (2004, 2006), then later developed by Baker (2005, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2013) to investigate the representation of a variety of subjects, ranging from homosexual men (2005), refugees and asylum seekers (Baker *et al.* 2008), to the representation of Islam (2010) and

Muslims in the British press (Baker *et al.* 2012, 2013). Baker (2008) developed a cyclical framework that contains several different stages, and moves forth and back between quantitative and qualitative techniques of analysis. Figure 1, shows the framework Baker (2008) developed for CADS.

(1) Context-based analysis of topic via history/politics/culture/etymology. Identify existing topoi/discourses/strategies via wider reading; reference to other CDA studies.
(2) Establish research questions/corpus-building procedures.
(3) Corpus analysis of frequencies, clusters, keywords, dispersion, etc. Identify potential sites of interest in the corpus along with possible discourses/topoi/strategies; relate to those existing in the literature.
(4) Qualitative or CDA analysis of a smaller, representative set of data (e.g., concordances of certain lexical items or of a particular text or set of texts within the corpus); identify discourses/topoi/strategies.
(5) Formulation of new hypotheses or research questions.
(6) Further corpus analysis based on new hypotheses; identify further discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.
(7) Analysis of intertextuality or interdiscursivity based on findings from corpus analysis.
(8) New hypotheses.
(9) Further corpus analysis, identify additional discourses/topoi/strategies, etc.

Figure 1. Framework for combining CDA and CL (CADS)
Source: Baker *et al.* (2008: 295)

To exemplify the use of this framework (Figure 1), one could look at most studies conducted by Baker after 2008. Baker *et al.* (2013) used a range of different techniques and methods within the framework of CADS in their book *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes*. However, I have based my method on that of Baker *et al.* (2012) I will briefly outline the approach he used, before coming back to it in section 3.4.

In the study "Sketching Muslims: A Corpus Driven Analysis of Representations Around the Word 'Muslim' in the British Press 1998-2009" (2012), Baker *et al.* sought to investigate the word *Muslim* in a multi-million-word corpus consisting of British newspaper articles. The approach they developed, and combines of quantitative and qualitative forms of analysis, that "adopts and adapts concepts, constructs and metrics developed within corpus linguistics to achieve aims compatible with those of CDA, in that it aims to examine social issues" (2012, 258), rather than replicating previous models of CDS (see figure 1).

They used an online newspaper database called *Nexit UK* to compile their corpus and analyzed it in *Sketch Engine*. The focused on the keyword *Muslim*. The quantitative analysis surveyed its functions and collocations, whilst the qualitative looked at 100 randomly

selected concordances of two word clusters (2012, 260). In their quantitative analysis they found that the word *Muslim* was used in its adjectival form 70% of the time, and collocated most frequently with nouns. All the collocates were sorted into six thematic categories: conflict, religion, culture, ethnic/national entity, characterizing/differentiating attributes, group/organizations. The overall quantitative analysis concluded that "Muslims were frequently constructed in terms of homogeneity and connected to conflict" (2012, 275). In the qualitative analysis, a sample of 100 concordances of the two word clusters, *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* was analyzed. This analysis showed that Muslims were:

> …frequently characterized as distinct, reasonable homogeneous entities that are quick to take offence, in tension to the UK or 'the West', rather than integrated, contain dangerous radical elements and are threatened by a backlash. (Baker *et al.* 2012, 275)

There are limitations to CADS, but the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods seem to provide effective and trustworthy studies as exemplified in Baker *et al*. In a paper leading up to their study (Baker *et al.* 2012, 2013), Baker (2012) argues that the combination of CDA and CL are

> …grounded in scientific principles such as representativeness, falsification, data-driven approaches, using statistical approaches to test hypotheses and a desire to provide a full picture of representation … making its findings more influential. (Baker 2012, 255)

2.8. Previous Studies on the Press, and how they Describe Muslims

The issue of how minorities are portrayed by the press is not new, neither is the discussion about how Muslims are portrayed by the press, and what consequences it might have. However, there are few studies with a linguistic perspective, and they differ in terms of aim, approach, and choice of method. Still, all previous studies I have encountered on this topic have concluded that there is a general tendency of negative representation.

Awass (1996) and Said (1997) used theories and methods within the field of CDS to study the representation of Muslims in the American press. However, both studies are, though still

important, somewhat outdated in regard to the developments post-9/11. More recent studies have mainly been about the British press. Several of the more recent studies have used both qualitative and quantitative methods to avoid criticism related to 'cherry-picking'. These studies have been important for the development of replicable and valid methods, and have created a foundation for the methodology I will use in this study.

In this section, I will briefly outline previous studies regarding the representation of Muslims in the press. I will first give a summary of the studies that have been conducted about the American press (Awaas 1996, Said 1981, revisited in 1997), before covering the studies about the British press (Poole 2002, Richardson 2009, Lewis *et al.* 2011). Baker (2012) and Baker *et al.* (2012) were accounted for in the previous section (2.7.1), and will be outlined in more detail in sections, 3.3 and 3.4. I will however, add some of the main findings from Baker *et al.* (2012 and 2013) below.

Awaas conducted a study on the representation of Muslims in the American Press (1996). He conducted a study based on the quantitative results of a poll, and the qualitative analysis of selected articles. His study investigated opinion pieces and essays written about Muslims and Islam. The articles were written by either scholars or journalists, collected from newspapers such as the *New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Christian Science Monitor.* In his analysis, he found that the American press repeatedly represented all Muslims as participants of the 'Muslim world' which was characterized as "backward, violent, irrational and opposite to us" (1996, 82). He concluded that a continued misrepresentation of Muslims would lead to a 'us' vs. 'them' mentality.

Said (1981, revisited in 1997) found similar results in his study of the production and re-production of linguistic formulas used by the American press. In his concluding remarks, he stated that the media, government and academic experts combined express that Islam is a threat to the West, thus highlighting the same issues as Awass (1996). Said further argues that the constant and numerous negative images of Islam do not portray what Islam is, but rather what "prominent sectors of a particular society take it to be" (1997, 144).

 The more recent studies related to the representation of Muslims and Islam have investigated the British press. Poole (2002) conducted an extensive research project by using three different methodologies; a quantitative content analysis, a qualitative discursive analysis

based on CDA, and Hall's encoding/decoding model of representation to investigate how the British press portrayed Muslims (2002, 24). In her quantitative content analysis, she found that events selected by the press were typically assorted to fit an ethnocentric framework of central news values. She also found that Muslims rarely were described as individuals, but rather as members of different Muslim groups. She also noted that they seldom appeared as actors in 'normal' stories (2002, 89). In her concluding remarks of the qualitative discourse analysis she states that:

> …press coverage reduces the rich variety of Muslim people's lives in all their complexities to a few 'reductive categories' that have come to represent a fairly homogenous Islam to the British public." (Poole 2002, 187)

The 'reductive categories' are linked to the continued use of terms such as *Muslim world* and *Muslim community.* She also found that the press included positive representation of Muslims, but that it was restricted to that of shared positive values. In her conclusion based on Hall's model of representation, she found that most people in Britain learn to know Muslims through the media (ibid. 240), and that there are clear evidence of a new stereotype, or a new 'other'.

More recently, Richardson has contributed to several studies concerning the representation of Islam in the British press. In his study "'Get shot of the lot of them': election reporting of Muslims in the British newspapers" (2009), Richardson investigated lexical collocations by means of a quantitative analysis, while CDA was used to analyze the sample. In his quantitative analysis, he found that the journalistic discourse was changing, and that the Muslims, and everything related to the 'Muslim way of life', were represented by the press as everything the "British way of life" was not (2009, 376), again by focusing on Muslim groups by using language of "collectivization" (p. 360). In his qualitative analysis, he found that the press used increasingly "hostile and stereotyping discourse that emphasized the putative threat that Muslims pose to 'our kind of life" (p. 376).

Lewis *et al.* (2011) conducted a study to investigate the time post-9/11. They used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, where they first conducted a qualitative content analysis followed by a qualitative discourse analysis. In line with the other studies, they found that the coverage of Muslims had increased considerably over the last years and

that they usually were portrayed as a problem or a threat to the West (2011, 64). They also found that the overall most common 'news hooks', or elements of newsworthiness, was "terrorism, or the war on terror" followed by "religious and cultural issues" and "Muslim extremism" (p. 47-48). However, one of the most interesting findings was related to how religious and cultural issues had increased drastically in terms of coverage from 2000 to 2008. In their qualitative discourse analysis, they found that the most used discourse linked to Muslims was "terrorist threat", followed by "Islam as dangerous/irrational", "Islam as a part of multiculturalism" and "clash between Islam and the West". In this stage of their analysis, they also investigated descriptive nouns and adjectives used with the word *Muslim* and found that the most common nouns were negative words such as *terrorist, extremist* and *suicide bomber,* but they also found a few could be regarded as positive (e.g. scholar). In their analysis of adjectives, they found that the most common adjectives were usually negative; *radical, fanatic, fundamentalist, extremist,* but found one instance of a seemingly positive word; *respected* (2011, 55-56).

Baker *et al.* (2012, 2013) have conducted several studies that combine CDA and CL to investigate the representation of Islam in the British Press. A brief description of the approach they used in 2012 was outlined in section 2.8.1., while chapter 4, 5 and 7 summarize the main findings of the same study.

In addition, Baker *et al.* published several analyses about the representation of Muslims in the British press in their book *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes* (2013). The purpose of the book was to investigate how language was used to represent Muslims and Islam in the British press. All the analyses were based on the approach CADS, while the methods varied according to the aim and scope of the research. Baker *et al.* found little "explicit evidence of extremely negative and generalizing stereotypes about Islam" (2013, 255), however, they did find ambivalent discourse that indirectly contributed to negative stereotypes. The most notable findings regarding the representation of Muslims in the British press were related to conflict, homogeneity and gender, and are briefly mentioned in chapter 4, 5 and 7 (2013, 254-258).

2.9. My Study

Similar to the studies accounted for in section 2.8, my study seeks to investigate the discourse used by the press to portray Muslims. However, as the last prominent studies of the American press are from the 1990's, I wish to conduct a more recent study that includes data from 1990 to 2015. In section 1.3., I referred to the increasing coverage of topics related to the 'Muslim world'. The *New York Times* alone has close to tripled the coverage of articles containing the word *Muslim* since the 1990s. Muslims are, in other words, more newsworthy today, than they were in the years following 9/11. Since most previous studies are about the British press, as the studies by Baker *et al.* (2012, 2013), I wish to study the American press. I will also include the noun *Muslim* in my analysis (chapter 5)*,* compared to Baker *et al.* (2012) who only investigated the adjective *Muslim* (chapter 4) look at the noun *Muslim.* A final, yet important difference, is that this study will include a qualitative analysis on words that appear to be either neural or positive (section 5.2.4).

As for my approach, I will consider traditional approaches in CDS, such as the ones developed by Fairclough (2.4.1) and Van Dijk (2.4.2). However, neither of the approaches will be applied on their own, but will rather be combined with the methodology of corpus linguistics (CL) in what is called Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (section 2.7.), an approach that can, through a triangulation, be both quantitative and qualitative and thus contribute to less bias, 'cherry-picking' and other issues associated with the field of CDS (see section 2.5.-2.7.).

To study the discourse used by the American press to portray Muslims, I needed a large corpus that was both balanced and based on a representative selection. Baker *et al.* created their own sample corpus by collecting newspaper articles through the database *Nexis UK* from 1998-2009. All the articles in their corpus were collected based on a search term that included a range or words that were associated with either Muslims or Islam (2012, 259). The corpus contained a total of 200 037 articles and 143 million words (ibid). It the initial stages of this study, I contemplated creating a similar corpus for this study. However, the amount of data needed to create a balanced and representative selection made it more sensible to use a pre-excising corpus. The *Corpus of Contemporary American* (COCA) is one of the biggest corpora available online at the present time, and has a search engine that makes it possible to

single out a wide selection of newspapers in specific searches. Chapter three gives a detailed outline of the material and methods used in this thesis.

As mentioned in section 2.7.1, the quantitative analysis of Baker *et al.* (2012) found that the word *Muslim* was used in its adjectival form 70% of the time in the British press, and collocated most frequently with nouns. Their quantitative analysis was therefore only concerned with nouns that collocated with the adjectival form of *Muslim.* In the American press, 61,8% nouns collocated with the adjectival form, while 38,2% adjectives collocated with the nominal form. I will therefore include an analysis of both the adjective *Muslim/Muslims* followed by noun collocates (chapter 4), and the noun *Muslim* preceded by adjective collocates (chapter 5). The analysis of adjective *Muslim* will be structured along the lines of Baker *et al.* (2012). The quantitative part of my analysis seeks to look at frequency lists and collocations, while the qualitative part consists of a thematic categorization and analysis, as well as a closer look at the two-word clusters *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* (section 4.2)*.* I will also discuss the two-word clusters *Muslim woman* and *Muslim men* (section 4.3).

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the noun *Muslim* is also inspired by Baker *et al.* (2012). The quantitative analysis seeks to look at frequency lists and collocations, while the qualitative part consists of a thematic analysis of four different categories (5.1), as well as a closer look at the two-word clusters *young Muslim/s* and *good Muslim/s* (5.2.4*.)*

It should be noted that each analysis will be introduced with a detailed outline of the method used.

Chapter Three: Material and Method

This chapter gives a description of the material and methods used in my thesis. The first section (3.1.) includes information about the Corpus of Contemporary American and the different newspapers that are represented in the corpus (3.1.1.). The process of data extraction is covered in detail in section 3.2. The purpose of section (3.2) is to give an overview of COCA's interface, as well as how the different searches were conducted. Sections 3.3. and 3.4. describe the method of Baker *et al.* (2012) and give an account of how the method is used, and modified, in the quantitative and qualitative analysis.

3.1. The Corpus of Contemporary American

The Corpus of Contemporary American[2], COCA, is a free online monitor corpus that covers the time span from 1990-2015 and consists of more than 520 million words in over 220,225 different texts. The corpus is balanced, and each year 20 million words are collected from, and divided into, five different categories, ranging from spoken texts, to written texts such as fiction, popular magazines, academic texts and newspapers. COCA is annotated and can therefore easily reveal linguistic information about specific grammatical categories through part-of-speech tags (POS-tags)[3]. The corpus is also equipped with tools which makes it possible to look at collocates, concordance lines, and the expanded context of a node. In other words, the search engine makes it possible to search for the adjective *Muslim,* find the most frequent collocates, and look at the context in which the word combination appears.

3.1.1. Newspapers in the Corpus

As mentioned in the previous section, COCA makes it possible for researchers to investigate words, patterns and grammatical structures in a variety of genres. However, in this study, I will only be using the genre 'Newspapers', which consists of texts from a number of different sections in a newspaper, such as local news, opinion and sport, to finance, lifestyle, arts and

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[2] Davies, Mark. (2008-2015) The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 520 million words, 1990-present. Available online at http://corpus.byu/coca/

[3] Part-of-Speech tagging is not 100% accurate, but is usually close to 97% (McEnery and Hardie 2012, 30) However, the searches I conducted barely showed any instances of words that were tagged in the wrong word-class except from *only,* which was tagged as an adjective (section 5.2.4)

so on. The genre contains a total of 105 963 844 words (2015),[4] and the corpus texts have been retrieved from the following ten newspapers:

1. USA Today
2. New York Times
3. Atlanta Journal Constitution
4. San Francisco Chronicle
5. Washington Post
6. Houston Chronicle
7. Chicago Sun-Times
8. Associated Press
9. Denver Post
10. Christian Science Monitor[5]

Regarding the political orientation of the newspapers, all the newspapers are considered to have minimum bias, or slight to moderate liberal bias.[6] The lack of newspapers with different political bias will color the research in this study. In other words, the results of this study will only be representative for the so called neutral or liberal newspapers due to the lack of discourse used by other big American conservative newspapers, such as the *New York Post* and *Wall Street Journal.*

3.2. Collecting Data from COCA

As mentioned in section 2.5, Widdowson stresses the importance of using methods that follow clear, consistent and replicable principles of procedure. He also argues that the method of choice should be as systematic and comprehensive as possible. I aim to conduct a study that follows these criteria, and will thus carefully explain the process of collecting the data used in this study. As mentioned earlier, all the data used in this study is extracted from COCA. The interface in COCA offers a set of options, ranging from simple 'single searches' to more advanced options that can, to mention some – single out categories, specify POS-tags and sort the data per frequency or relevance.

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[4] Ibid.
[5] *Christian Science Monitor* seems to mention *Muslims* somewhat more than the other newspapers in COCA.
[6] Van Zandt, Dave. 2015. *MBFC News.* Retrived from https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/about/

3.2.1. Search Display in COCA

The search display includes several options ranging from easy 'simple searches' to more advanced searches. In its most basic form, the search display provides you with a search box for simple searches. However, as illustrated by Figure 3, the settings for this study are on the more advanced side. COCA offers a wide variety of options that make it possible to design a specific search and in Figure 2, a search has been designed to find the immediate adjective collocates (_j*) of the noun *Muslim* (MUSLIM_nn*), sorted after raw frequency, in the section 'newspapers'. As visualized by Figure 2, COCA makes it possible to search for the plural and singular form of the word by using capital letters, specify the POS-tag (Part-of-Speech) of the key word, specify the POS-tag of the collocate, set a range of the collocation span, and single out sections (genres).
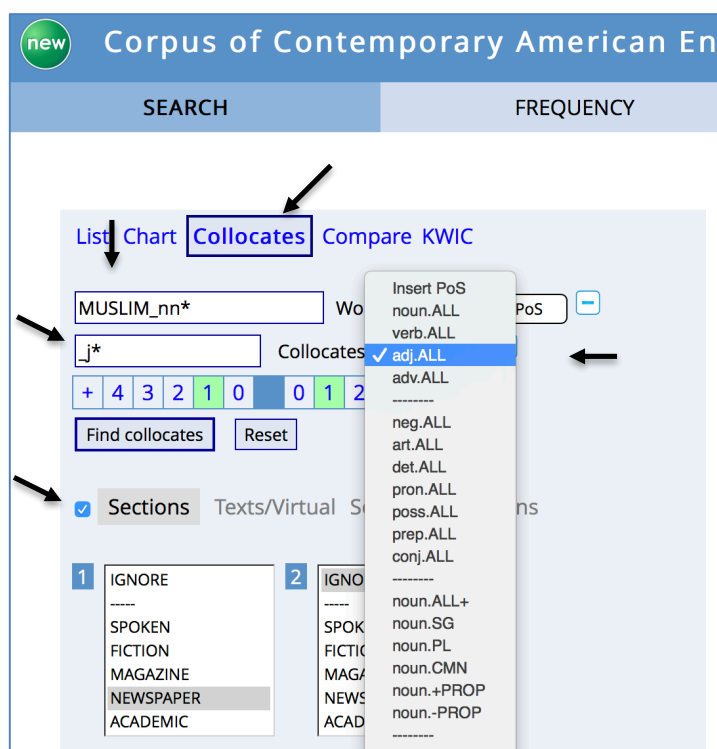

Figure 2. *COCA: Search Display for Collocates*
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

Figure 3 illustrate an almost identical search, but also demonstrates how users of COCA can sort and select the type of frequency appropriate for the search[7]. 'Frequency' refers to raw frequency, or the number of times a node (keyword) appears, while 'relevance' refers to the MI-score, a statistic that indicates how strong the correlation (co-occurrence) is between a node (keyword) and a collocate (McEnery and Hardie 2012, 247).
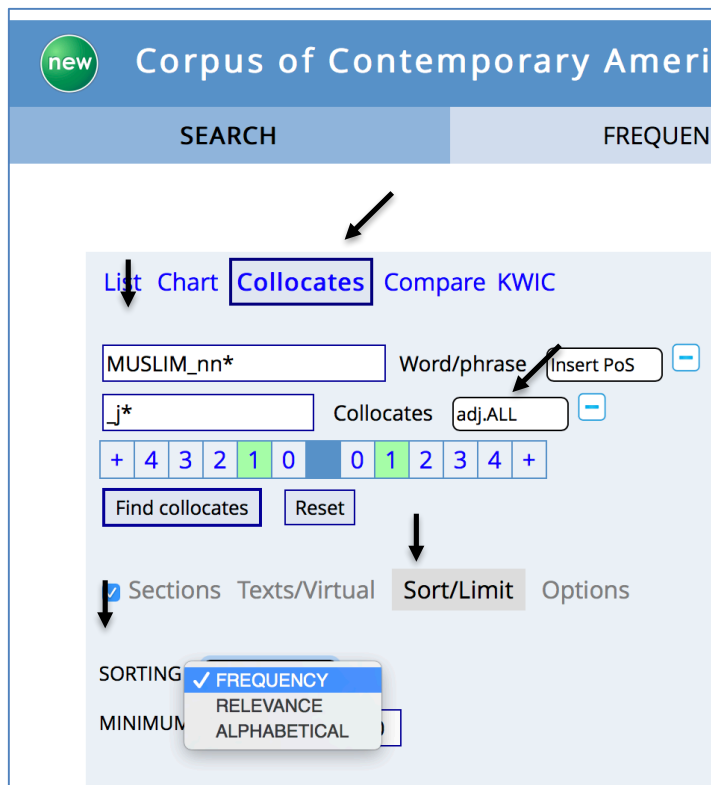

Figure 3. *COCA: Search Display for Raw Frequency*
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

3.2.2. Result Display in COCA

Figure 4 displays the results sorted after raw frequency as illustrated by the search in Figure 3. The result display shows the different collocates in order of frequency, as well as information about the number of hits (ALL), the different genres (in this case, only newspapers), and how the noun *Muslim* has been used over time (four-year time periods).

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[7] It should be noted that the data retrieved from COCA cannot be used to directly compare findings with Baker *et al* (2012). The data they collected was sorted and tagged by the means of Sketch Engine, an online corpus analysis interface. The interface have many of the same characteristics with COCA, but calculates and sorts the collocates according to *logdice* statistics, a formula that differs from both MI and raw frequency (Baker *et al* 2012, 260-261).

Figure 4. *COCA: Result display: Frequency*
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

3.2.3. KWIC Display and CONTEXT+ Display

The "Keyword in Context" (KWIC) display, as illustrated by Figure 5, gives information about the keyword and how it was used, more specifically, in what year, genre and newspaper the word appeared. It also shows the context of the keyword and collocate, by way of a concordance line. By clicking on one of the KWIC-results, one is directed to another display with expanded context (context +).


Figure 5. COCA: KWIC display
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

The CONTEXT+, or expanded context display (Figure 6) gives more context (one paragraph), as well as more information about the where the instance occurs in terms of publication, such as date, the title of the article and the author of the article. The expanded context has been used to disambiguate instances where necessary throughout the analysis, but has mainly been used in the discussion of the word pairs *young Muslim/s* and *good Muslim/s* in section 5.2.4.
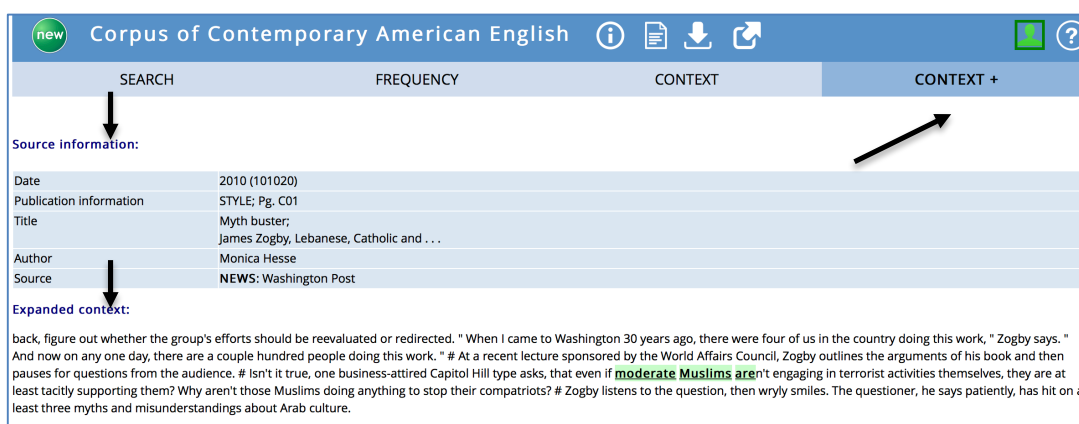
Figure 6. COCA: Expanded context display
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

3.3. Search Strings in COCA

The search strings used in this study is a result of findings in previous studies, as well as the 'try and fail' method. When the search word, MUSLIM, is in capital letters, it indicates a "lemma search", which means that both the plural and singular form of the word is included when searching for the noun. The search strings have been restricted to the section 'newspapers', and the range of the collocation span was 1-1, i.e. allowing one word to the left, and one word to the right of the search word. The data was collected by the means of two search strings. The first search strings aimed to extract information about the adjective *Muslim* and the nouns it most frequently collocated with it (raw frequency), while the other search string aimed to extract information about the noun *Muslim* and the adjectives it most frequently collocated with.

Search string one:

Word: MUSLIM_nn*
Collocation: _j*
Section of choice: 'newspapers'
Range: 1-1
Sorted after: Raw frequency

Search string two:

Word: MUSLIM_j*
Collocation: _nn*
Section of choice: 'newspapers'
Range: 1-1
Sorted after: Raw frequency

3.4. Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis

Table 2: The dispersion of the adjective *Muslim* and the noun *Muslim* in the British and American press

Adjective vs. noun	The British Press	The American Press
The adjective *Muslim*	70%	61.8%
The noun *Muslim*	30%	38.2%

Source: Baker *et al.* (2012, 260) and http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

The method used in this study, is similar to the method used by Baker *et al.* (2012). As mentioned in section 2.7.1., Baker's quantitative analysis found that the word *Muslim* was used in its adjectival form 70% of the time in the British press, and collocated most frequently with nouns. Their quantitative analysis was therefore only concerned with nouns that collocated with the adjective *Muslim* (2012, 260). In the American press, as shown in Table 2, 61.8% of the instances were used as an adjective – and is clearly the most used alternative. However, I believe that the nominal from of *Muslim* is substantial enough to be included with its 38.2%, which, not surprisingly, collocated mostly with adjectives. I will therefore include an analysis of both the adjective *Muslim* followed by noun collocates (chapter 4), and the noun *Muslim* preceded by adjective collocates (chapter 5). The analysis of adjective *Muslim* will be structured along the lines of Baker *et al.* (2012). The quantitative part of my analysis seeks to look at frequency lists and collocations, while the qualitative part includes a thematic analysis and a more detailed analysis of the two-word *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* (section 4.2). I will also examine the two-word clusters *Muslim woman* and *Muslim men* (section 4.3).

To conduct a thematic analysis like that of Baker *et al.* (2012), the noun collocates will be sorted into the same six thematic categories used by Baker *et al.* (2012). Table 3 is from Baker's article and gives an overview of the categories and sub-categories, as well as examples of noun collocates.

Table 3. 'Categorized noun collocates of adjective *Muslim*',

Categories and sub-categories (when applicable)	Examples of noun collocates
Conflict	*extremist, fanatic, terrorist, fundamentalist*
Religion	*cleric, faith, festival, preacher*
Culture	
Social practices	*dress, culture, name, tradition*
Education	*school, teaching, education, college*
View/attitude/emotion	*opinion, anger, voice, attitude, grievance*
Ethnic/national entity	
Population	*community, population, nation, world*
Area/country	*country, state, area, region, land*
Governance	*leader, voter, MP, government, ruler*
Characterizing/differentiating attributes	
Age/sex	*woman, man, girl, youth, child, teenager*
Family/relationship	*family, parent, brother, friend, wife*
Occupation/role	*officer, patient, doctor, worker, assistant*
Ethnicity/race/nationality	*Briton, Albanian, Malay, Arab*
Other	*house, shop*
Group/organization	*group, organization, association, charity*

Source: Baker *et al.* (2012, 262)

The qualitative analysis of the two-word clusters *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* (section 4.2) also resemble that of Baker *et al.* (2012). They looked at a sample of 100 concordances of the two most common word clusters used by the British press, *Muslim world* and *Muslim community,* and found that *Muslim community* was used by the UK press to refer to British Muslims in general (269-270), while *Muslim world* was used to refer to all Muslims across the world, as well as 'Muslim' countries (272). Baker *et al.* (2012) concluded that Muslims were

> …frequently characterized as distinct, reasonable homogeneous entities that are quick to take offence, in tension to the UK or 'the West', rather than integrated, contain dangerous radical elements and are threatened by a backlash. (Baker *et al* 2012, 275)

In the American Press, *Muslim Brotherhood,* is by far the most common two-word cluster of the adjective *Muslim* + noun, followed by *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* (see Table 3 in chapter 3)*.* I will discuss the use of *Muslim brotherhood* in section 4.1, but conduct a similar concordance analysis of *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* to that of Baker *et al.* (2012) in section 4.2. The concordance analysis of *Muslim women* and *Muslim men* (section 4.3) will follow a similar structure as the one used for *Muslim world* and *Muslim community.*

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the noun *Muslim* is also inspired by Baker *et al.* (2012). The quantitative analysis seeks to look at frequency lists and collocations, while the qualitative part consists of a thematic analysis of the following four categories: ethnicity and nationality, conflict, religion, and neutral or positive adjectives (5.1). I will also conduct a concordance analysis of the two-word clusters *young Muslim/s* and *good Muslim/s* (5.2.4.) based on the expanded context.

Chapter Four: The Adjective *Muslim,* Analysis and Findings

As previously mentioned in section 3.3., it is the adjectival form of *Muslim* that is used most frequently by the American press. *Muslim* was used as an adjective in 61.8% of the instances, compared to the nominal form that was used in 38.2% of the instances. In section 4.1, I will look at the nouns that collocate with the adjectival form of *Muslim.* The section will include a thematic categorization of the nouns that occur immediately to the right of the search string MUSLIM_j*, followed by a more detailed discussion of the two-word pairs *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* (section 4.2)*, and *Muslim men* and *Muslim women* (section 4.3).

4.1. Thematic Categorization and Analysis

In COCA, the adjective *Muslim*[8] modifies 747[9] different nouns (types) in 3646[10] instances (tokens). The thematic categorization will, however, be based on the top 100 types (collocates) accounting for 2530 tokens. The top 100 collocates of adjective *Muslim* were sorted into the same six thematic categories that were used by Baker *et al.* (2012); see sections 2.7.1. and 3.4. The reason why a sample of the top 100 collocates will be used is mainly due to two things: the limited size of the study, and that the top 100 types account for as many as 70% of all the tokens that combine with the adjectival form of *Muslim.*

Baker *et al.* (2012) operate with six different categories: *conflict, religion, culture, ethnic and national entity, characterizing and differentiating attributes,* and *groups and organizations* (see Table 3 in section 3.4.). The purpose of this thematic categorization is to see whether or not certain categories are over- or under represented and if there are certain contexts and patterns that the American press uses in their representation of Muslims.

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[8] When referring to *Muslim,* I am also including the alternative spelling *Moslem.*
[9] *Muslim* modifies 735 different nouns, while *Moslem* modifies another 12 unique nouns. In total, there are 747 unique nouns in COCA.
[10] *Muslim* (3566) and *Moslem* (80) modifies 748 unique nouns in 3646 tokens.
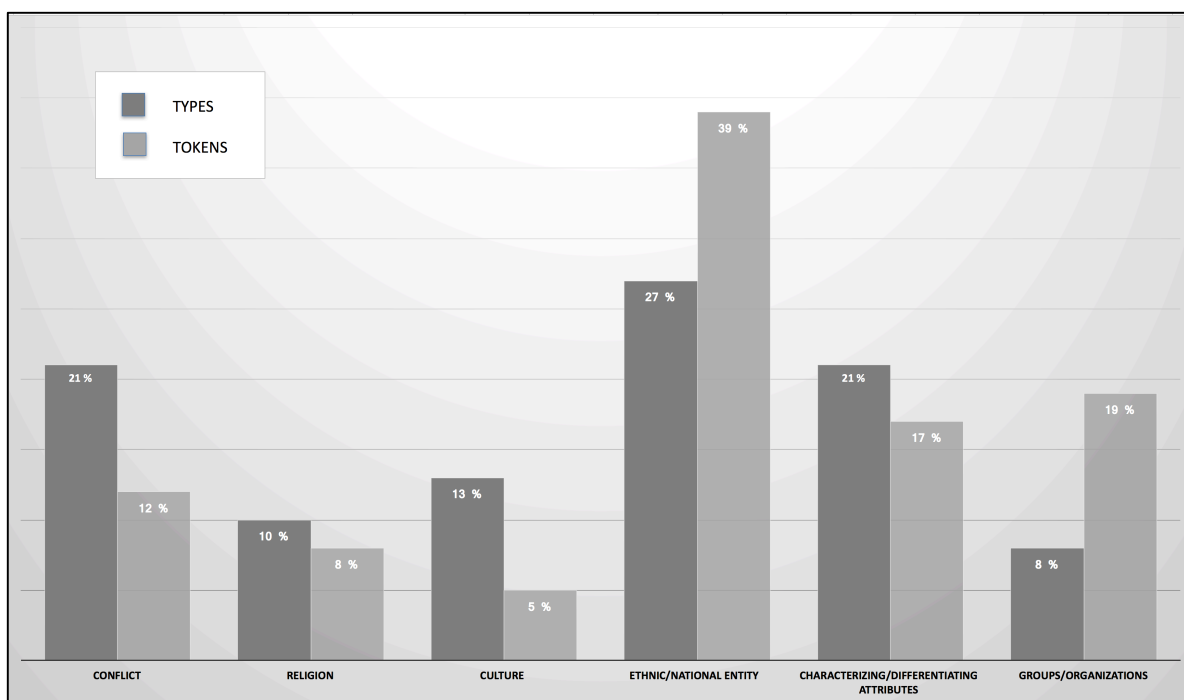
Figure 7. Frequency distribution of types and tokens in American newspapers
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

Table 4 gives a snapshot of my data and includes a breakdown of the top 50 noun collocates across four five-year periods and one six-year period, as well as an overview of the different thematic categories used, and the number of tokens in each category, and sub-category. The ten-year period from 1990-1999 that consists of 40,882,575 words, and the eleven-year period from 2005-2015 that consists of 44,787,268, are highlighted in Table 4 because they will be used to illustrate the diachronic development of the different categories. The reason why I have chosen to combine time-periods is related to feasibility. By combining time-periods, I can work with bigger numbers, which makes it possible to use percentage rather than instances. In other words, it makes it easier to read and understand the data presented in relation to the diachronic development of the different categories.[11] In the same Table, I have also included a snapshot of my data for the diachronic development of the different categories where I use the combined time-periods just mentioned. I will refer to Table 4, and Figure 7 several times in my discussion of the different categories in the thematic analysis. The full overview of the top 100 collocates is given in appendix 1.

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[11] The time-period from *2000-2004* is marked with italics in Table 4. They are not directly relevant for the analysis, but important for the sake of replicability and are therefore included in the Table. There are no references to this time-period in the diachronic comparisons.

Table 4. Classification of data for the thematic analysis of the adjective *Muslim* + noun

Nr	Word	Total (News)	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010-2015
1	BROTHERHOOD	330	6	10	24	49	241
2	WORLD	194	17	5	70	65	37
3	COMMUNITY	116	5	13	23	35	40
4	COUNTRIES	104	20	10	31	24	19
5	WOMEN	86	13	11	20	14	28
6	LEADERS	73	13	10	15	22	13
7	SUNNI	67	6	5	23	22	13
8	COUNTRY	62	6	9	14	22	11
9	POPULATION	62	12	6	15	11	18
10	MEN	56	6	13	13	18	6
11	NATIONS	46	5	4	25	9	3
12	GROUPS	44	3	5	11	20	5
13	CLERIC	43	8	6	15	6	8
14	NATION	42	5	4	6	20	7
15	MAJORITY	40	4	6	12	7	11
16	EXTREMISTS	38	8	5	13	5	7
17	MILITANTS	37	8	19	5	2	3
18	SCHOLARS	37	3	9	16	9	
19	CLERICS	32	5	3	10	7	7
20	COMMUNITIES	30	2	3	4	10	11
21	FAITH	29	7	4	6	4	8
22	FUNDAMENTALISTS	29	17	3	5	4	
23	MINORITY	28	3	6	3	6	10
24	WOMAN	26	3	3	6	5	9
25	LEADER	26	8	9	5	3	1
26	ENCLAVE	23	17	3	1	1	
27	PERCENT	23	9	2	8	3	1
28	GROUP	21	3	5	6	6	1
29	IMMIGRANTS	21	3		6	6	6
30	REFUGEES	21	9	10	1	1	
31	YOUTH	20	4	1	12	2	1
32	STUDENT	19	1		4	2	12
33	MAN	18	2	3	4	5	4
34	ORGANIZATIONS	18	1	3	3	5	6
35	POPULATIONS	18	2	2	2	7	5
36	BROTHERS	17	3		8	2	4
37	SOCIETIES	17	2		1	6	8
38	STATE	17	1	2	7	4	3
39	STATES	17	4	1	1	8	3
40	STUDENTS	17	1		7	6	3
41	HOLIDAY	16		1	3	5	7
42	FAMILIES	16	3	3	3	1	8
43	ORGANIZATION	16	2	5	6	2	1
44	AMERICANS	15	2	3	3	2	8
45	NEIGHBORS	15	2	3	9	2	
46	MOVEMENT	14	5	1	4	2	2
47	PEOPLE	14	5	3	1	4	1
48	RELIGION	14	5	2	2	4	1
49	CITY	13	7	3	2	1	
50	FAMILY	13	1	1	4	3	4

Thematic Categorization

Thematic Categorization		Tokens
1	Conflict	307
2	Religion	199
3	Culture	131
	Social Practices	49
	Education	73
	View/Attitude/Emotion	10
4	Ethnic/national identity	1021
	Population	522
	Area and Country	352
	Governance	154
5	Characterizing/differentiating attributes	443
	Age/sex	229 (Women: 112; Men: 91)
	Family/relationship	69
	Occupation/role	65
	Ethnicity/race/national identity	88
	Other	8
6	Groups/organizations	511

Diachronic development

Category	Period	Tokens	Percent
1 Conflict	1990-1999 (10 years)	149	49 %
	2005-2015 (11 years)	65	21 %
	2000-2004	93	30 %
2 Religion	1990-1999 (10 years)	53	29 %
	2005-2015 (11 years)	83	45 %
	2000-2004	49	26 %
3 Culture	1990-1999 (10 years)	21	16 %
	2005-2015 (11 years)	81	62 %
	2000-2004	29	22 %
4 Ethnic/national identity	1990-1999 (10 years)	294	29 %
	2005-2015 (11 years)	477	47 %
	2000-2004	250	24 %
5 Characterizing/differentiating attributes	1990-1999 (10 years)	122	30 %
	2005-2015 (11 years)	191	48 %
	2000-2004	88	22 %
6 Groups/organizations	1990-1999 (10 years)	60	12 %
	2005-2015 (11 years)	374	73 %
	2000-2004	77	15 %

*The Table collocates are listed according to raw frequency.

As for the discussion of the thematic analysis, the categories will be discussed separately, starting with *conflict,* which is the only category that has decreased in use over the last two decades, followed by the other five categories; *religion, culture, characterizing/differentiating attributes, ethnic and national identity,* and *groups and organizations.*

Conflict

The category 'conflict' includes noun collocates that are directly associated with war, terror, violence and conflict, independent of whether it is ideological (fundamentalist) or physical (terrorists). The collocates related to conflict are marked with yellow in Table 4, and words such as: *extremists, militants, fundamentalists, fighters, soldiers* and *terrorists*. As illustrated by Figure 7, 12% of the tokens in the top 100 noun collocates are related to conflict in American newspapers. The tokens are spread across as many as 21% of the different types, which makes the category lexically rich. In other words, the American press uses a range of different words and synonyms, to express different forms of conflict.

As regards the diachronic development of the use of the 'conflict' category, Table 4 shows that there has been a clear decrease in terms associated with 'conflict' from 1990 to 2015. The comparison of the combined time-periods, 1990-99 and 2005-15, illustrates this diachronic change more clearly. 21% of the tokens in the category 'conflict' were used in the eleven-year time-period from 2005-15,[12] compared to 49% of the tokens in the ten-year time-period from 1990-99. The change of vocabulary used by the American press, can be illustrated by two of the most frequent word-pairs; *Muslim militants* and *Muslim fundamentalist.* 73% of all the instances of *Muslim militants* were used in the nine-year time-period from 1990-99, compared to 13% in the ten-year time-period from 2005-15, and if one takes into consideration that the latter time-period includes an extra year of data, this change seems quite substantial. The same is true for the word-pair *Muslim fundamentalist* that decreased from 69% in the 1990's to 14% in 2005-2015.

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[12] The time-period from 2010-2015 consists of one extra year in comparison with the other time-periods. The reason why is related to the distribution of data in COCA.

The category 'conflict', is the only category that has decreased over the past decades. It might seem somewhat surprising that nouns associated with conflict is the smallest category in the thematic categorization, especially if you look at previous studies. This does, however, not mean that the press has stopped writing about conflict in relation to Muslims. On the contrary, conflict appears to be central in most instances, but is presented in new forms that rather address the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims. In other words, the press' more refined discourse intertwine 'conflict' into all categories, as will come to show throughout the analysis.

Religion

In the American press, 8% of the tokens and 10% of the types (Figure 7), are related to religious practices, aspects or beliefs. Nouns in this category include *cleric/s, holiday, religion, mosque,* and *convert/s*. The words might seem quite neutral in themselves, but they mainly appear in a negative context, and are often related to conflict.

> 4.1   *lack of evidence of any involvement <u>in terrorism</u>*. His lawsuit charged that he was singled out because of his **Muslim religion** and Middle Eastern appearance (CSM, 2009)[13]

The word *convert/s* seems to be 'new' as of 2000. 83% of the instances, in which *convert/s* is used, occur in the time-period from 2000-2015, while only 17% of the instances are used in the 1990's. The word most often appears in settings of conflict and negativity, and often with words such as *terrorism* and *fundamentalism*.

> 4.2   A **Muslim convert** whom the *FBI had previously targeted in a <u>terrorism</u>* investigation (WP, 2015)

> 4.3   In July, **Muslim convert** Andrew Ibrahim was sentenced to a minimum of *10 years in jail for <u>possession of a homemade suicide vest</u>* (CSM, 2009)

The more frequent use of *convert* might indicate that journalists are attempting to modify their lexical choices. In other words, it seems like *convert* has replaced *fundamentalist,* or is used to describe 'one of us' that is religiously alike a *fundamentalist,* or 'one of them'. In contrast to the category 'conflict', the number of tokens in this category has increased in use over the last three decades. Only 29% of the tokens were used in the time-period from 1990-

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[13] Examples from COCA are followed by and identifier, indicating which newspaper and year the example is taken from. See abbreviations for more information.

1999, compared to 45% from 2005-2015 (Table 4). Most of the other noun types in the category 'religion' are used in a similar way as the word *convert/s,* in that they often appear in a negative context. This increase might indicate that the press seeks to write more about how Muslim values, morals and religious practices differ from what is considered as 'normal' or accepted in the western societies.

Culture

'Culture' is the smallest category of the six, with only 5% of the collocates in 10% of the types (Figure 7). However, the category is not necessarily unimportant. Baker *et al.* (2012) described this category as a category for the noun collocates that follow this definition of 'culture':

> A fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behavior and each member's interpretations of the "meaning" of other people's behavior. (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 4 in Baker *et al* 2012, 263)

This category is divided into three sub-categories; see Table 4. The most frequent collocates in this category, are related to one of the most important institutions in a society – educational institutions. The category 'culture', includes words such as *scholar/s, student* and *schools.* An interesting finding is related to the use of the collocates *scholar/s* and *student/s.* While *scholar/s* often refers to a spokesperson with a 'legitimizing' function that is concerned with some aspect of either the religion, or practitioners of Islam, *student/s* often occurs in a context related to some form of surveillance or 'investigation'.

4.4   *Nobody wants to be on the list of the <u>FBI or the NYPD</u> or whatever.* **Muslim students** want to
        have *their own lives, their own privacy and enjoy the same freedoms and opportunities* (AP, 2012)

The same is true for this category, as for 'religion'; the number of tokens used has increased significantly from 16% in 1990-1999, to 62% in 2005-2015 (Table 4).

Ethnic and national entity

'Ethnic and national entity' is by far the biggest category with 27% of the types and 39% of the tokens (Figure 7). The words in this category refer to Muslims as a collective group. The most used types are *community* and *world,* followed by *country, population* and *nation*. Like

the categories 'religion' and 'culture', the number of tokens used in this category has increased from 29% in the 1990's to 47% in the time-period 2005-2015 (Table 4). Since this category has two of the most frequently used combinations, *Muslim community* and *Muslim world*, I have chosen to look at a random sample of 100 concordances of each, and compare my findings in the American press, with that of Baker *et al* (2012) in the British press. This will be addressed more extensively in section 4.2.

Characterizing and differentiating attributes

'Characterizing and differentiating attributes' is closely connected to the previous categories, but is concerned with word types that describe gender, family, occupation, ethnicity and so on; see Table 4 for a detailed overview. This category accounts for 17% of the tokens and 21% of the types, which makes it one of the largest categories. Like most of the other categories, *characterizing/differentiating attributes* has also increased in terms of use. The use of the tokens in this category has increased from 30% in 1990-99, compared to 48% in 2005-15. There are several sub-categories in this category, but there are only three that are directly relevant to the findings in COCA; age and sex, family and relationship, and ethnicity, race and nationality. The most used word types are the ones that refer to gender; *women* and *men,* and the ones that refer to ethnicity, race and nationality; *Arab* and *American.* These collocates often appear in contexts that differentiate between 'them' and 'us', or non-Muslims from Muslims

> 4.5 a pilot program centered *on preventing young* **Muslim Americans** from *being radicalized* (UT, 2015)

> 4.6 **Arab Americans** and **Muslim Americans** need to see the *police as protectors, not persecutors* (WP. 2007)

The collocates *women* and *men* will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.3.

Groups and organizations

This category is the smallest in terms of types (8%), but it contains as many as 19% of the tokens (Table 4). The category includes word types such as *brotherhood, group/s, majority, minority* and *organization/s.* The most frequent and interesting collocate is *brotherhood*. The reason for this, as illustrated by Table 5, is due to the increased use of the word. *Brotherhood* appears in no more than 2% of the tokens in 1990-1994, and increase dramatically from 15% in the time-period from 2005-2009 to 73% in the time-period 2010-2015.

Table 5. Frequency distribution of the collocate *brotherhood*

Brotherhood	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010-2015
Tokens	6	10	24	49	241
Percent	2 %	3 %	7 %	15 %	73 %

Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

The word-pair *Muslim brotherhood* refers to a controversial organization that was proclaimed a terrorist organization by several countries in 2015,[14] which explains the high number of tokens. Not surprisingly, the immediate context revealed that the word usually appears in a highly negative environment. The word *brotherhood* has affected the entire category, and a staggering 73% of the tokens in this category were used in 2005-15, compared to 2% 1990-94. On another note, there are several words in other categories, such as the collocate *Sunni* in 'Characterizing/differentiating attributes' and *scholars* in 'culture' that often refer to different groups or organizations.

4.2. *Muslim World* versus *Muslim Community*

As mentioned in section 4.1., *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* were the most frequent combinations of the adjective *Muslim+* noun in the category 'ethnic and national entity', and the second- and third most frequent combination overall, following *Muslim brotherhood.* In the study conducted by Baker *et al.* (2012), they looked at how *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* were used by the British press, by categorizing and analyzing a random sample of 100 concordances. To compare the American press with the British press, in terms of how those two sequences of words are used, I have applied the same method as Baker *et al.* (2012).

Figure 8 illustrates how the use of the word combinations *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* have changed over the last 25 years in the American press.

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[14] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood
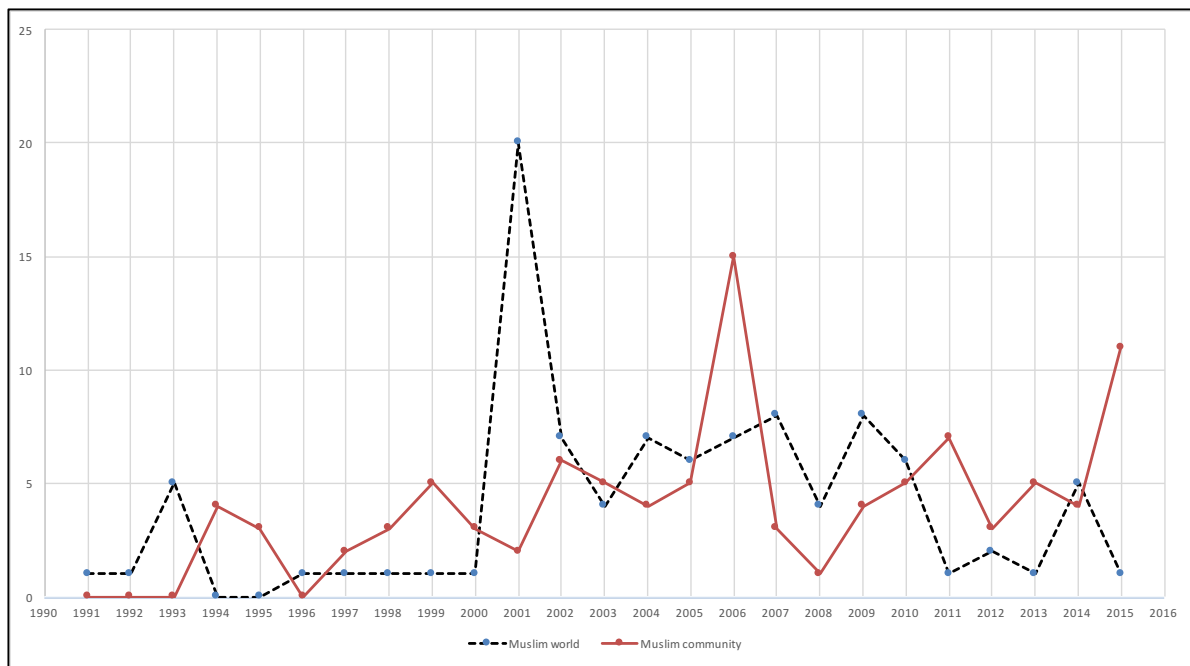
Figure 8. Change in frequency over time of *Muslim world* and *Muslim community*
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

As illustrated by the blue, stapled line in Figure 8, *Muslim world* was most frequently used in 2001, following the '9/11' attacks on the U.S. However, the use of the word combinations has gradually decreased in recent years and in 2011, 2013 and 2015 it was barely used at all. In stark contrast to the decreasing use of *Muslim world,* the use of *Muslim community,* illustrated by the red line in Figure 8, has fluctuated, but overall, gradually increased since 2001. Below, Figure 8 shows how the use of the word combinations has changed over periods of time. While the use of *Muslim world* has decreased by 17% in 2010-15, compared to its peak in 2000-04, *Muslim community* has increased by 15% in the same time-periods.

The question is, why? *Baker et al.* investigated a shorter time-period from 1998 to 2009, and hypothesized that the British press would be more concerned with the *Muslim world* following the '9/11' attacks, and the *Muslim community* after the 2005 attacks in London (2012, 268). In other words, an attack by an Islamic terrorist organization such as Al-Qaeda, seems to be associated with the *Muslim world* due to the fact that the attackers were not British, while a terror attack committed by a Muslim who lives in the West, as the British-born Pakistani immigrants who attacked Britain in 2005, is associated with the *Muslim communities in the West.* Their hypothesis appears to explain the context of the changes, in

the American press as well as the British press. It does not, however, explain why the use of *Muslim world* has decreased, while the use of *Muslim community* has increased.
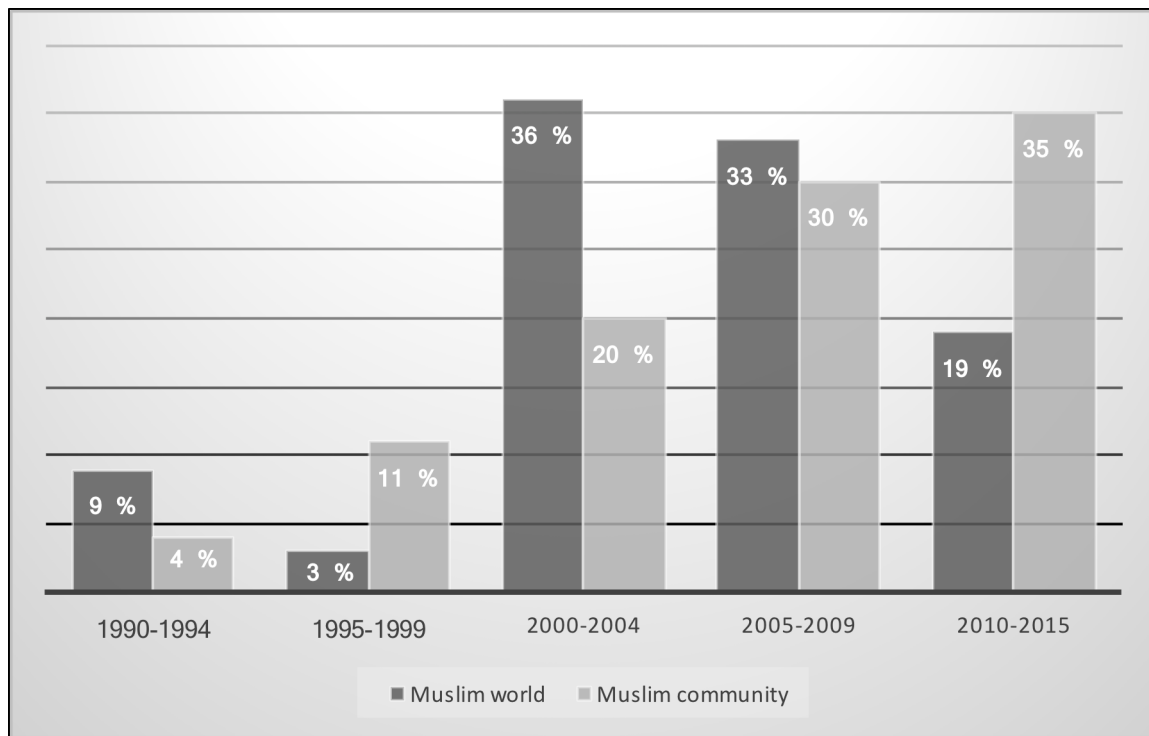
Figure 9. *Muslim world* vs. *Muslim community*: how the term has been used over time
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

4.2.1. *Muslim World*

As previously mentioned, the use of *Muslim world* has decreased over the last few years, but it is still used frequently. In this section, I will look at how the combination *Muslim world* in more detail. Baker *et al.* (2012) argue that the term *Muslim world* implies that 'their' world is different from 'our' world, the West, and that the use of the word *world* creates a notion of a 'world' consisting of identical individuals and groups that are unmistakably different from the 'world' of non-Muslims. They also claim that the term is used to "refer to all Muslims across the world, particularity countries that have significant populations of Muslims" (2012, 272)

In the sample of 100 instances of *Muslim world* form COCA, the American press seems to use *Muslim world* to refer to the geographical area called the Middle East, or the "Arab world" (Arab-speaking countries), and has little to do with other 'Muslim' countries. In

addition, specific countries are often singled out in the immediate or expanded context.[15]
Figure 10 shows the countries that are mentioned as belonging to the *Muslim world* in the
immediate context. It seems as if countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan are the outward
representatives of the Muslim world, and that countries important to, or involved with, the
US are included as representatives of the Muslim world. Afghanistan is, perhaps
unsurprisingly, the most frequently occurring country and was mentioned in the immediate
context in 35 of the 100 concordances (example 4.7-4.8).

4.7   *we're not going to win lasting support* in <u>Afghanistan</u> or the rest of the **Muslim world** unless we also offer hope of something better than the status quo (SFC, 2001)

4.8   In five years, the *Taliban has put* <u>Afghanistan</u> *on the map* of the **Muslim world** as a bold experiment in *"pure" fundamentalist rule* (NYT, 2001)
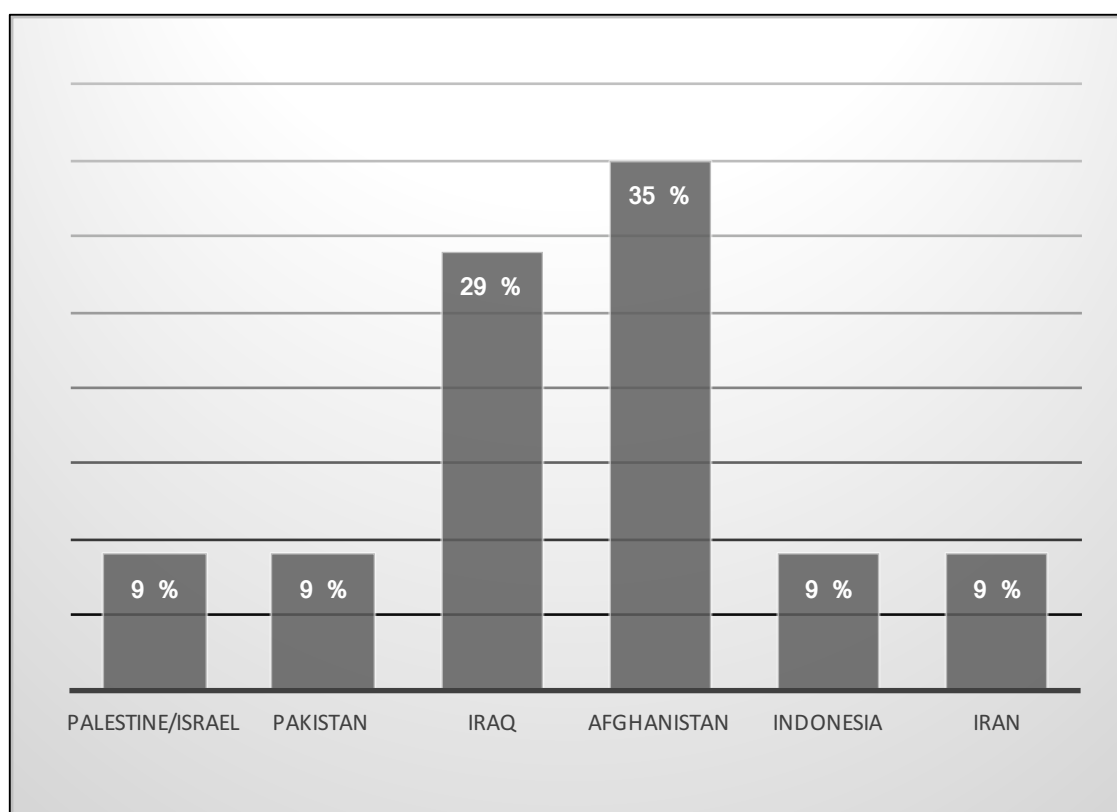
Figure 10. Countries belonging to the *Muslim world* according to the American press
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

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[15] By the 'immediate context', I am referring to KWIC concordances, which in COCA consists of 170-180 signs. Expanded context' refers to a feature in COCA that offers more context. Expanded context is described in detail in section 3.2.3.

Furthermore, 'the West' was mentioned in 42 of the 100 concordances, as illustrated by example 4.9. However, if you include the wider context, all but 9 referred to 'the West', either as the enemy, contrast or, in a few cases, as an allied against terrorists or terror organizations (example 4.10-4.11).

4.9   in a long *campaign against the <u>West</u>* and the "apostate" rulers of the **Muslim world** (NYT, 2004)

4.10   *going to <u>war</u> in league with <u>President Bush</u> in his <u>"crusade"</u>* against the **Muslim world.** He labeled <u>*Blair and Bush*</u> *"*wolves" for attacking Iraq (CSM, 2003)

4.11   <u>*United States and its allies*</u> have balked at *engaging in another armed conflict in the* **Muslim world** that would be far riskier than NATO's intervention in Libya (NYT, 2012)

Different synonyms of 'America' appeared 56 times in the immediate context of *Muslim world* through words such as: *the U.S., USA, United States, the States, America, we, President Bush, President/Mr. Obama* and *the White House,* while synonyms of 'the West' was used in 35 concordances and included words such as: *West, Western, Scandinavia, Britain, UN, EU* and *European countries.*

 In other words, the fact that 91% of the instances of *Muslim world* include a reference to the 'non-Muslim' world, clearly shows that the combination *Muslim world* is used to describe a religious world different from the 'western world'. In order to check if the American press refers to other religious or secular worlds, I searched the news section in COCA with the search string: the _j* world.

Table 6. Muslim world compared to other religious 'worlds' (COCA, top 100 of *the _j* world*)

Nr.	Phrase	Total	1990-94	1995-99	2000-04	2005-09	2010-15
1	The real world	687	<u>142</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>153</u>	<u>117</u>	<u>133</u>
2	The Arab world	527	125	24	**158**	77	143
7	The Muslim world	176	15	5	**63**	59	34
11	The Western world	124	**36**	22	28	21	17
13	The Islamic world	117	18	5	**51**	26	17
43	The Christian world	15	3	3	3	**5**	1
83	The Jewish world	8	1	2		2	**3**

Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

As illustraded by Table 6, the American press refers most frequently to the *real world,* followed by the *Arab world,* the religious *Muslim world* (rank. 7) and the non-religious

Western world (rank. 11)*.* The 13th most frequently used 'world' is the *Islamic world* and there are no mentions of another religious worlds before number 43, the *Christian world* and number 84, the *Jewish world.* In other words, the geographically located *Arab world* is the second most frequently used 'world' with 527 tokens in total and it was used most, perhaps not surprisingly, in time-period 2000-04. The *Arab world,* the *Islamic world,* and *Muslim world* appear as religious worlds far away from 'our' world, or the West. In other words, the frequent use of disctictions such as *the Muslim world,* create a divide between 'them' and 'us'.

To illustrate the use of the notion *Muslim world,* a couple of examples have been listed below. In these examples, the Muslim world is described as something 'the West' is struggling to contain, something that is sensitive, and easily offended. However, the use of terms such as *prevent a wider rift, damage U.S. outreach* and *damage our relations* clearly shows that America needs to stay on good terms with the Muslim world.

4.12   in ways that *damage U.S. outreach* to the **Muslim world** or *provoke an overreaction* that divides (WP, 2009)

4.13   avoided to *prevent a wider rift* between the **Muslim world** and the *United States* (AP, 2003)

4.14   would be *profoundly offensive* to the **Muslim world** and, therefore, would *damage our relations* (SFC, 2002)

4.15   it is the goal of *al Qaeda* to unite the **Muslim world** *against the United States*, if *President Bush* (SFC, 2002)

To summarize, *Muslim world,* seems to refer to a religious world, a different world and a distant world, that is approaching 'our' world, which might be the reason why the use of the combination is decreasing – the *Muslim world* is no longer a distant world, but rather a part of the world we live in, i.e. the Western world.

4.2.2. *Muslim Community*

As previously mentioned and as illustrated by Figures 9 and 10, the use of *Muslim community* has increased gradually over the last 25 years, and peaked in 2006 and 2015. Baker *et al.* found that the British press generally used the term *Muslim community* to refer to British Muslims, whilst the context described the community as separate from the rest of Britain and potentially easy to offend (2012, 269-272).

In order to compare the American press with the British press, I categorized, like Baker *et al.*, a random sample of 100 concordances of *Muslim community* according to what, or whom, the term referred to. Baker *et al.* (2012) found that 95 of 100 concordances referred to Muslims in Britain,[16] while the remaining 5 concordances referred to non-British Muslim communities. However, based on the sample taken from COCA, the American press seems to use the term with greater variation than the British press. The sample showed that only 58 of the concordances referred to Muslims in America, while as many as 42 referred to non-American Muslim communities. The non-American Muslim communities most frequently referred to were Muslim communities in the world (20), more specifically *Iraq, Indonesia, Tukey* and *Nigeria*, followed by Muslim communities in European countries (18), and especially in *France, Britain* and *Germany*. The following three examples illustrate how the term *Muslim community* is used either as a reference to: America (4.16), Europe (4.17) and the world (4.18).

4.16 Indeed, *America's* **Muslim community** <u>would wage the war on terror</u> differently (CSM, 2006)

4.17 Furthermore, as *Germany's* **Muslim community** continues to grow, <u>the question of religious freedom</u> will become more pressing (NYT, 2015)

4.18 and <u>warned of further attacks</u> on *Pakistan's minority Shiite* **Muslim community** (AP, 1998)

In other words, the term *Muslim community* is used differently by the American press and the British press. While the British press use the notion to refer to British Muslims, the American press seems to use it to describe cases where the Muslim community is the minority, as illustrated by the examples above. Another interesting difference is related to the use of the definite article *the.* Baker *et al.* (2012, 2013) found that *the* preceded *Muslim community* in 67% of the instances, and suggest that the use of the definite article is related to the fact that the British press refer to Muslim communities as a single, homogenous mass (2013, 124). In the American press, the number is markedly lower, and is only used in 43% of the instances, which might indicate that there are less references to Muslim communities as a homogenous mass. The rest of the concordances are either preceded by words that refer to ethnicity, nationality or religious identity of a Muslim community (27%), or to words that refer to the size or the status of a Muslim community (22%). Frequent words that refer to ethnicity, nationality or religious identity range from *American, Britain's, German's* and *black,* to

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[16] Baker *et al.* had three categories, where two referred to Muslims in Britain ("to all Muslims living in the UK" or "to all the Muslims in a particular town or city"), and the last referred to Muslims globally (2012, 269)

Sunni and *Shiite* and are illustrated in the first example below (4.19). Words that refer to size or status are illustrated by the second example (4.20) below, and consist of the following words: *tiny, growing* and *largest conservative, immigrant* and *suspicious.*

> 4.19 was seeing the *way women were treated by the men in the (Black)* **Muslim community** in St. Louis (HC, 2011)

> 4.20 The example he uses of the <u>Pakistani immigrant</u> **Muslim community** in Houston is unfortunate since *Pakistan is currently engaged in crimes of intolerance* (WP, 1999)

Baker *et al.* (2012) also argue that there are two distinct prosodies[17] associated with the use of the term *Muslim community* in the British press; the first being that Muslim communities are described as separate from the rest of Britain, and secondly that they potentially are easy to offend (2012, 271-272). This does not seem to be the case in the American press, but they do share some common contexts related to issues such as integration, alienation and extremism, as well as aggression aimed at Muslim communities. The examples below describe actions that can create, or breed, extremism and resemble warnings. These examples are not unique, and many of the concordances used in this section show a similar tendency.

> 4.21 *the* <u>resentments that can breed extremism</u> *do not seem very evident* in the **Muslim community**. Since <u>9/11</u>, however, *concern is rising among Muslim-Americans* (CSM, 2009)

> 4.22 *groups are poking around for signs of nonexistent extremism.* <u>*A suspicious*</u> **Muslim community** could be *a boon to* <u>extremists</u> who, *armed with the Internet* (CSM, 2006)

Though the American press do not seem to share the same distinct prosodies as the British press, it appears that they have their own prosodies associated with the term *Muslim community.* As illustrated by the examples below, what appears to be the most distinct prosody associated with Muslim communities is their relationship to national security, legislative restrictions, and law enforcement in America. Of the 58 concordances that refer to Muslims in America, 23 mention this topic. *FBI* is frequently mentioned, as well as 9/11, however, the examples below derive from articles published several years after the terror attack. It seems like the general trend amongst the American press is to either criticize 'failed policies' or offer statements that resembles cautionary tales. The remaining 35 concordances that did not mention national security, rather reported on racism and discrimination, followed by gender inequality and the building of mosques.

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[17] Prosody, in this case, refers to semantic prosody, e.g. when specific words exhibit the tendency to reoccur with either a positive or negative association.

4.23 *9/11 let the FBI* know that some of its tactics were doing more harm than good in New York's **Muslim Community** (CSM, 2009)

4.24 There's no question the US **Muslim community** felt the brunt of the *FBI's counterterrorism and law-enforcement initiatives after 9/11*(CSM, 2006)

4.25 *The arrests* of the young men in December roiled the local **Muslim community** and left friends and family members in the United States scrambling for answers (CSM, 2010)

It should, however, be noted that the American press mention national security frequently when referring to different Muslim communities around the world, and especially to those in Europe. France, Germany and Britain, as illustrated by the examples below, are most often mentioned in relation to national security and express the same 'cautionary tales', but more in terms of 'let's not repeat their mistakes'. Again, supporting the notion about a strong 'American' prosody, where the term *Muslim community* is strongly associated with national security.

4.26 its own citizens, and that reflects the deep mistrust that many in Britain's **Muslim community** feel toward the nation's security services (WP, 2015)

4.27 counterproductive, making it harder to turn the British **Muslim community** into the security services eyes and ears (NYT, 2007)

4.2.3. Summary

To sum up, the analysis found that the American press uses the term *Muslim worlds* to refer to specific countries in the Middle East, or the 'Arab world'. Muslim countries that America has a conflicted relationship with, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, seem to function as the representative of the Muslim world. Other Muslim countries are rarely referred to. The British press, on the other hand, uses the term differently according to Baker *et al,* who argue that the term is used to "refer to all Muslims across the world, particularly countries that have significant populations of Muslims" (2012, 9). The British- and American press are, however similar in their descriptions of the *Muslim world* as a religious world, a different world and a distant world from 'our' own, the Western world. On another note, the use of the term has decreased by 17% over the last decade, and the reason seems to be related to where the 'threat' comes from. For several years, the press reported that 'the threat' was located in the Middle East, described and depicted through Osama bin Laden in an uninhabited mountain side in Pakistan, but now, after several terror attacks in Western countries, the threat has

moved closer to the Western world, which might explain the 15% increase in the use of *Muslim community.*

Baker *et al.* argued that the British press mainly used *Muslim community* to refer to Muslims in Britain. This is not the case for the American press, which has a more varied use, by describing Muslims in the world, in America and in the West. A common denominator is that they usually use the term in any situation where the Muslim community is the minority. Another difference is related to prosody. Baker *et al.* (2012) found that the two most distinct prosodies was related to Muslim communities to as separate from the rest of Britain, and to Muslim communities as potentially easy to offend. Though there were traces of these prosodies in the American press as well, they seem to have their own prosody related to that of national security, legislative restrictions and law enforcement.

What is made most clear in this detailed discussion of *Muslim world* and *Muslim community,* is how the press, the American and British alike, strongly differentiate between 'them' and 'us'.

4.3. *Muslim Women* versus *Muslim Men*

As mentioned in section 4.1., the most frequent collocates in the category 'characterizing and differentiating attributes' are *women* (86) and *woman* (26)*,* followed by *men* (56) and *man* (18)*.* In total, the singular and plural forms of *women* and *men*[18] account for 186 out of 229 tokens in the sub-category 'age and sex', which makes it the biggest sub-category in 'characterizing and differentiating attributes' (Table 7).

Muslim women are mentioned more frequently than *men,* and the discrepancy would be even larger if *girl* and *girls* under 'other' in 'age and sex' had been included in the analysis of 'women'. Nevertheless, *women, woman, men* and *man* account for 85% of the tokens in the sub-category 'age and sex'.

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[18] I will use <u>Muslim women/men</u> to refer to both the singular and plural form of *Muslim woman/man.* In the few cases where it is necessary to refer to either the singular or plural form, it will be stated explicitly whether or not I am referring to the singular or plural form.

Table 7. Distribution of tokens according to sub-categories in 'characterizing and differentiating attributes'

Characterizing and differentiating attributes				
Age/sex	58 %	Woman/Women:	Man/Men:	Other:
		48 %	37 %	17 %
Family/relationship	18 %			
Occupation/role	0 %			
Ethnicity/race/national identity	22 %			
Other	2 %			

Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

As illustrated by Figure 11, the use of the singular and plural forms of *woman* has gradually increased from 1990 to 2015, except from a dip in the time-period between 2005 and 2009. As for the singular and plural form of *man,* there was a gradual increase from 1990 to 2009, before the use decreased quite significantly in the time-period from 2010-2015. Yet, the time-period that stands out the most is 2005-2009, where there is a clear decline in references to Muslim women and a clear increase in the mentioning of Muslim men*,* and 2010-2015, where the opposite happens; a noticeable increase in references to Muslim women, and a drastic fall in references to Muslim men.

The question is why, and whether it is related to specific world events?
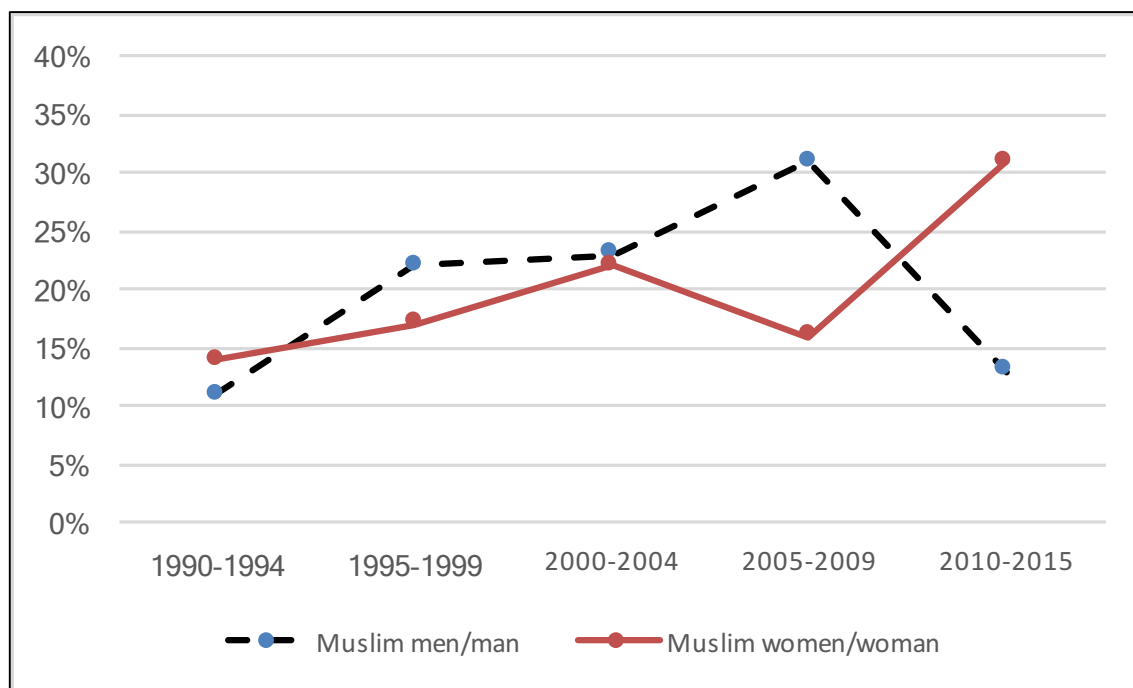
Figure 11. Change in frequency over time of *Muslim women* and *Muslim men*
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

4.3.1. *Muslim Women*

As we have seen, Muslim women have become a central element in the discussion concerning Islam in the West, and their use of veils have come to symbolize Muslims in the West (section 1.4.2). There are 112 tokens of *Muslim women* and *Muslim woman* in COCA, and as many as 87% of the occurrences in COCA are used in a negative context. Furthermore, as illustrated by Figure 11, references to Muslim women have increased by 17% from 1990 to 2015, which implies that the American press is writing more about Muslim women than ever before. In this section, I will conduct a concordance analysis and discuss the grammatical and semantic environment of the 112 tokens of *women* and *woman* in COCA. To do this, I will first investigate the immediate collocate on the left and right side of *Muslim women,* before including the rest of the context (KWIC), by carefully sorting all the concordances according to topic (e.g. veiling, gender inequality etc.), and investigate the most common grammatical and lexical words used by the American press to represent *Muslim women/woman.*

The purpose of this analysis is to see if the American press consistently refers to Muslim women in a specific context, as was found to be the case in the British press. In Baker, Gabrielatos, and McEnery's analysis of *Muslim women* (2013), they found that the collocates could predominantly be categorized in relation to: "the veil, freedom and oppression" (2013, 201), and identified the most frequent story as "the veil-wearing Muslim woman" (2013, 197).

4.3.1.1. The immediate collocates of *Muslim women* (1:1)

The immediate collocate on the left and right side of the word combination *Muslim women* reveal both general representations of Muslim women and reoccurring grammatical and semantic patterns.

1:0 – Collocates to the left of *Muslim women*

The preceding adjectives and verbs are the most revealing words in terms of how the American press represents *Muslim women.* However, the function words that precede *Muslim women* often reveal reoccurring patterns, as is the case for the preposition *of* (8), which follows the same pattern in all but one instances. The pattern occurs in a negative context,

and consists of a definite article + noun + preposition + *Muslim women,* as illustrated by the following examples: *the mistreatment of **Muslim women**, the backwardness of **Muslim woman**, the robes and veils required of **Muslim women***.

The adjectives that modify *Muslim women* are, on the other hand, diverse and rarely occur more than once each. The adjectives are used in sentences where the journalist points to a specific group of Muslim women, such as *helpless* or *devout Muslim women.* Only two adjectives appear more than once: *young* and *devout,* while the other adjectives, as illustrated by the examples below, are either negative: *helpless, battered,* related to religion: *heterodox, traditional, devout, veiled,* or related to ethnicity, nationality or race: *Iraqi, Bosnian* and *black.* As exemplified below, Muslim women have, over the last 25 years, been described as victims (4.28), as religious (4.29), and in terms of their nationality or ethnicity (4.30).

4.28   *Battered* **Muslim women** told of systematic Serbian rape (WP, 2015)

4.29   burqas are commonly viewed as appropriate dress for *devout* **Muslim women** (WP, 2005)

4.30   Gordon Parks's picture of the *Black* **Muslim women's** corps was posed for Life (NYT, 1994)

The use of verbs that precede *Muslim woman* are similar to the use of adjectives, and seem to be most frequently used to describe some form of abuse: *allowing, impregnate, force* (example 4.31).

4.31   she was raped by a priest as part of a national Christian strategy to impregnate **Muslim women** with "Christian" babies. (CMS, 2003)

0:1 – Collocates to the right of *Muslim women*

The words that follow the word combination *Muslim* women is mainly verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. Verbs and verb phrases follow *Muslim woman* in 43 of 112 instances. The verb and verb phrases that follow *Muslim woman* are quite varied, but seem to either refer to their current situation or state, through verb phrases such as: *are veiled, remain in bad marriages, are prohibited from marrying, feel suppressed, were being raped, appeared to be plotting a terrorist attack, arrested for refusing to take off her head scarf, sobbed as she recounted,* or discuss what Muslim women can or cannot do by using modal auxiliaries in verb phrases such as: *should no longer be allowed, should not play, can not marry, should do.* As illustrated in example 4.32, the verbs that are used to describe the 'current state' of Muslim women are predominantly negative, and depict Muslim women as victims of

violence, forced marriages and inequality. Example 4.33 illustrates how modal verbs are used to describe the 'unwritten laws and restrictions' of Muslim women.

4.32   ***Muslim women*** <u>*are prohibited*</u> *from marrying non-Muslims,* although Muslim men may marry non-Muslim women (AJC, 2001)

4.33   The local imam's declaration that devout ***Muslim women*** <u>*should not*</u> *play soccer. (CSM, 1999)*

Function words, such as the preposition *in* (10)*,* follows, similar to the preceding preposition *of,* a specific pattern. However, the preposition *in* is used to describe the whereabouts, or the location, of a specific group of Muslim women, as in the phrase *Muslim women in France.*

4.3.1.2. The wider context of *Muslim women* (concordance lines)

In this part of the analysis, I will look at the all the concordance lines, and not just the immediate collocate to the left and right of *Muslim women.* I will discuss the most predominant contexts, as well as the semantic environment in which *Muslim women* appear.

<u>Context: *Muslim women,* general or specific reference?</u>

Grammatical word classes, such as prepositions, articles and determiners, are easy to neglect next to lexical words of negative connotation such as *fundamentalist* or *niqab.* However, though grammatical, function words like *a, those* and *some* (example 4.29) specify to what extent *Muslim women* are used as a general reference to all Muslim women, or used with a specific reference to a group of Muslim women. Of the 112 instances of *Muslim women* in COCA, there are 26 cases of the singular form *Muslim woman,* in which all refer to specific individuals, and are specific references (e.g. the/a Muslim woman). Of the remaining 86 instances of the plural form *Muslim women,* 47 of the instances in COCA are specific references to a group of Muslim women (example 4.34), while 39 instances are general references to all Muslim women (example 4.35).

4.34   Many Muslims say they view *the law of secularism as anti-Muslim*, and <u>some</u> **Muslim women** in France *will wear a veil even if they are not particularly religious* (CSM, 2015)

4.35   Every day, **Muslim women** <u>are *veiled, unveiled, de-veiled, or re-veiled*</u>, and their positions in (CSM, 2011)

Though general references are used less than specific references, they do account for 35% of all references to Muslim women in COCA. According to Richardson, the use of general references are "…typical of racist discourse, in which the characteristics of a part are

incorrectly transferred to the whole" (2007, 170). In other words, as example 4.35 illustrates, a 'characteristic' of some Muslim women; the act of veiling or unveiling, is attributed to all Muslim women, or as example 4.32 illustrates; the belief of some conservative Muslims, is attributed to all Muslim women. Generalizations create stereotypes, and the American press seems to be contributing to the creation of the stereotypical Muslim women.

Context: *Muslim women* as victims

Of the 112 instances that mention *Muslim women* in COCA, 67 refer to veiling and will be discussed more thoroughly later in this section, however, the remaining 45 instances that did not refer to any form of veiling (examples 4.36-4.38), appear in a prevalent context and a distinct semantic environment. In 34 of the 45 instances, 76%, Muslim women are described as victims. They are most often described as victims of gender inequality (17 instances), violence or abuse (13 instances), and discrimination or racism (4 instances), which supports the general trends, especially concerning the verb phrases and adjectives, found in the analysis of the immediate collocate to the left and right of *Muslim women.* As illustrated by the examples below, the most common topics related to gender inequality is marriage and oppression (example 4.36), while the most common topics related to violence or abuse is domestic violence, rape and murder (examples 4.36 and 4.37).

> 4.36   a Muslim man can marry a Christian woman, but a **Muslim women** *can not marry outside the faith* (SFC, 1994)
>
> 4.37   about **Muslim women** suffering from *forced marriages and wife beating* (H, 2007)
>
> 4.38   *she was raped by a priest* as part of a national Christian strategy to impregnate **Muslim women** with "Christian" babies (CMS, 2003)

The rest of the instances unrelated to veiling, refers to integration (6 instances), terrorism (2 instances) and 'other' (3 instances). In other words, when Muslim women are described outside the context of veiling, they are most frequently described as victims.

Context: *Muslim women,* positive or negative?

Though most instances of *Muslim women* appeared in a negative context, there were also a few positive descriptions. In the cases where Muslim women are described positively, they often break with preconceived ideas and stereotypes, as illustrated in example 4.39, or are described as important in different social contexts (example 4.40). However, many of the positive descriptions also imply that the society, like the press, generally thinks of Muslim

women in a negative context. In example 4.39, Muslim women are, with 'surprise',
described as *strong*. In my opinion, this is a positive description, but the fact that it is
followed by *challenged my misconceptions,* indicates that the journalist does not normally
consider Muslim women to be 'strong'.

    4.39   Seeing the <u>strong</u> **Muslim women** in Turkey and Egypt really " challenged my misconceptions
           (H, 2002)

    4.40   it is the Muslim populations in the diaspora whom we must teach. **Muslim women** *in particular <u>have
           a central role to play in this dialogue</u>* (CSM, 2012)

Other frequently reoccurring words used to represent Muslim women are associated with
freedom or the lack of freedom, such as: *rights (17), ban* (10), *suppress* (5), *oppress* (4) *law*
(4), *require* (3), *free* (3), *liberation* (3), *allow* (3), and *freedom* (2), nationality and religion:
Islam/Islamic (16), *West/Western* (9)[19]. There are also several instances that refer to racism,
abuse and discrimination, but not necessarily through the use of reoccurring words.
Discrimination appeared three times*,* but most instances are like the example below, in other
words, described through specific incidents. Similar cases can be found in example 4.32,
4.38, 4.39 and 4.43.

    4.41 […] gangs of young whites came through the Park Estate *<u>yanking off</u>* **Muslim women**'s *<u>head scarfs</u>*.

In other words, in both the British and American press, *Muslim women,* seem to appear in
stories related to freedom and oppression.

<u>Context: *Muslim women* and veiling</u>

As previously mentioned, 67 of the 112 instances of *Muslim women* in COCA*,* which is
equivalent to 60%, included a reference to veiling. 'Veiling' refers to the act of covering with
a veil, and can refer to any head, face or body covering veil worn by a Muslim woman[20].
According to Brünig and Fleischmann, the West considers veiling to be "oppressive and in
conflict with liberal values of Western societies", and argues that this impression "has been

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[19] The words are from the concordance lines (KWIC) in COCA, and has been counted in excel. All forms of the
words are included. In order to avoid miscounts, the searches have been carefully overlooked. However, if a
word appears more than once in a concordance line, as the word *marry* in example 4.46 (*marry* x 2), it will be
included in the overall count, which is the reason why some words, such as those pertaining to veiling (72) are
higher in number than the number of concordance lines that pertain to veiling (67 tokens).

[20] Hijab translates to veil (e.g. veiling) and refers to any veil/fabric that covers the head, face or body of a
Muslim woman in order to uphold their modesty. Veiling has therefore become a generic term that can be used
to refer to the act of covering up and is commonly used by the press and academia.

supported by the media, which often portray the headscarf as a symbol of fundamentalism and patriarchal power" (2015,1).

In the 112 concordance lines in COCA, the American press refers to veiling with a variety of words, ranging from more specific terms such as *hijab, niqab, burqa, chadors, khimar* and *garb* (example 4.42, 4.44, 4.48)*,* to more general words such as *veil, cover, shawl* and *scarf* (example 4.39, 4.40, 4.43, 4.45, 4.46, 4.49)*.* They also use more rare expressions to describe different forms of Muslim veiling, such as *black cloth, gown, cloak, dress, garment, headgear* and *hoodie* (example 4.42, 4.46). The use of *hoodie* is perhaps the most unusual word to express veiling, and is used to exemplify a different and more modern way to dress modestly by covering one's hair by the means of a hoodie (example 4.46). In total, the American press used words related to the act of veiling (as mentioned above) 72 times in the immediate context of *Muslim women*. Of the 72 words, 39 are used as generic references to veils, such as *cover, veil, scarf* etc. while the remaining 36 words are used as references to specific types of veils such as *hijab, burqa, niqab, chador* etc. The references to specific types of veils are written with capital letters in the following examples. As illustrated by example 4.36, specific body parts are mentioned as many as 28 times in the 67 instances. The words used, range from *body* (8), *head* (7) and *face* (5), to less frequently mentioned body parts, such as *bosoms, fingers* and *forearms* (1)*.* The words only appeared in connection with veiling.

> 4.42   CHADORS cloaked the <u>*heads and bodies*</u> of the Muslim women in black cloth.
>   Black gloves <u>*covered their hands*</u> and black *veils masked* <u>*their* face</u> (CSM, 1993)

In contrast to the 45 instances of *Muslim women* that were discussed in the previous paragraphs, the 67 instances of *Muslim women* + 'veil' represents Muslim women differently. The most frequent topic in the instances that refer to veiling, are women's rights, and to what extent it is a conscious choice for a Muslim woman to use a veil.

To exemplify how the topic of women's rights, and to what extent it is a conscious choice for a Muslim woman to use a veil, I have included several examples (4.34, 4.43, 4.44, 4.46, 4.47, 4,48). However, in the process of reviewing my initial findings, I looked over all the concordance lines and the expanded context. Example 4.43 was one of several concordance lines that initially appeared to be one of the few positive descriptions of Muslim women.

However, as can be seen below, the expanded context[21] disclosed a different representation than the one initially perceived. The woman described, argues that she represents *the free, modern, Muslim woman.* The journalist, who seems to hold a different view, implies that the woman is 'confined' by her outfit, describing the sound of her voice as distant and *muffled by the thick black veil.* Though the journalist simply tries to imply the paradox of a veiled Muslim woman speaking about freedom, he or she seems to rather contribute to removing the free will, and the choice of a Muslim woman to decide over her own body. Examples 4.43 and 4.44 illustrate the topic and describe veiling in terms of women's rights and to what extent it is a conscious choice to use a veil.

> 4.43 "I represent the free, modern, **Muslim woman**! " yells Ms. Omary, a graduate student *whose entire body is enveloped in black*. Bur *her words are difficult to understand*. They sound as if they're coming from another room, *muffled by the thick black veil that covers her face, except her eyes* (CSM, 2000)

> 4.44 here are also many more *who do it by choice*. For these **Muslim women,** *the HIJAB is an act of liberation*. (DP, 2001)

The most frequent grammatical and semantic patterns in the immediate context of *Muslim women* are related to the act of removing or covering the hair of Muslim women. The most common words used to describe the veiling of Muslim women is the verb *to wear,* followed by the verb *to cover.* The verb *to wear* appears as many as 38 times in the immediate context of the 67 instances of veiled Muslim women, while the verb *to cover* appears 20 times[22]. Unveiling is also described several times through negation and expressions such as: *take off* (2), *yanking off* (1), *remove* (3). However, it should be noted that the American press seems to be more concerned with veiling than unveiling. As can be seen by the number of verbs used to express veiling and unveiling, there are numerous examples that could be used to illustrate this recurring pattern. The examples below, illustrate some of the most unambiguous cases of veiling and unveiling. However, this pattern is also to be found in example 4.41, 4.42 and 4.43.

> 4.45 a **Muslim woman** arrested for *refusing to take off her* head scarf at a courthouse security checkpoint (AP, 2008)

> 4.46 I just *wore a hoodie* and it was not obvious that I was a **Muslim woman** on the road," she said (P, 2013)

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[21] 'Expanded context' refers to a feature in COCA that offers more context. Expanded context is described in detail in section 3.2.3.
[22] See footnote 19

4.47   Other **Muslim women** say the Muslim _requirement that they completely cover their hair and entire bodies_ (SFP, 1994)

4.48   girls usually appear before the boards _wearing_ BURKHAS – the robes and veils required of **Muslim women** in this conservative community anytime they leave their homes (WP, 1994)

4.49   It's like saying **Muslim women** should no longer be allowed to wear BURKAS (AP, 2012) [23]

Summary

To sum up, the American press writes about _Muslim women_ more than ever before, and it does not seem as if the interest in Muslim women will die down anytime soon. 87% of the instances refer to _Muslim women_ in a negative context, and the press is most concerned with the veiling and unveiling of Muslim women, gender-inequality, violence and discrimination. Muslim women are also frequently described as victims, as well as a juxtaposition to the strong and free women in the West. There also seems to be an ongoing debate to what extent the individual religious freedom of a Muslim woman can undermine the cultural values of 'the West'. In other words, "the veil-wearing Muslim woman" seems to be just as dominant in the American press as the British press (Baker _et al_. 2013).

Finally, to answer the question asked at the end of section 4.3, the increase in references to _Muslim women_ does not seem to be related to specific world events. A few instances refer to the situation in Europe and the laws regarding veiling in France, however, these instances seem to be used to illuminate the ongoing conflict in the West regarding Western values related to women's rights and gender equality, religious freedom and veiling. In other words, it seems like the increase in the use of _Muslim women,_ similar to the increase of _Muslim community_, is related to how the American press is more concerned with Muslims that are geographically closer to the West than the 'Muslim world'.

4.3.2. _Muslim Men_

As illustrated by Figure 11, the use of _Muslim men_ has decreased by 18% over the last decade. In other words, the American press seems to have lost some of its interest in Muslim men. Similar to the previous section (4.3.1), I will discuss the semantic and grammatical environment of the 74 tokens of _men_ and _man_ in COCA. To do this, I will use the same method I used to analyze _Muslim women,_ i.e. conducting a concordance analysis to discuss

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[23] In example 4.43 and 4.44 _burka,_ is spelled differently. Different spelling of specific styles of veiling are quite common in the press, and I have attempted to include them all.

the grammatical and semantic environment of the immediate context of Muslim *men/man.*[24] The purpose of this analysis is to see if the American press refer to *Muslim men* in a specific context, as was found to be the case in the British press. In Baker *et al.*'s analysis of *Muslim men* (2013), they found that the collocates could predominantly be categorized in relation to: "law and order, radicalization and terror, and killing" (2013, 201), and identified the most frequent story as "the Muslim man at risk of radicalization" (2013, 197). I will also compare to what extent *Muslim men* and *Muslim women* are used in a similar way. It should be noted that 25 instances referred to the massacre in Bosnia, and these will first be discussed separately.

<u>The massacre in Bosnia</u>

The first finding that should be mentioned is related to the number of times *Muslim men* refers to the massacre in Bosnia. 25 instances refer to the genocide in Srebrenica (1995), where the victims were Muslim men and Muslim boys. The majority of the articles related to this incident are from 1995, which explains why there was a noticeable leap in the graph from 1990-1994 to 1995-1999 (Figure 11). The other articles that were published after 1995 and mentioned the genocide in Srebrenica were mainly reports of different memorial ceremonies. Since these 25 instances refer to a specific tragedy and world event, I decided to separate these from the remaining 49 instances. However, it should be noted that these 25 instances refer to *Muslim men* as victims of war, violence and ethnic cleansing.

4.3.2.1. The wider context of *Muslim men* (concordance lines)

The American press mentions *Muslim men* less frequently than *Muslim women,* but both word combinations appear predominantly in a negative context. *Muslim men* appear in a negative context in all but two instances, which is the equivalent of 97%. As seen in the analysis of *Muslim women,* the American press tends to be concerned with gender inequality and veiling. However, in their references to *Muslim women,* they use a variety of lexical items to describe injustice, violence, gender inequality and veiling. As for *Muslim men,* this does not seem to be the case. To the contrary, the most frequent words are *terror* and *woman*[25]. Whereas the instances of *terror* are related to the aftermath of terror attacks, in

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[24] Throughout this section, I will refer to both *Muslim men* and *Muslim man* when I refer to *Muslim men.* In the few cases where it is necessary to refer to either the singular or plural form, it will be made clear.
[25] See footnote 19

particular 9/11, the references to *women* are associated with issues related to gender inequality.

Context: *Muslim men*, gender inequality and marriage

Similar to the analysis of *Muslim women,* the analysis of *Muslim men* reveals that the American press seems to be most concerned with gender inequality. However, while *Muslim women* are represented as victims, or mentioned in terms of veiling by the American press, *Muslim men* are mostly mentioned as violators, or as the oppressive force in marriage. *Muslim women* are only mentioned in relation to marriage in 6 of 112 instances, which equals 5%. *Muslim men,* on the other hand, are mentioned in relation to marriage in 15 of 49 instances,[26] (31%). However, the total number of instances that refers to gender inequality of some kind is 23 (47% of the cases). In the immediate context of the 49 instances of *Muslim men*, the plural and singular forms of *women* were used 43 times, while *law/s* were mentioned 7 times and *right/s* 5 times*.* In other words, *women*, are by far the most frequent word used in relation to *Muslim men.* As illustrated by the examples below, Muslim men are mentioned as bound to discrimination through Islamic laws, and seem to be portrayed as actors of an immoral religion. While examples 4.50 and 4.51 describe discrimination through passages such as *Islamic laws are applied in discriminatory was that privilege the rights of Muslim men over women,* and *young women will never be married because all Muslim men want to marry virgins,* example 4.52, refers to *talaq*, which in Islamic law (based on interpretation of the Quran and Hadith) is the husband's right to divorce his wife by rejecting her three times.[27]

> 4.50 *Islamic <u>laws</u> are applied in discriminatory ways that privilege the <u>rights</u> of* **Muslim men** *over <u>women</u>.* A common bone of contention is *polygamous <u>marriages</u>* that can penalize *(CSM, 2010)*

> 4.51 He says the young <u>women</u> *never will be married because all* **Muslim men** *want to marry virgins*. He calls the rapes "a kiss of death" (UT, 1991)

> 4.52 If a *<u>woman</u> chooses <u>divorce</u>, it isn't easy*, even though **Muslim men** *are able to renounce their wives by saying " I <u>divorce</u> you" three times* (AJC, 2001)

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[26] The total number of occurrences are 74, but the 25 instances that referred to Bosnia has been taken out, which gives the number 49
[27] www.global.britiannica.com/topic/talaq

Context: *Muslim men*, FBI and terrorism

The other highly frequent topic is related to that of terrorism and national security. However, *Muslim men* are not necessarily just portrayed as the violators or terrorists in the 18 instances (37%) in which this topic appears, but also as the victims of a strict counterterrorism policy. In terms of frequently occurring words in the immediate context of *Muslim men,* the by far most recurrent word is *terror,*[28] which appears 37 times in the 49 instances. Other words that frequently appear, are those related to national security such as: *FBI, NYPD, police, arrest, arrest,* and *9/11*. It does, however, not seems like the American press uses the word combination *Muslim men* to refer to terrorists, but to refer to a group of people that might be associated with terrorism. The examples below illustrate how *Muslim men* are referred to both as victims (4.53, 4.54), terrorists (55) and as a demographic the police take extra interest in (53-56).

> 4.53   *accountable for harsh detention and interrogation methods* used against him and other **Muslim men** arrested in New York City in the days and weeks after the September 11 (CSM, 2009)
>
> 4.54   FBI *dragnet was a conspiracy to subject* **Muslim men** in the US to harsh conditions of confinement "as a matter of policy *solely on account of their religion, race, and/or national origin*" (CSM, 2008)
>
> 4.55   The news that *four British-born* **Muslim men** from neighborhoods around Leeds were suspected of carrying out the bombings in London (NYT, 2005)
>
> 4.56   *Student groups were of particular interest* to the NYPD because they *attract young* **Muslim men**, a *demographic that terrorist groups* frequently draw from. Police worried (AP, 2012)

Summary

Even though this analysis is based on a rather small sample, there are still clear trends with regard to lexical patterns and the representation of *Muslim men* in the American press. Compared with the British press, there are several similarities when it comes to the context of *Muslim men*: "law and order, radicalization and terror, and killing" (2013, 201), however, I would not say that the most frequent story in the American press is "the Muslim man at risk of radicalization" (2013, 197), but rather 'the Muslim man in conflict with Western culture'.

To answer the initial question asked in section 4.3., the decrease in references to *Muslim men* seems to be related to specific world events to a certain degree. The instances that referred to the massacre in Srebrenica, Bosnia, are good examples of how a world event created an increase in use of *Muslim men.* The same is, in many ways, true for the instances that refer to

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[28] See footnote 19

terrorism as well, as the articles often refer to 9/11 and/or the consequences of terrorism. However, in the instances where gender inequalities are discussed, the religion Islam, the 'Islamic laws', and the practitioners of the religion, Muslim men, are described as in conflict with Western culture.

4.4. Summary: The Adjective *Muslim*

The analysis of the adjective *Muslim* + noun found that all categories, with the exception of 'conflict'*,* have increased in use over the last twenty-five years. While conflict is still frequently written about, the main emphasis appears now to be placed on the 'conflicting' interests between Muslims and non-Muslims. The increase of the word *convert/s* used primarily in a negative context, in the category 'religion', is used to illustrate how the press have shifted their focus from *terrorists* and *fundamentalist* to the potential danger of *converts.* In other words, the focus has shifted from outward to inward; converts in the U.S. are of greater interest to the American press than the fundamentalists in the Middle East. The same was found in the more detailed analysis of the word combinations *Muslim world* and *Muslim community.* While the 'outward' focus on the *Muslim world* have decreased in use over the last few years, the 'inward' focus on the *Muslim communities* have increased. What became obvious in the analysis of *Muslim world* and *Muslim community* is how the word combinations refer to a geographical distance, as well as a cultural distance. It also became obvious that the American and British press alike strongly differentiate between 'them' and 'us'.

The analysis of *Muslim women* and *Muslim men* supported this notion further, but also added another dimension of symbolism. As previously mentioned in section 1.4.2, one of the most dangerous aspects of journalism is 'personalization', or how the press use individuals as symbols of oppression, radicalism, terrorism etc. Both Muslim women, and Muslim men appear to have become symbols of a religion, culture and moral, different form 'ours'. In other words, they have become a symbol of 'them'. The analysis of *Muslim women* also support Byng's (2011) view of the press, and how it creates a common-sense understanding that women who veil themselves pose as "…a threat to the national identities of Western nations…" (2011, 117), and symbolizes failure of both assimilation and integration, consequently creating fear of terrorism performed by Muslims. Lastly, the concordance analysis of *Muslim women* and *Muslim men* show that the American press share several

characteristics with the British press, especially regarding the context in which the combinations are used. *Muslim women* appear frequently in contexts that refer to veiling, oppression and (the lack of) freedom, while *Muslim men* appear in contexts that refer to law and order, radicalization and terror, and killing.

Chapter Five: The Noun *Muslim,* Analysis and Findings

Compared to the adjectival form of *Muslim* + noun, the nominal form of *Muslim* preceded by an adjective is less frequently used by the American press.[29] However, the American press uses the nominal form of *Muslim* more frequently than the British press (38.2% compared to 30%), which, in my opinion, makes it interesting to analyze. In section 5.1., I will look at the adjectives that immediately precede the search string MUSLIM_nn*. The section will also include a simplified thematic categorization, as well as a more detailed discussion of the most frequently recurring collocates (section 5.2).

5.1. Thematic Categorization and Analysis

Inspired by Baker *et al.* (2012) and the thematic analysis of the adjectival form of *Muslim,* I decided to use a similar, but simplified version to categorize the adjectival collocates of the noun *Muslim.* I will operate with four different categories, *ethnicity and nationality, conflict, religion* and *positive and neutral* adjectives. The thematic categorization is based on the top 60 collocate types, rather than the top 100 collocates, due to the size of the corpus, and the fact that the top 60 types modify close to 85% of all the tokens that combine with the adjectival form of *Muslim.*[30]

The purpose of this thematic categorization is to see whether or not certain categories are over- or under represented and if there are certain semantic and grammatical patterns that the American press uses in their representation of Muslims. A snapshot of the categorization is included in Table 8. I have also included and highlighted the diachronic development from 1990-1999 to 2005-2015 in the four different categories. This is, as previously mentioned in section 4.1., related to the fact that I can work with bigger numbers across the two periods.

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[29] When referring to *Muslim,* I am also including the alternative spelling *Moslem* and the plural form of both.
[30] The analysis in chapter 4 is based on the top 100 noun collocates of the adjective *Muslim.* The analysis in chapter 5 is only based on the top 60 collocates. The reason is related to the difference in use (61.8% to 38.2%) and the size of the corpus.

Table 8. Classification of data for the thematic analysis of adjective + the noun *Muslim*

Nr	Word	Total	1990–1994	1995–1999	2000–2004	2005–2009	2010–2015
1	SHIITE	88	13	10	44	18	3
2	BOSNIAN	79	33	30	5	5	6
3	YOUNG	55	2	2	11	27	13
4	AMERICAN	41	6	6	6	14	9
5	BRITISH	36	5	2		25	3
6	OTHER	33	2	3	10	10	8
7	MODERATE	24		2	4	11	7
8	BLACK	23	13	2	3	3	2
9	FELLOW	19	1	3	4	3	8
10	GOOD	17	1		10	4	2
11	RADICAL	15	1		7	3	4
12	FRENCH	13			1		12
13	CONSERVATIVE	12	1		2	5	4
14	DEVOUT	13	1	1	4	3	4
15	LOCAL	12	3	3	2	3	1
16	MILITANT	11	1	1	9		
17	FUNDAMENTALIST	10	3	2	3	2	
18	OBSERVANT	9		2	2	2	3
19	EUROPEAN	8			3		5
20	ARAB	8	2			3	3
21	SLAVIC	7	5	1	1		
22	PALESTINIAN	6		3	2	1	
23	INDONESIAN	5		1		3	1
24	CHINESE	4			1	2	1
25	CAUCASIAN	4	4				
26	EXTREMIST	4			1	2	1
27	DISAFFECTED	4				3	1
28	INDIAN	4		1		2	1
29	FOREIGN	4		1	2	1	
30	MAINSTREAM	4				3	1
31	LIBERAL	4		1		2	1
32	ONLY	4		1		1	2
33	PAKISTANI	4				4	
34	KASHMIRI	3		3			
35	FAITHFUL	3		1	1		1
36	IMMIGRANT	3		1		1	1
37	EDUCATED	3		1			2
38	ALBANIAN	3		2		1	
39	SUFI	3		1	2		
40	WESTERN	3			1		2
41	AFRICAN	2			1	1	
42	ASIAN	2		1	1		
43	ARMED	2		1		1	
44	ARABIC-SPEAKING	2				2	
45	AMERICAN-BORN	2				2	
46	CONVINCED	2	1		1		
47	FILIPINO	2		1	1		
48	HOMELESS	2	1				1
49	NORMAL	2	2				
50	PEACEFUL	2					2

Thematic categorization

Thematic categorization	Tokens	%
Ethnicity and nationality	274	43 %
Negative descriptions (related to conflict)	52	8 %
Religious descriptions	151	23 %
Positive or neutral	168	26 %

Diachronic development

Ethnicity and nationality	Tokens	%
1990-1999 (10 years)	124	45 %
2005-2015 (11 years)	119	44 %
2000-2004	31	11 %

Negative descriptions (related to conflict)	Tokens	%
1990-1999 (10 years)	11	21 %
2005-2015 (11 years)	20	39 %
2000-2004	21	44 %

Religious descriptions	Tokens	%
1990-1999 (10 years)	32	21 %
2005-2015 (11 years)	62	41 %
2000-2004	57	38 %

Positive or neutral	Tokens	%
1990-1999 (10 years)	27	16 %
2005-2015 (11 years)	99	59 %
2000-2004	42	25 %

*The collocates in Table 8 are listed according to raw frequency.

The categories will be discussed separately, starting with *ethnicity and nationality,* and is followed by three other categories; *conflict, religion* and *positive and neutral adjectives.*

5.1.1. Ethnicity and Nationality

'Ethnicity and nationality' is the biggest category, and includes 43% of the adjectives that collocate with the noun *Muslim.* The most frequently mentioned nationalities are all European or American: *Bosnian, American, British* and *French,* which accounted for 169 of the 274 tokens (Table 8), which is the equivalent of 62% of all adjectives in this category. However, from the manual analysis of these adjectives, it became clear that the use of *Bosnian Muslims* referred to the massacre in Srebrenica (1995), as was also the case in the analysis of *Muslim men* in section 4.3.1. The other three adjectives, *American, British* and *French,* seem to be used to describe and specify Muslim communities in the West, resembling the pattern of the word combination *Muslim community,* as discussed in section 4.2.2. The use of *American, British* and *French* has, as illustrated by Table 9, increased over the last 25 years.[31] While only 20% of the instances were used in the 1990s, as many as 70% of the instances were used in the time-period between 2005-2015, clearly indicating that the American press is more interested in Muslims who live in the West, compared to Muslims who live in predominantly Muslim countries.

Table 9. Distribution of tokens: *American, British, French*

Nationality: *American, British* and *French*		
Year	**Tokens (number)**	**Tokens (%)**
1990-1999	18	20 %
2005-2015	63	70 %
Rest	9	10 %

Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

To see how *American, British* and *French Muslims* are described by the American press, I investigated the contexts in which these word combinations appear, as well as including their lexical environment.

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[31] Table 9 only includes the tokens for the following adjectives: *American, British, French.*

A general feature concerning the use of the adjectives *American, British* and *French* combined with the noun *Muslim* is the recurring topic of integration, lack of integration or issues related to integration. In terms of *American Muslims*, the focus appears to be on issues related to immigration in America. However, the American press does not seem to be criticizing the Muslims in America, rather they seem to criticize social injustice, such as discrimination and racism, aimed at American Muslims. As illustrated by the examples below, the most frequent concerns are stigmatization and discrimination (5.1, 5.2 and 5.3), as well as issues related to integration (5.4).

> 5.1 who tries to pass himself off as an intellectual yet he demonizes all **American Muslims** in his contention that they should not be allowed to run for the presidency. (SL, 2015)[32]

> 5.2 the damages of the stereotypes because it can bring real-life consequences on **American Muslims** and their lives here (WP, 2005)

> 5.3 extra screening of travelers to some Muslim-majority countries means "almost every **American Muslim** who travels to see family or friends or goes on pilgrimage to Mecca will automatically (AJC, 2010)

> 5.4 difficult to track precise rates of conversion to Islam, about 20 percent of **American Muslims** are converts. Converts come from a variety of religious and cultural backgrounds (DP, 2013)

The most frequently used words in the immediate context of *American Muslims* are those pertaining to religion, as well as words that express fear or conflict. The words pertaining to religion includes *Mosques, Imams, Islam* and *Islamic,* while the words that express fear or conflict include *threat, trust, hate crimes* and *discrimination*. Islam and its practitioners, Muslims, are described as being misunderstood. The religion, or 'their' religion, seems to be considered both as different from the American, or 'our', religion, and as a problem that needs to be solved. In other words, the American press seems to be problematizing the values of the religion Islam, but maintains one of the most fundamental American principles: freedom of religion. As previously stated in section 4.1, these collocates have a tendency to appear in contexts that differentiate between 'them' (Muslims) and 'us' (non-Muslims). The use of the word combination *British Muslims* and *French Muslims* differs slightly from the use of *American Muslims*. While *American Muslims* is used in contexts related to the ongoing process of integration in America, the use of *British Muslims and French Muslims* appears to be used in contexts that resemble cautionary tales, or warnings about what might

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[32] Example 5.1 is from the early stages of the primary election in the U.S. in 2016. I will briefly touch upon this in chapter six, where I look at the development in the use of *Muslim* in 2016 and 2017.

happen if integration policies fail. In the examples below, failed integration policies are blamed for alienating *British Muslims* and causing animosity aimed at the West.

> 5.5 Who is to blame for the troubling flow of hundreds of young **British Muslims** into the ranks of an organization that has declared war on the West? (WP, 2015)

> 5.6 Research conducted by Britain's interior ministry has found many **British Muslims** believe the government exaggerates the risk of terrorist attacks to justify "aggressive domestic policies" (AP, 2011)

There are a few adjectives that refer to nationalities that are non-Western such as *Indonesian, Chinese, Indian, Turkish* and *Pakistani.*[33] However, they are rarely used, and in the few cases where they are, it seems as if they are primarily used to underline that the press is not referring to Arab-Muslims.

References to ethnicity appear to a lesser extent than nationality, but do account for 61 of the 271 tokens, i.e. 23% of all the tokens in the category 'ethnicity and nationality'. The collocates that refer to ethnicity range from *black* and *Caucasian* to *European, Arab, Slavic, Western, African* and *Asian.* However, the use of ethnic references has decreased drastically since the 1990s and such references are rarely used in the time-period from 2005-2015.

The analysis of 'ethnicity and nationality' is similar to the analysis of *Muslim world* (4.2.1) and *Muslim community (*4.2.2) in many respects. References to Muslims in the West are increasing, while references to Muslims in the world are decreasing, which clearly shows how the American press is more concerned with Muslims that are geographically closer to the West than the 'Muslim world'.

5.2.2. Conflict

'Conflict' is the smallest category and accounts for no more than 52 of 645 tokens, or 8% of the adjectives that collocate with the noun *Muslim* (Table 8). This category includes adjectives that are associated with different types of conflict, be it ideological (fundamentalist) or physical (militant). Examples of collocates in this category are *radical, militant, fundamentalist, extremist, armed, radicalized* and so on. In contrast to the thematic analysis of nouns that collocate with the adjective *Muslim* (section 4.1), the use of adjectives associated with conflict has increased by 18% over the last 25 years. However, the numbers

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[33] Turkey and Pakistan are a part of the Middle-East, but not the Arab world.

are small, and further studies based on bigger corpora would have to be conducted to test to what extent there is in fact an increase.

5.2.3. Religion

'Religion' is the second largest category, and accounts for 151 of 645 tokens, or 24% of the adjectives that collocate with the noun *Muslim* (see table 8). The category has increased quite notably, with 20% over the last 25 years. One of the main reasons why this category is of the size that it is, is due to the references to Muslim denominations, or sub-groups such as *Shiite* and *Sufi Muslim*. However, the rest of the adjectives in this category (60 tokens) say something about Muslim belief, and include the following adjectives: *moderate, conservative, devout, liberal, faithful, religious, ultraconservative*. The adjectives that are used in a predominantly negative context are *conservative, devout* and *ultraconservative* (examples 5.7 and 5.8), however, as illustrated by example 5.9, neither of the adjectives are used in a positive context.

> 5.7 So I hesitated, unsure *whether to extend a hand to shake because some* **conservative Muslims** *don't want to touch a woman's hand* (CSM, 2006)

> 5.8 *Palestinian suicide bombers* on a Web site and in lectures attended by **ultraconservative Muslims**. He spoke at fundraising events hosted by Cage Prisoners (WP, 2009)

> 5.9 of *anyone to make fun of any religion/prophet, "they aren't"* **moderate Muslims**. "As the Middle East has devolved into chaos (DP, 2015)

5.2.4. Positive and Neutral adjectives

The category 'positive and neutral adjectives' was somewhat unanticipated due to findings of previous studies (section 2.8). However, adjectives that would normally be considered to have a fairly neutral connotation, or even a positive connotation, accounted for a noteworthy 26%, or 168 of the 645 tokens that appeared with the noun *Muslim*. The category has also increased by 46% over the last 25 years, making it a phenomenon worth studying. When using the description 'neutral adjective' and 'positive adjective', I am referring to the connotations one would normally assign to a word. Take the adjective *young* (rank 3)[34] as an example. To express that someone is young, the following adjectives could be used: *young, youthful, juvenile*. While *youthful* would be regarded as positive, *juvenile* would in most cases be considered as negative, and *young* would most likely be seen as natural. This

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[34] *Rank* refers to where on the list of top 60 collocates the word appeared.

category includes 8 types[35] (133 tokens) of neutral adjectives, ranging from *young* (rank 3)*,*
other (rank 6) and *fellow* (rank 9) to *local* (rank 15)*,* and *normal* (rank 49). There were also 6
types of positive adjectives (35 tokens): *good* (rank 10)*, observant* (rank 18)*, educated* (rank
19)*, peaceful* (rank 50)*, prominent* (rank 51) and *true* (rank 56).

To see how the most frequent neutral and positive adjectives combined with the noun *Muslim*
are used by the American press, I will look at the expanded context of these collocates.[36] The
purpose of this analysis is to see whether or not neutral and positive adjectives that collocate
with *Muslim*_nn*, in a 1:0 range, describe Muslims more positively than many of the
previous nouns and adjectives, in doing so I will also include a discussion of the neutral
adjective *young,* and the positive adjective *good.*

Young Muslims

The word combination *young Muslims* appears 55 times in 38 different articles, and is the
most frequent combination in this category. Of the 38 different articles, only one is positive
to *young Muslims.* It should also be noted that the word combination was barely used in the
1990s and only appears four times, compared to the last decade (2005-2015) where it appears
40 times, which means that the use of *young Muslim* has increased by 66%. As previously
mentioned, the adjective *young* is considered to have a neutral connotation. However, when
the adjective *young* is combined with the noun *Muslim,* it is far from neutral. Rather, *young,*
as it appears in this context, refers to an 'at risk' demographic group who feel alienated in the
West, and might therefore potentially be attracted to radical Islam, which mainly makes
young Muslims a potential threat to their own country and the West. The most frequent word
in the expanded context of the word combination is *Islam,* which appeared as many as 75
times[37]. Other frequent words, as outlined in the examples below, are: *radical* (32)*, jihad*
(25)*, terror* (21) and *extreme* (20). I.e., words with a highly negative connotation. Western
countries are also frequently mentioned. Britain is most frequently mentioned with 35
instances, followed by *America* (22) and *the United States* (5). However, multiple phrases,
such as *Western countries, Western teen, European* and *societies they see as decadent* are
used to illustrate that this is an issue, primarily, between the West and Muslims living in the
West.

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[35] The adverb *Only* was tagged wrongly. See footnote 10.
[36] See footnote 19
[37] See footnote 19. E.g. *Islam* (75) include *Islam, Islamic, Islamist* etc.

5.10   *Britain* is hardly alone in that respect. Thousands of **young Muslims** *from Western countries* have *heeded the bloodcurdling call of the Islamic State*, *leaving behind societies they see as decadent*, *hypocritical and irreligious* to start new lives in a war zone (WP, 2015)

5.11   of *young people who could be drifting toward radicalism*. One of Chicago's most prominent Muslim organizations launched a program in October to teach children about *Internet safety* not long after a 19-year-old suburban man was charged with *providing material support to Islamic State*. […] to Syria *to join the terror group*. Gihad Ali […] said about 750 **young Muslims** have gone through the training. (UT, 2015)

5.12   is *to encourage Muslims "to remain calm" in the face of adversity "and not get frustrated."* That message lies at the heart of a swelling effort across *Europe*, in the wake of the *Charlie Hebdo attack*, to stop more **young Muslims** from *waging jihad, or holy war*. Through *sermons and online advertising, from TV studios to family kitchens to psychiatrists' couches, Muslims and non-Muslims alike are scrambling to stem the tide of young Europeans volunteering to fight with Islamic State (known as both IS and ISIS)* in Syria and Iraq, or to wreak havoc at home. "Our task is to make Islamic extremism as unappealing to **young Muslims** today as communism is now to Western teens" (NYT, 2015)

As illustrated in the examples above, there are both reoccurring lexical and thematic patterns related to the use of *young Muslims.* As for the lexical choices, phrases such as *bloodcurdling call of the Islamic state, terror group, waging jihad* and *holy war* (example 5.10-5.13), are used to describe potential consequences or threats posed by young Muslims. Many of the descriptions of *young Muslims* are similar to the descriptions of *Muslim community* (4.2.2), especially in terms of functioning as warnings or 'cautionary tales'. One of the biggest threats seems to be the internet (*internet safety, online advertising),* and how it could potentially contribute to a radicalization of young Muslims.

The remaining neutral adjectives are used in a similar fashion to that of *young.* In other words, they are rarely used to express neutral descriptions of Muslims, with the possible exception of *other*. The combination *other Muslims* is used to refer to 'the rest', or the remaining, Muslims. *Other Muslims* seems to refer to those who either support or disagree with radical Islam, as illustrated in example 5.13.

5.13   *Many Muslims see Al Qaeda killing* **other Muslims** in the name of religion, *and are repulsed* (CSM, 2006)

Fellow Muslims is not especially neutral and refers mainly to those who support radical Islam (example 5.14), while *local Muslims* more often appears in contexts concerning integration issues, or in terms of potential ties to terror networks (example 5.15).

5.14   I just migrated, merely to wage a holy war to help **fellow Muslims** who are oppressed in their lands (AP, 2012)

5.15   British and Pakistani investigators are tracking possible links between a group of **local Muslims** and suspected terrorists in Pakistan who allegedly planned to blow up (CSM, 2006)

The word combination *normal Muslims* only appears twice, and are in both cases used in a similar way as *other Muslims*.

Good Muslims

As previously mentioned, only six of the adjectives that collocate with the noun *Muslim* could be considered to have a positive connotation, and none of the six adjectives are used frequently. Still, *good* ranked fairly high, and is the 10th most frequent adjective to collocate with *Muslim.* In contrast to *young* that had a notable increase in use, the word combination *good Muslims* appears 17 times in 15 different articles, and has gradually and slowly increased since 2000 with little fluctuation. The reason why it is interesting to look closer at the word combination *good Muslim* is because it is one of the very few clearly positive words that collocate with *Muslim.* However, as the analysis will show, *good* is mainly used to describe devout, or highly conservative Muslims.

The adjective *good,* which according to the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, refers to those "of a favorable character or tendency", are only used according to this definition in a few articles (examples 5.16 and 5.17). However, in most instances, they appear in a negative context that is concerned with issues such as integration, terrorism or extremism.

5.16   A spokesman […] says a **good Muslim** "*can not exclude anyone from God's love or God's acceptance.*" (AJC, 2005)

5.17   *they are not representing the majority of Muslims*, it is hard to talk about these terrorist groups *without mentioning their religion*. […] Unfortunately, it appears that a significant minority of Muslims do approve of Islamic terrorists. I don't know if the percentage is 5 percent or 10 percent, or more or less […] *I would love to see a peaceful revolt among* **good Muslims** *to take back their religion*. Convince me that my perception is wrong. (DP, 2003)

In example 5.16, a Muslim spokesman argues that a *good Muslim* leaves God the responsibility of judging others, by citing the Quran, thus implying that Muslims are inclusive, and that Muslims and non-Muslims can co-exist peacefully. Example 5.17, on the other hand, pleas 'good' Muslims around the world to *take back their religion* and change the

current perception that Americans, or 'we', have of Muslims, 'you', namely that 'you' *approve of Islamic terrorists.* In other words, though the adjective *good* is used to refer to Muslims of favorable tendencies*,* the adjective appears in what seems to be an article about the prejudice, stereotypes and common post-9/11 criticism of Islam and Muslims. However, it should be noted that Americans rarely refer to *good Muslims,* and in all other instances, except from example 16, *good Muslim* is a word combination used by some form of Muslim representative, or spokesperson. Moreover, similar to the use of *Muslim women* (4.3.1), the word combination *good Muslim* often appears as a generalization. In other words, the combination usually refers to all Muslims that consider themselves to be *good Muslims,* instead of small groups or individuals. Being a good Muslim, in most of the instances, means being true to Islam and often to a conservative reading of the Quran, which many would argue to be radical/extremist. Example 5.18 illustrates both phenomena. First of all, the person argues that Muslims, in order to qualify as *good Muslims,* would not surrender. Secondly, the person refers to a radical, or conservative reading of jihad and argues that *a good Muslim is not afraid of death*.

> 5.18   He sat with his wife on his pink sofa, sipping sweet tea and watching Iraqi troops surrender on TV. "They are not **good Muslims**" he told his visitors. "*A **good Muslim** is not afraid of death. I would not surrender*." (2003, CSM)

As for the semantic environment of *good Muslim,* the most frequently recurring words are those related to Islam and terrorism. Different forms of the word *Islam* appeared in 18 instances, while different forms of the word *terror* appeared 19 times. References to the West also appeared frequently: *West* (7), *America* (14), *U.S.* (5), as well as references to jihad, conflict and war: *extreme/extremist* (10), *police* (6), *kill* (6), *martyr* (6), *tyrant* (4) *holy warrior* (2), *military* (4), and *army* (6)[38]. Several of the former examples include a similar use of words as illustrated below, but example 5.16 is a typical example of how the adjective *good* are used to describe radical Islam and Islamists.

> 5.19   *You can divert a **good Muslim** to a terrorist Muslim very easily...* […] "Most of them are educated from the same school of thought," says Ihsan. "They may veer from the line, but they have the same conclusion: *'Start to rule, if anyone doesn't like it, kill them*.' (CSM, 2005)

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[38] See footnote 19

As illustrated by example 5.19, it seems like *good Muslims* is used to describe jihad, and in particular the form of jihad associated with violence and holy war[39].

The remaining positive adjectives are used in a similar fashion as *good Muslims.* In other words, they are rarely used to express positive descriptions of Muslims. On the contrary, the adjectives are used to describe radicalized Muslims, or those who might become radical Muslims. For example, the adjective *true* is used in a similar fashion to *good,* while the adjective *observant* is used to describe devout Muslims that followed the conservative doctrine of Islam (example 5.20). The adjectives *educated* and *prominent* are used to refer to Muslims who either distanced themselves and Islam from the Sharia law, or to those who consciously chose to follow them. The adjective *peaceful* (2) is the only adjective that described some Muslims in a part-positive way, as the nemesis of radicalized Muslims (example 5.21).

> 5.20 A gentle, happy-go-lucky teenager, he had become a deeply **observant Muslim** in college, shunning gatherings where alcohol was served. (NYT, 2010)

> 5.21 al Qaeda's tactic of condemning moderate **peaceful Muslim** of being traitors to Islam (SFC, 2010)

5.3. Summary: The Noun *Muslim*

The thematic analysis of the adjective + noun *Muslim*, found that all categories have increased in use over the last twenty-five years. The smallest categories, 'conflict' and 'religion' appear as similar to the analysis of the adjective *Muslim.* However, the category 'ethnic and national identity'', which is the largest category, revealed that the most frequent nationalities mentioned by the American press are Western: *American, British* and *French,* while their biggest concern is discrimination, stigmatization and integration. The analysis of 'ethnic and national identities' was similar to the analysis of *Muslim world* (4.2.1) and *Muslim community* (4.2.2) in many respects, and how the focus of the American press has shifted from the distant Muslim world, to the much closer Muslim communities. The final category 'positive and neutral adjectives' showed that the adjectival collocates that one

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[39] *Jihad* is a religious duty in Islam. There are four types of jihad, and only one is associated with violence. However, in the press, *jihad,* is mainly used to refer to holy warriors and holy war. Information retrieved from https://global.britannica.com/topic/jihad

would normally consider to be neutral or positive, are in most cases used negatively and in association with radical Islam.

Chapter Six: Recent Developments in the Use of *Muslim* (2016/2017)

This will be a short chapter, with an intention of comparing the main trends and tendencies from the analysis in chapters four and five with more recent data retrieved from the NOW corpus. Section 6.1 gives an overview the NOW (News on the Web) corpus, and includes information about how the searches were conducted, as well as a summary of the most central similarities and differences between COCA and NOW. Section 6.2., looks at the main trends and tendencies found in the analysis of data retrieved from COCA, and compares it to more recent data from NOW. It should be noted that the purpose of this chapter is to look at the development of *Muslim* in 2016/2017*,* and to see if the main trends and tendencies are the same as those for the last decade, as covered in chapter four and five.

6.1. The Development of *Muslim* in the American press

2016 has been a tumultuous year for the American press. The presidential election, not to forget the outcome of the election, has rocked the core of the American press. The different campaigns during the election contributed to several headlines regarding Muslims (e.g. the Muslim ban), which created more attention, and more references to Muslims in American newspapers. The NOW (News on the Web) corpus includes data of more recent time than COCA, and illustrates the development concerning the use of *Muslim* in 2016/2017.

NOW is a new corpus compiled by Mark Davies at Brigham Young University that differs from COCA in several respects. The biggest differences are related to the size of the different sub-corpora, how often these are updated, as well as the number of sources that are used to retrieve data. While COCA is composed of around 520 million words and updated once every year, NOW contains more than 4.2 billion words and is updated with 4 to 5 million words every day.[40] The interface in NOW is almost identical to that of COCA (section 3.2), however, the option that allows you to select a specific genre in COCA is replaced with a search box that allows you to search within specific time-periods or countries in NOW. Furthermore, while the texts in COCA are retrieved from ten American newspapers (3.1.1),

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[40] As of the 13th of April 2017, the NOW corpus consisted of 4,295,905,691.

the texts in NOW are from several English-speaking countries, and most frequently retrieved from American, British and Indian newspapers.[41]

There are several limitations in the NOW corpus, and the data from COCA cannot be directly compared with the data from NOW. However, what can be compared is the main trends and tendencies, as well as how the use of the adjective and noun *Muslim* has developed in the English-speaking press over the last year. In this section, I will briefly compare my main findings in the collocational and thematic analysis with data from the NOW corpus to see if the main tendencies found in COCA are in line with the more recent data from NOW.

6.2. NOW – what was the Trend in 2016/2017?

A continuous increase

The NOW corpus reveals that the use of *Muslim* has increased by 32% in the English-speaking press over the last year. The press refers to *Muslim* 176,970 times in the time-period from 03.01.2016 to 03.01.2017, compared to 71,953 times in the same time-period the year before. In other words, there has been a clear increase in references to Muslims in the press over the last year. In order to compare my main findings in COCA with the American section in the NOW corpus, I conducted a simple search with the keyword *Muslim/s.* As illustrated by Table 10 below, the use of *Muslim* has increased by 8% from 2014 to 2015, and with another 4 % from 2015 to 2016.

Table 10. Development in the use of *Muslim* in the American press over time

Muslim/s							
Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Tokens	8496	8710	8260	7662	7438	12959	15927
Percent	12%	12%	12%	11%	11%	19%	23%

Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/now/

Tendencies and trends concerning the use of *Muslim* in 2016/2017

The second search I conducted to compare my main findings with the results in the NOW corpus, was based on my previous search strings (Ch. 4 and 5). However, in order to search within a limited time-period, the entire selection of English-speaking newspapers had to be

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[41] The list of newspapers included in the NOW corpus can be found at: http://corpus.byu.edu/now/

included. The top 100 nouns that collocate with the adjective *Muslims* are sorted according to Baker *et al.*'s (2012) categories (section 4.1), while the top 60 adjectives that collocate with the noun *Muslim* are sorted according to the categories presented in section 5.1. Table 11 includes a snapshot of the thematic categorization of both usages of *Muslim,* and compares the most frequent collocates from COCA with the most frequent collocates from NOW (2016/2017).

On the far-right side, I have included a column to note if the adjectival or nominal collocate is used more frequently ($\uparrow$), less frequently ($\downarrow$), the same as before ($-$). In addition, new words are marked with (+) in the list. The purpose of this comparison is to look at main trends and tendencies from the analyses in chapter four and chapter five.

The thematic analysis of the adjective *Muslim* + noun revealed that there is a clear decrease in the use of nouns associated with the category 'conflict'. Collocates in this category, are marked with yellow in Table 11, and have decreased from 20 types in 1991-2015, to 7 types in 2016-2017 (Figure 12). The most frequent collocate in 'conflict', from March 2016 to March 2017, is *ban* (rank 6). *Muslim ban* is a 'new' word combination, and refers primarily to the Executive Order 13769, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States", signed by President Donald Trump on January 27, 2017[42]. All other collocates in this category: *extremist, soldier, rebels, terrorists, rebels* and *militants,* have been used less frequently in 2016-2017, which supports the assumption from the thematic analysis in chapter 5, namely that general tendency is that the use of nouns associated with conflict is replaced and appears in other contexts and new forms.

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[42] Information retrived from: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/03/06/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states

Table 11. Comparison data from COCA and NOW (the collocates of the adjective *Muslim* and noun *Muslim*)

The Noun Muslim + Adjective		March 2016 - March 2017			The Adjective Muslim + Noun				
					1991-2015		March 2016 - March 2017		
Nr	Word	Nr	Word	Comment	Nr	Word	Nr	Word	Comment
1	SHIITE	1	INDIAN	→	1	BROTHERHOOD	1	COMMUNITY	→
2	BOSNIAN	2	AMERICAN	→	2	WORLD	2	WOMEN	→
3	YOUNG	3	YOUNG	‖	3	COMMUNITY	3	COUNTRIES	+
4	AMERICAN	4	KASHMIRI	→	4	COUNTRIES	4	LEAGUE	+
5	BRITISH	5	BRITISH	→	5	WOMEN	5	WORLD	←
6	OTHER	6	OTHER	‖	6	LEADERS	6	BAN	+
7	MODERATE	7	FELLOW	→	7	SUNNI	7	BROTHERHOOD	←
8	BLACK	8	LOCAL	→	8	COUNTRY	8	POPULATION	→
9	FELLOW	9	SHIITE	‖	9	POPULATION	9	MAJORITY	→
10	GOOD	10	CANADIAN	+	10	MEN	10	WOMAN	→
11	RADICAL	11	MODERATE	→	11	NATIONS	11	IMMIGRATION	+
12	FRENCH	12	TRUE	←	12	GROUPS	12	COMMUNITIES	→
13	CONSERVATIVE	13	ONLY	→	13	CLERIC	13	CLERIC	‖
14	DEVOUT	14	NIGERIAN	→	14	NATION	14	MEN	←
15	LOCAL	15	FRENCH	+	15	MAJORITY	15	LEADERS	←
16	MILITANT	16	GOOD	←	16	EXTREMISTS	16	STUDENTS	→
17	FUNDAMENTALIST	17	SHIITE	←	17	MILITANTS	17	MINORITY	→
18	OBSERVANT	18	BOSNIAN	←	18	SCHOLARS	18	NATIONS	←
19	EUROPEAN	19	INNOCENT	+	19	CLERICS	19	COUNTRY	←
20	ARAB	20	DEVOUT	→	20	COMMUNITIES	20	IMMIGRANTS	→
21	SLAVIC	21	FOREIGN	←	21	FAITH	21	SUNNI	→
22	PALESTINIAN	22	CONSERVATIVE	←	22	FUNDAMENTALISTS	22	YOUTH	+
23	INDONESIAN	23	RADICAL	←	23	MINORITY	23	FAITH	+
24	CHINESE	24	AUSTRALIAN	+	24	WOMAN	24	MAN	→
25	CAUCASIAN	25	ORDINARY	+	25	LEADER	25	UNIVERSITY	+
26	EXTREMIST	26	BENGALI	+	26	ENCLAVE	26	REFUGEES	→
27	DISAFFECTED	27	MALAYSIAN	+	27	PERCENT	27	GROUPS	→
28	INDIAN	28	PAKISTANI	→	28	GROUP	28	AMERICANS	→
29	FOREIGN	29	INDIAN	+	29	IMMIGRANTS	29	FAMILY	→
30	MAINSTREAM	30	NORTHERN	+	30	REFUGEES	30	PILGRIMS	+
31	LIBERAL	31	EUROPEAN	←	31	YOUTH	31	UMMAH	+
32	ONLY	32	LIBERAL	→	32	STUDENT	32	BROTHERS	→
33	PAKISTANI	33	FILIPINO	+	33	MAN	33	FAMILIES	→
34	KASHMIRI	34	REAL	→	34	ORGANIZATIONS	34	YOUTHS	→
35	FAITHFUL	35	CHINESE	+	35	POPULATIONS	35	PEOPLE	+
36	IMMIGRANT	36	PRACTISING	←	36	BROTHERS	36	NATION	→
37	EDUCATED	37	INDONESIAN	+	37	SOCIETIES	37	CLERICS	→
38	ALBANIAN	38	MAINSTREAM	←	38	STATE	38	VOTES	+
39	SUFI	39	POOR	+	39	STATES	39	MAYOR	+
40	WESTERN	40	INFLUENTIAL	+	40	STUDENTS	40	VOTERS	+

Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/now

The categories 'religion', marked with green (Table 11), and 'culture', marked with blue (Table 11) have not changed much in terms of number of types (Figure 12, below). The collocates that belong to the category 'religion' are the most stable. However, as previously mentioned in section 5.1, the collocate *convert,* seemingly 'new' as of 2000, has been used more frequently and is ranked as 53 in 2016/2017, indicating that it has been used a lot more frequently over the last year. Like the findings in COCA, the word combination *Muslim convert/s*, mainly appears in settings of conflict and negativity. The category 'culture', consisting of 11 types, has 5 new collocates: *university, travel, law, rights, news,* in which most of them adhere to the Islamic laws and Muslim societies.

The category 'ethnic and national entity', marked in red in Table 11, is still one of the biggest categories, and has close to the same number of types as earlier (29 compared to 31). The word combination *Muslim community* is the most frequent combination and has twice the number of instances (rank 1). The combination *Muslim world,* on the other hand, has dropped quite notably (rank 5). The analysis in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, found that the use of *Muslim world* is decreasing, while the use of *Muslim community,* which again indicates that the press is more interested/concerned with Muslims in the West, than Muslims in the world.
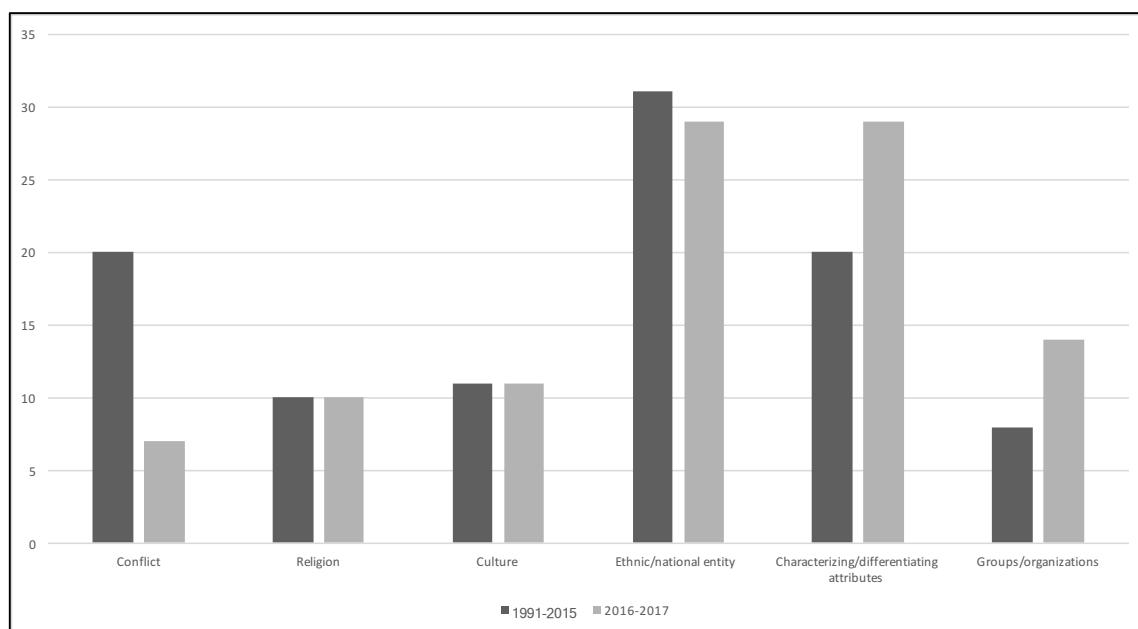
Figure 12. Change in frequency from 1991-2015 and 2016-2017 (types) [43]
Source: Data retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/now/ and http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

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[43] Figure 12 compares more than two decades to one year. In other words, it is an unfair comparison, and caution must therefore be used in analyzing these numbers. However, the purpose of Figure 12 is to visualize trends and tendencies.

Both 'characterizing and differentiating attributes', marked by purple (Table 11) and 'groups and organizations', marked in pink (Table 11), have increased in terms of number of types in 2016/2017 (Figure 12). The most notable change in 'characterizing and differentiating attributes', is related to the use of word combinations *Muslim women* and *Muslim woman.* These word combinations have increased considerably in 2016/2017, which is in line with the assumption and findings in section 4.3.1., namely that the press has never been more interested in *Muslim women* than they are now. The last category, 'groups and organizations' has also increased in 2016/2017, which seems to be related to the presidential election in America (2016).

As for the thematic analysis of the adjective + the noun *Muslim*, there is very little change in terms of the number of types in each category, and the tendencies from the analysis in Chapter 5 are the same. In other words, *young* (rank 3) is the most frequent 'neutral' adjective, while *true* (rank 12) and *good* (rank 16) are the most frequent 'positive' adjectives.

Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks

This final chapter will revisit the aim and scope of the study (7.1), include a summary of the main findings, and provide answers to the research questions presented in chapter one (7.2). I will also discuss the limitations of my study in section 7.3, followed by thoughts concerning future studies in section 7.4.

7.1. The Aim and Scope Revisited

The aim of this study was to investigate the representation of Muslims in the American press through CADS (section 2.7.) to see whether or not discourse can contribute to the process of producing and reproducing social issues such as discrimination and racism. I followed the four steps of methodological triangulation, as outlined by Mautner (Mautner 2016, 177), and used the COCA to investigate nouns that frequently collocate with the adjective *Muslim,* and adjectives that frequently collocate with the noun *Muslim* through a 1:1 analysis. In a few cases, I included a wider context-analysis by looking at the expanded context. The analysis included both a quantitative part that mainly focused on frequency lists and collocations, as well as a qualitative part, or a thematic analysis, that categorized the quantitative data according to different thematic/semantic categories, and looked closer at some specific samples of two-word clusters that were sought out for further scrutiny. As introduced in section 1.1, the study was designed to answer the following research question, and supporting questions:

> Research Question: *How is journalistic language/discourse used to portray Muslims in the American press?*
>
> 1. *What adjectives and nouns are the most frequent collocates used by the American press and what do they reveal about how Muslims are represented in the press?*
>
> 2. *How does the wider context of adjectival or nominal collocates contribute to the representation of Muslims in the American press?*
>
> 3. *To what extent has the American press developed a language, or discourse, that colors the readers' opinion of Muslims?*

7.2. Discussion of Findings: Revisiting the Research Questions

7.2.1. Revisiting the Three Supporting Questions

In order to answer my main research question, I will first revisit my supporting questions.

The first supporting question was aimed at the most frequent adjectival and nominal collocates used by the American press and what they disclose about the representation of Muslims in the press, while the second supporting question asked how the wider context of adjectival and nominal collocates contribute to the representation of Muslims in the American press.

In chapter four, the thematic analysis of the adjective *Muslim* + noun revealed that there had been a notable increase in the use of *Muslim* over the last twenty-five years. In other words, the American press, as represented in COCA, has never shown more interest in *Muslims* than they do now. There was, however, one category that had decreased in use. Nouns associated with conflict, had decreased by over 20% from the 1990s, compared to the time-period 2005-2015, and the tendency has continued, and decreased, in 2016 and 2017 (6.1.1). This does not mean that Muslims have become less prone to negative and stereotypical representations in the American press, as was illustrated by the rest of the thematic analysis.

Nominal collocates, such as *religion* (example 4.1) *convert* (example 4.2-4.3) and *student* (4.4), were shown to frequently be associated with terrorism and national security. The use of the nouns *community* and *world,* on the other hand, disclosed a shift in the American press. Whereas the focus used to be on the external threat of the *Muslim world* (section 4.2.1)*,* it has gradually shifted after the turn of the millennium, and moved geographically closer to the West, and to the internal threat of *Muslim communities* (section 4.2.2)*.* Thus, journalists simultaneously add a newfound focus on 'them' and 'their' religion, culture, customs and values in 'our' countries and societies, and in conflict with 'us' and 'our' religion, culture, customs and values. This was also found to be the case in the analysis of the noun *Muslim* preceded by an adjective in chapter five, where the use of the adjectives *American, British* and *French,* or 'Muslims in the West' had increased notably, while references to 'Muslims in

the world' had decreased. Finally, the noun collocates that referred to characterizing and differentiating attributes, such as *women* and *men,* offered a whole new set of negative and stereotypical representations of gender inequality. While *Muslim women* (section 4.3.1), were typically described as victims of a demoralized religion (examples 4.23-4.33, and 4.36-4.44), in a never-ending discussion of veiling, *Muslim men* (section 4.3.2) were described in contexts related to terrorism, national security and discrimination (Examples 4.48-4.51), as well as gender inequality (examples 4.45-4.47). To summarize, the discourse used by the American press mainly portrays Muslims negatively, and though words associated with conflict has decreased, conflict seems to be more translucent than ever before.

With this in mind, I wish to refer back to 2.1.1, and Fairclough's views concerning discourse and the press. Fairclough argues that the press, by representing the world in a specific way, constructing social identities and social relations, creates social and cultural change, which again might cause unequal power relations and discrimination, that might have "long-term effects on the knowledge and beliefs, social relationships and social identities of an institution or society" (Fairclough 2001, 61). In other words, the specific representation of the *Muslim world* and *Muslim communities* as different from 'ours', combined with constructions of the stereotypical *Muslim student, convert, woman* and *man,* followed by an emphasis on social relations, and the differences 'them' and 'us' can contribute to produce and reproduce social issues such as discrimination and racism.

The third supporting question asked to what extent the American press has developed a language, or discourse, that colors the readers' opinion of Muslims. To answer the question, yes, it does indeed seem to be the case that the press has developed a discourse that potentially can color the readers' opinion of Muslims, and it seems likely that it would be negative. The reason is related to the analysis of the adjective *Muslim,* and the noun *Muslim*, and how their collocates appear to be predominantly negative. As mentioned in chapter five, and the analysis of the noun *Muslim* + adjective, several seemingly neutral and positive adjectives collocated with *Muslim.* However, when the word *young* was combined with *Muslim,* it was far from neutral in its connotation, and rather referred to an 'at risk' demographic group who potentially might be attracted to radical Islam, and thus become a threat to the West (examples 5.10-5.12). The positive adjective, *good,* was also frequently used in 2016/2017, and have been used frequently since 2000. As previously mentioned in section 5.1.4., *good* refers to those of a positive character, or tendency. However, the word

combination *good Muslim* most frequently appeared in negative contexts concerning issues such as integration, terrorism or extremism (5.16-5.19). Overall, there were few positive descriptions of Muslims, except from a few instances, as exemplified in the analysis *Muslim women*, and even these appeared in a negative overall context (examples 4.34. and 4.35.).

7.2.2. Revisiting my Main Research Question – A Discourse of 'Othering'?

Finally, my main research question asked: how is journalistic language/discourse used to portray Muslims in the American press? I would argue that the discourse of the press portrays Muslims with a typical 'us' versus 'them' mentality. The analysis in both chapter four and five illustrates how the press has developed a language, or discourse that labels Muslim as 'the other', thus supporting the notion of a 'negative other presentation', or discourse that focus on positive *us* representation and negative *they* representation in the press. [44]

In my introduction, I mentioned scholars such as Bell (1991), Fowler (1991) and Van Dijk (2008), who all argue that the correlation between 'consensus', the public opinion and public knowledge, and 'meaningfulness', the obsession with countries, societies, and individual that are alike *us*, combined with a notion of those who are different, alien, threatening and unlike *us*, creates the difference between 'us' and 'them'. The power of the press lies within this correlation, and can therefore contribute in creating negative cultural stereotypes.

I will use the argumentation of Flowerdew *et al.* (2002) to illustrate how the American press creates a 'us' versus 'them' mentality. Flowerdew *et al.* argued that this type of representation could be divided into four different schemes. The first pattern, 'negative other presentation', included use of over-lexicalization to stigmatize, adjectives to label, nouns to stereotype and negative singularization, or negative 'uniqueness' to combine certain attributes to specific groups of people (2002, 329). This pattern can be found in the current analysis of both the adjective *Muslim* and the noun *Muslim*. Over-lexicalization happened frequently when the American press referred to the act of veiling or de-veiling, while adjectives were used to label *Muslims* according to ethnicity, nationality, conflict and religion, as well as to 'at risk' groups such as <u>*young* Muslims</u> and <u>*good* Muslims</u>. Nouns were also frequently used to stereotype, especially *Muslim <u>women</u>* and *Muslim <u>men</u>* (section 4.3),

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[44] The notion 'othering' refers to differentiating discourses "that lead to moral and political judgment of superiority and inferiority between 'us' and 'them', and within groups" (Dervin 2015, 1)

while negative singularization were brought to bear mainly through the references that were unique to Muslims, namely their religion Islam, and their Islamic 'laws', as well as their world, *Muslim world* (section 4.2.1).

The second pattern, 'scare tactics', included exaggeration, abnormalization and criminalization. In the analysis, exaggeration was found mainly in the use of generalization, as discussed in the case of *Muslim community, Muslim world, Muslim women* and *good Muslim* (section 4.2, 4.3, 4.3.1 and 5.2.4). Abnormalization appeared mainly in relation to gender inequality and veiling, while criminalization appeared in the thematic analysis of both the adjective *Muslim* (4.1) and the noun *Muslim* (5.1), as well as in the analysis of *Muslim men* (4.3.2).

The third scheme 'blaming the victim', includes patterns of scapegoating, meaning structures of discourse that blame minorities for a negative development in the society. This pattern came to show several times, but was especially apparent in relation to integration issues, or in terms of discrimination.

The last scheme 'delegitimation', includes patterns in discourse that discredit, disempowers or problematizes a minority group, especially in relation to topics such as social norms, immigration and culture. This pattern appears throughout the entire analysis of both the noun *Muslim* and the adjective *Muslim,* and especially concerns all Muslims that live in the West.

To sum up, this investigation has shown that the discourse of the American press seems to portray Muslims as different from us, our values, our society and our religion.
In other words, the current analysis illustrates how the press has developed a language, or discourse that mainly focus on positive *us* representation and negative *they* representation in the press*,* which can be exemplified through four patterns: negative other presentation, scare tactics, blaming the victim, and delegitimation.

7.3. Challenges and Limitations

As previously mentioned in the discussion regarding methodological choices in Chapter 2 and sections 2.5.-2.8., there are several limitations related to both CL and CDA. However, the hybrid, CADA (Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis) seems to be a good compromise, and has therefore been the approach applied in this thesis. There is no doubt that areas of this study have potential for improvement, both in terms of bettering the approach, method and material. However, there were two main challenges to draw attention to in this study. The first is related to the material, and the second was related to the thematic categorization. Both will be discussed separately in some detail.

7.3.1. Material

COCA is a monitor corpus that covers the timespan from 1990-2015 and consists of more than 520 million words (see section 3.1). The corpus grows by 20 million words each year, and the newspaper section grows by approximately 4 million words each year, and consisted in total of 105,963,844 words (April 2017). Even though this might sound like a corpus of a substantial size, it is significantly smaller than the one collected by Baker *et al.*, who built their own corpus, consisting of 200,037 articles and 143 million words, by searching for articles that only contained articles with words elation to Muslims or Islam (2012, 259).

Nevertheless, though COCA is smaller, it is also a general corpus, which makes it more representative and balanced, than a 'cherry-picked' corpus, as the one used by Baker *et al.* (2012). The main challenge with a general corpus is related to the samples. The samples might be more balanced and representative, but due to their small size they might also be misleading. In this study, one of the main issues was related to the number of tokens in each type, which was the main reason why I combined time-periods in my analysis (Ch. 4 and 5). As mentioned in the analysis of *young* and *good* in section 5.2.4, the same word combinations could appear several times in the same article, which again could mean that the use of the word combination was less dispersed than initially believed. In order to look in more detail at the main tendencies found in the analysis in chapter 4 and 5, more recent data from the much bigger NOW corpus was included. However, it is important to note that the use of NOW was by no means used in a direct comparison with COCA. It was only used to look at main tendencies over the last year, in order to see if they were more or less in line with the general findings from COCA.

7.3.2. Thematic Categorization

The thematic categorization of the collocations of the adjective *Muslim* and the noun *Muslim,* were also at times challenging. One of the main aims of this study, or any study, should be replicability. However, in the thematic analysis, several collocates were difficult to categorize without being subjective. I will, however, add all my frequency lists and thematic categorizations as appendices in this thesis, so that people who might have an interest in doing a similar study can look at the categorization used in this study.

7.4. Future Studies

As mentioned in section 7.3, this study has room for improvement both in terms of approach, method and material. The approach used in this study, CADA, is quite new, and additional studies would have to be conducted to verify to what extent it is the best approach to use for a study similar to this one. In this study, I decided to use raw frequency. However, in future studies similar to this one, the MI-score might offer relevant and interesting information concerning the use of *Muslim/s* in the American press. As discussed in section 7.3.2, the material used does have some restrictions. Due to the nature and size of COCA, this study was restricted to ten newspapers with minimum bias. For further studies, it might be interesting to look at a greater variety of newspapers, and investigate the representation of Muslims in newspapers that are more conservative. A last comment concerns the analysis of the word-pairs *Muslim woman, Muslim men, young Muslims* and *good Muslims.* The samples used to analyze these word-pairs were quite small, and in order to confirm the findings, one should look at these word-pairs in a bigger corpus, as well to compare findings from newspapers around the world.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Top 100 noun collocates of the adjective *Muslim*

Nr	Word	Total (News)	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010-2015
1	BROTHERHOOD	330	6	10	24	49	241
2	WORLD	194	17	5	70	65	37
3	COMMUNITY	116	5	13	23	35	40
4	COUNTRIES	104	20	10	31	24	19
5	WOMEN	86	13	11	20	14	28
6	LEADERS	73	13	10	15	22	13
7	SUNNI	67	6	5	23	14	19
8	COUNTRY	62	6	9	14	22	11
9	POPULATION	62	12	6	15	11	18
10	MEN	56	6	13	13	18	6
11	NATIONS	46	5	4	25	9	3
12	GROUPS	44	3	5	11	20	5
13	CLERIC	43	8	6	15	6	8
14	NATION	42	5	4	6	20	7
15	MAJORITY	40	4	6	12	7	11
16	EXTREMISTS	38	8	5	13	5	7
17	MILITANTS	37	8	19	5	2	3
18	SCHOLARS	37		3	9	16	9
19	CLERICS	32	5	3	10	7	7
20	COMMUNITIES	30	2	3	4	10	11
21	FAITH	29	7	4	6	4	8
22	FUNDAMENTALISTS	29	17	3	5	4	
23	MINORITY	28	3	6	3	10	6
24	WOMAN	26	3	3	6	5	9
25	LEADER	26	8	9	5	3	1
26	ENCLAVE	23	17	3		1	2
27	PERCENT	23	9	2	8	3	1
28	GROUP	21	3	5	6	6	1
29	IMMIGRANTS	21		3	6	6	6
30	REFUGEES	21	9	10	1		1
31	YOUTH	20	4	1	12	2	1
32	STUDENT	19	1		4	2	12
33	MAN	18	2	3	4	5	4
34	ORGANIZATIONS	18	1	3	3	5	6
35	POPULATIONS	18	2	2	2	7	5
36	BROTHERS	17	3		8	2	4
37	SOCIETIES	17	2		1	6	8
38	STATE	17	1	2	7	4	3
39	STATES	17	4	1	1	8	3
40	STUDENTS	17	1		7	6	3
41	HOLIDAY	16		1	3	5	7
42	FAMILIES	16		3	3	1	8
43	ORGANIZATION	16	2	5	6	2	1
44	AMERICANS	15	2		3	2	8
45	NEIGHBORS	15	2	3	9	1	
46	MOVEMENT	14	5	1	4	2	2
47	PEOPLE	14	5	3	1	4	1
48	RELIGION	14	5	2	2	5	
49	CITY	13	7	3	2		1
50	FAMILY	13	1	1	4	3	4

51	FIGHTERS	13	5	1	4	2	1
52	MOSQUE	13	4	2	3	2	2
53	PRISONERS	13	2	7		2	2
54	SOCIETY	13	1	2	3	5	2
55	PRAYER	12	1	2	3	4	2
56	SECT	12	1	2	4		5
57	SOLDIERS	12	3	6		1	2
58	TOWN	12	8		2	1	1
59	AREAS	11	2	1	3	4	1
60	GOVERNMENT	11	1	4	1	5	
61	REBELS	11	1	4	2	1	3
62	TRADITION	11	1	1	3	5	1
63	CIVILIANS	10	4	5		1	
64	CONVERTS	10	3		1	1	5
65	FORCES	10	3	4	2	1	
66	GUERRILLAS	10	2	5	3		
67	SIDE	10	3		3	2	2
68	TERRORISTS	10	2		2	2	4
69	LAW	10	4	2		3	1
70	AREA	9	2	2	2	3	
71	COUNCIL	9	3			3	3
72	NAME	9	1	3	2	3	
73	PRESIDENT	9	5	3			1
74	REGION	9	4	2	2		1
75	RESIDENTS	9	2	2	2	1	2
76	CHILDREN	8	1	1	3	1	2
77	CHAPLAIN	8			5	2	1
78	BAKERY	8	2			6	
79	ALLIES	8	3	2	2	1	
80	CONVERT	8			1	5	2
81	CULTURE	8			4	4	
82	FRIENDS	8	1		3	2	2
83	GIRLS	8	2	4	1	1	
84	INSURGENTS	8	1	1	5	1	
85	RADICALS	8	2	2	2	2	
86	TOWNS	8	7		1		
87	SECTS	8	2	1		3	2
88	DRESS	7		5		2	
89	ENCLAVES	7	5	1	1		
90	FUNDAMENTALISM	7	2	1	1	1	2
91	GARB	7				2	5
92	GIRL	7	2	1	2		2
93	IDENTITY	7		2		4	1
94	KIDNAPPERS	7	7				
95	MILITIA	7	2		1	3	1
96	NEIGHBORHOOD	7	2		3	1	1
97	REBEL	7	2	4		1	
98	SCHOOLS	7	1		4	2	
99	AZERBAIJANIS	7	7				
100	ARABS	6			2	2	2

Appendix 2: Top 60 adjective collocates of the noun *Muslim*

Nr	Word	Total	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010-2015
1	SHIITE	88	13	10	44	18	3
2	BOSNIAN	79	33	30	5	5	6
3	YOUNG	55	2	2	11	27	13
4	AMERICAN	41	6	6	6	14	9
5	BRITISH	36	5	1	2	25	3
6	OTHER	33	2	3	10	10	8
7	MODERATE	24		2	4	11	7
8	BLACK	23	13	5	2	3	
9	FELLOW	19	1	3	4	3	8
10	GOOD	17	1		10	4	2
11	RADICAL	15	1		7	3	4
12	FRENCH	13			1		12
13	CONSERVATIVE	12		1	2	5	4
14	DEVOUT	13	1	1	4	3	4
15	LOCAL	12	3	3	2	3	1
16	MILITANT	11	1	1	9		
17	FUNDAMENTALIST	10	3	2	3	2	
18	OBSERVANT	9		2	2	2	3
19	EUROPEAN	8				3	5
20	ARAB	8	2		1	2	3
21	SLAVIC	7	5	1	1		
22	PALESTINIAN	6		3	2	1	
23	INDONESIAN	5	1			3	1
24	CHINESE	4			1	2	1
25	CAUCASIAN	4	4				
26	EXTREMIST	4			1	2	1
27	DISAFFECTED	4				3	1
28	INDIAN	4	1	1		2	
29	FOREIGN	4	1		2	1	
30	MAINSTREAM	4				3	1
31	LIBERAL	4				2	2
32	ONLY	4	1			1	2
33	PAKISTANI	4				4	
34	KASHMIRI	3			3		
35	FAITHFUL	3	1	1	1		
36	IMMIGRANT	3			1	1	1
37	EDUCATED	3	1				2
38	ALBANIAN	3	1	2			
39	SUFI	3		1	2		
40	WESTERN	3			1		2
41	AFRICAN	2			1		1
42	ASIAN	2			1	1	
43	ARMED	2		1	1		
44	ARABIC-SPEAKING	2				2	
45	AMERICAN-BORN	2				2	
46	CONVINCED	2	1			1	
47	FILIPINO	2		1	1		
48	HOMELESS	2	1				1
49	NORMAL	2	2				
50	PEACEFUL	2					2
51	PROMINENT	2				1	1
52	RADICALIZED	2					2
53	REAL	2	1		1		
54	RELIGIOUS	2	1				1
55	SINGLE	2				2	
56	TRUE	2			2		
57	TURKIC	2	1	1			
58	TURKISH	2				1	1
59	ULTRACONSERVATIVE	2				1	1
60	US-BORN	2				1	1

Appendix 3. Comparison of data from COCA and NOW concerning the nominal collocates of the adjective *Muslim*

1991-2015		March 2016 - March 2017		
Nr	Word	Nr	Word	Comment
1	BROTHERHOOD	1	COMMUNITY	↑
2	WORLD	2	WOMEN	↑
3	COMMUNITY	3	COUNTRIES	↑
4	COUNTRIES	4	LEAGUE	+
5	WOMEN	5	WORLD	↓
6	LEADERS	6	BAN	+
7	SUNNI	7	BROTHERHOOD	↓
8	COUNTRY	8	POPULATION	↑
9	POPULATION	9	MAJORITY	↑
10	MEN	10	WOMAN	↑
11	NATIONS	11	IMMIGRATION	+
12	GROUPS	12	COMMUNITIES	↑
13	CLERIC	13	CLERIC	−
14	NATION	14	MEN	↓
15	MAJORITY	15	LEADERS	↓
16	EXTREMISTS	16	STUDENTS	↑
17	MILITANTS	17	MINORITY	↑
18	SCHOLARS	18	NATIONS	↓
19	CLERICS	19	COUNTRY	↓
20	COMMUNITIES	20	IMMIGRANTS	↑
21	FAITH	21	YOUTH	↑
22	FUNDAMENTALISTS	22	SUNNI	↓
23	MINORITY	23	FAITH	↓
24	WOMAN	24	MAN	↑
25	LEADER	25	UNIVERSITY	+
26	ENCLAVE	26	REFUGEES	↑
27	PERCENT	27	GROUPS	↓
28	GROUP	28	AMERICANS	↑
29	IMMIGRANTS	29	FAMILY	↑
30	REFUGEES	30	PILGRIMS	+
31	YOUTH	31	UMMAH	+
32	STUDENT	32	BROTHERS	↑
33	MAN	33	FAMILIES	↑
34	ORGANIZATIONS	34	YOUTHS	+
35	POPULATIONS	35	PEOPLE	↑
36	BROTHERS	36	NATION	↓
37	SOCIETIES	37	CLERICS	↓
38	STATE	38	VOTES	+
39	STATES	39	MAYOR	+
40	STUDENTS	40	VOTERS	+
41	HOLIDAY	41	LEADER	↓
42	FAMILIES	42	VOTE	+
43	ORGANIZATION	43	GIRLS	↑
44	AMERICANS	44	POPULATIONS	↓
45	NEIGHBORS	45	CEMETERY	+
46	MOVEMENT	46	COUNCIL	↑
47	PEOPLE	47	GROUP	↓
48	RELIGION	48	SCHOLARS	↓
49	CITY	49	CANDIDATES	+
50	FAMILY	50	ORGANISATIONS	↓

51	FIGHTERS	51	EXTREMISTS	↓
52	MOSQUE	52	SOCIETY	↑
53	PRISONERS	53	CONVERT	↑
54	SOCIETY	54	FRIENDS	+
55	PRAYER	55	MIGRANTS	+
56	SECT	56	CONFERENCE	+
57	SOLDIERS	57	ASSOCIATION	+
58	TOWN	58	REGISTRY	+
59	AREAS	59	STATES	↓
60	GOVERNMENT	60	GIRL	↑
61	REBELS	61	STUDENT	↓
62	TRADITION	62	SOCIETIES	↓
63	CIVILIANS	63	UNION	+
64	CONVERTS	64	PARENTS	+
65	FORCES	65	CHILDREN	↑
66	GUERRILLAS	66	TRAVEL	+
67	SIDE	67	SOLDIER	↓
68	TERRORISTS	68	STATE	↓
69	LAW	69	REBELS	↓
70	AREA	70	PRAYER	↓
71	COUNCIL	71	LAW	+
72	NAME	72	IDENTITY	↑
73	PRESIDENT	73	ALIGARH	+
74	REGION	74	HOLIDAY	↓
75	RESIDENTS	75	RIGHTS	+
76	CHILDREN	76	PREACHER	+
77	CHAPLAIN	77	CONSUMERS	+
78	BAKERY	78	AFFAIRS	+
79	ALLIES	79	ROHINGYA	+
80	CONVERT	80	NAME	↓
81	CULTURE	81	TERRORISTS	↓
82	FRIENDS	82	CITIZENS	+
83	GIRLS	83	NEWS	+
84	INSURGENTS	84	MPS	+
85	RADICALS	85	BOY	↑
86	TOWNS	86	CANDIDATE	+
87	SECTS	87	RULERS	+
88	DRESS	88	NEIGHBORHOODS	↑
89	ENCLAVES	89	RESIDENTS	↓
90	FUNDAMENTALISM	90	ORGANIZATIONS	↓
91	GARB	91	REBEL	↓
92	GIRL	92	FESTIVAL	+
93	IDENTITY	93	REGION	↓
94	KIDNAPPERS	94	FILIPINOS	+
95	MILITIA	95	SCHOLAR	↓
96	NEIGHBORHOOD	96	MILITANTS	↓
97	REBEL	97	LEAGUE-N	+
98	SCHOOLS	98	UIGHUR	+
99	AZERBAIJANIS	99	MINORITIES	↓
100	ARABS	100	NEIGHBOURS	+

Appendix 4. Comparison of data from COCA and NOW concerning the adjectival collocates of the noun *Muslim*

1991-2015		March 2016 - March 2017		
Nr	Word	Nr	Word	Comment
1	SHIITE	1	INDIAN	↑
2	BOSNIAN	2	AMERICAN	↑
3	YOUNG	3	YOUNG	—
4	AMERICAN	4	KASHMIRI	↑
5	BRITISH	5	BRITISH	—
6	OTHER	6	OTHER	—
7	MODERATE	7	FELLOW	↑
8	BLACK	8	LOCAL	↑
9	FELLOW	9	SHIITE	↓
10	GOOD	10	CANADIAN	✚
11	RADICAL	11	MODERATE	↓
12	FRENCH	12	TRUE	↑
13	CONSERVATIVE	13	ONLY	↑
14	DEVOUT	14	NIGERIAN	✚
15	LOCAL	15	FRENCH	↓
16	MILITANT	16	GOOD	↓
17	FUNDAMENTALIST	17	SHI'ITE	↓
18	OBSERVANT	18	BOSNIAN	↓
19	EUROPEAN	19	INNOCENT	✚
20	ARAB	20	DEVOUT	↓
21	SLAVIC	21	FOREIGN	↑
22	PALESTINIAN	22	CONSERVATIVE	↓
23	INDONESIAN	23	RADICAL	↓
24	CHINESE	24	AUSTRALIAN	✚
25	CAUCASIAN	25	ORDINARY	✚
26	EXTREMIST	26	BENGALI	✚
27	DISAFFECTED	27	MALAYSIAN	✚
28	INDIAN	28	PAKISTANI	↑
29	FOREIGN	29	MALAY	✚
30	MAINSTREAM	30	NORTHERN	✚
31	LIBERAL	31	EUROPEAN	↓
32	ONLY	32	LIBERAL	↓
33	PAKISTANI	33	FILIPINO	✚
34	KASHMIRI	34	REAL	↑
35	FAITHFUL	35	CHINESE	↓
36	IMMIGRANT	36	PRACTISING	✚
37	EDUCATED	37	INDONESIAN	↓
38	ALBANIAN	38	MAINSTREAM	↓
39	SUFI	39	POOR	✚
40	WESTERN	40	INFLUENTIAL	✚

41	AFRICAN	41	EXTREMIST	↓
42	ASIAN	42	BLACK	↓
43	ARMED	43	PEACEFUL	↑
44	ARABIC-SPEAKING	44	ABLE-BODIED	+
45	AMERICAN-BORN	45	HARDLINE	+
46	CONVINCED	46	FEMALE	+
47	FILIPINO	47	OBSERVANT	↓
48	HOMELESS	48	SINGLE	↑
49	NORMAL	49	GAY	+
50	PEACEFUL	50	BAD	+
51	PROMINENT	51	OPPRESSED	+
52	RADICALIZED	52	LANKAN	+
53	REAL	53	BANGLADESHI	+
54	RELIGIOUS	54	PIOUS	+
55	SINGLE	55	ASIAN	↓
56	TRUE	56	FAITHFUL	↓
57	TURKIC	57	RADICALISED	↓
58	TURKISH	58	RELIGIOUS	↓
59	ULTRACONSERVATIVE	59	ARAB	↓
60	US-BORN	60	PRACTICING	+