

The Representation of Muslim Women in Non-Islamic Media: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study on Guardian

Sajad Kabgani¹

Abstract: Providing analytical and social tools, critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) can be used to unravel the hidden ideologies as well as biases in the webs of discursive practices involved in texts. In this paper, the van Leeuwen's (1996) CDA framework is used to analyze an article from a British broadsheet newspaper, the Guardian. To have a more detailed analysis, eleven elements are chosen from the comprehensive framework of van Leeuwen. The focus of the study is on the representation of Muslim women in non-Islamic media, and the reason for which this British newspaper is used is that usually European countries have been accused of undemocratic behavior towards other ethnics and nationalities, and the reflection of this behavior is more observable in their media. Besides Muslim women, the representation of three other social actors has been analyzed so that a more comprehensive assessment can be achieved. The findings of this study indicate that Muslim women are depicted as active actors of Muslim community, remarkably determined in their beliefs, and as independent individuals who are in search of the resurrection of women's identity. Although the Guardian author's total depiction of Muslim women is a positive one, she finally concludes that the prevalence of the lack of critical thinking among them is the clearest drawback of all Muslim women. This last statement shows that although western media by the means of strategic tools try to depict minorities positively, in adopting such strategies they are not completely neutral.

Key words: Critical discourse analysis, Muslim women, Guardian Newspaper.

1- MA in TEFL, Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, Shiraz University,
e-mail: sajad_kabgani64@yahoo.com

Introduction

The terms critical linguistics (henceforth CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are often used interchangeably. CDA regards language as social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial (Wodak, 2001). Moreover, CDA takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power. The term CDA is used nowadays to refer more specifically to "the critical linguistic approach of scholars who find the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication" (Wodak, 2001, p. 2). Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as:

Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 135)

To put it simply, CDA aims at making obvious the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures; connections that might not be clear for a person unfamiliar with the field. Consequently, three concepts are found in all CDA approaches: the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology (Wodak, 2001).

The interdisciplinary approach of CDA allows us to consider a wide variety of communicative methods and media from different perspectives in a way that matches the complexity of linguistic, extralinguistic and contextual components of authentic and real-life communication. So, as Anthonissen (2001) claims:

A unifying principle in CDA can be found in its specific interest in discourses that take place in contested domains, such as the domains of nuclear energy, of human and civil rights of citizens and foreigners in modern states, of respectable educational opportunities, and so on. (P. 297)

Media is one of the resources in which discourse can be manifested in a variety of modes. Articles printed in famous journals and magazines are the best shelter for hiding the ideologies supported by centers of power. The approach developed by Theo van Leeuwen (1996) is the one which suits the analysis of the multimodal

aspect of the journalistic articles.

Statement of the Problem

CDA seeks to "show how the apparently neutral, purely informative discourses of newspaper reporting, government publications, social science reports, and so on, may in fact convey ideological attitudes, just as much as discourses which more explicitly editorialize or propagandize." (Anthonissen, 2001, p.300). This discipline specifically shows how language is used to convey power and status in contemporary social interaction. Most of the work done in CDA has focused on verbal texts, or on the verbal parts of multimodal texts. Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) grammar of visual design is intended to broaden the approach suggested by CDA, to include particularly the structure and use of images. They pay close attention to those trends in public communication where there is a notable incursion of the visual into many domains where formerly language was the sole and dominant mode. And they draw attention to the fact that images of whatever kind are not natural or neutral, but that they fall as much within the realm of ideology as any other mode of discourse.

If we accept the influential role of magazines and newspapers in shaping and directing the mentality of their audiences—who form the majority of each society—the need for the analysis of these genres would become indispensable. The fact which seems significant in the consideration of the analysis of this type of discourse is that how people and their beliefs are manifested and portrayed in these media.

Considering the possible effects of multimodal media—in this study articles printed in newspaper—the study aims at investigating the way through which social actors are manifested in mass media. In other words, it has been intended to show how the mass media imposes its intended ideologies through verbal devices.

This study attempts to clarify the way Muslim women are depicted in a non-Islamic newspaper—the Guardian. The study draws on the framework designed by van Leeuwen (1996) in which he analyzes discourse in a systematic way utilizing a socio-semantic inventory. The purpose of the study is to:

Identify the particular ways in which Muslim women are manifested in a non-Islamic newspaper.

Identify the ideologies behind the style of manifestation.

The Guardian is a newspaper disseminated all around the world. Because of its mass production and also the great number of readers, it has been chosen as a suitable data for analysis. Newspapers such as this seem amenable to critical analysis based on the features suggested in van Leeuwen (1996) socio-semantic framework.

Research Questions

This study aims at answering the following questions:

Are Muslim women represented in non-Islamic newspapers in a special way?

If so, does this style of representation show Muslim women in a negative way?

What are the ideologies behind this style of representation?

Literature Review

Habermas's critical theory can be considered as one of the most influential theories which feeds CDA. In line with Habermas's theory, CDA, by providing analytic tools, gives analysts the opportunity to understand social problems mainly mediated by mainstream ideology and power relationships. These ideologies target people's minds through different media, and each medium employs idiosyncratic features, some of which are hard to detect for ordinary audiences. The objective of CDA, first of all, is to unearth the ideological assumptions that have been (un)intentionally implemented in texts, and consequently, to resist and if possible overcome the various forms of power (Fairclough, 1989). Furthermore, CDA through its systematic analyses aims to discover often nontransparent relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. It attempts to show how these non-transparent relationships can result in securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1993).

CDA consists of three central tenets: The first tenet is related to factors resulting in discourse formation and its constraining elements. On the one hand, social structure such as class, status, age, ethnic identity, and gender, and cultural convention shape the building block of a situation in which a specific discourse is established. On the other hand, identities, relationships, and systems of knowledge and beliefs are highly affected by discourse (the words and language we use) (Fairclough, 2000).

According to the second tenet, CDA attempts to unify and determine the

relationship between three levels of analysis. these levels are the actual text; the discursive practices which are related to the processes involved in different media for transmitting and receiving messages; and the larger social context in which the text and the discursive practices are established (Fairclough, 2000). Discursive practice refers to socially acceptable behaviour including rules, norms, and mental models by the use of which we can produce, receive, and interpret the message. They can be conceived of as both spoken/written and unspoken /unwritten rules and conventions that govern our daily relationships (Alvermann, Commeyras, Young, Randall, & Hinson, 1977). In this respect, Gee (1999) expounding on discursive practices, states that these practices involve ways of being in the world and signify specific and recognizable social identities. Finally, the third tenet emphasizes the social context in which discourses occur. Accordingly, contexts are composed of distinct settings where discourse occurs and each setting has its own conventions determining rights and obligations.

Salem (2006) has done a research, as a PhD thesis, based on the analysis of interviews with young Muslim women in South Australia and the analysis of two daily newspapers (The Australian and The Advertiser). This thesis looks at themes such as religious racism, representation, identity, and resistance to racism. The critique is made of existing terminology being used to describe negativity and hostility based on the religious affiliation. This thesis concludes that secular society masks the continuing influence of Christianity heritage and assists in subordinating minorities, particularly Muslims.

Byng (2010) examines newspaper reporting so as to question the media representation of the ideological interests of Western nations. This study emphasizes the symbolic representations of Islam in public after 11 September, 2001. In this study, a critical discourse analytic framework is used to examine 72 stories that were published in the New York Times and Washington Post between 2004 and 2006. The stories included in the analysis are the ban on hijab in France, the debate about niqab in Britain, and veiling by Muslim women in the USA. The findings of the study show that the Western nations tend not to spread veiling in public. Byng states that the Western nations must approve the national identities of minorities as well as the concerns about Muslims' assimilation/integration. He concludes that from an ideological point of view, Western media treat minority-related issues from

the same perspective, in spite of their different framings of religious freedom.

Jafri (1993) analyzes the report, released by the Afghan Women's Organization, about local activism and community perspectives on the portrayal of Muslim women in Canadian mainstream media. The author refers to the prevalence of a phenomenon in the current media portrayals and calls it the Orientalist images of Islam. Regarding the existence of this phenomenon, she believes that Western media represent a portrayal of Muslim women which does not have any similarity to the real life of Muslim women. In this way, Muslim women are represented as the alien 'other' who, in their veil, play the role of passive victims of patriarchy.

Methodology

The present study attempts to analyze the ways through which Muslim women are represented in non-Islamic media. The Guardian has been chosen as a printed media for the intended purpose. Magazines and newspapers suit CDA for a number of reasons. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) believe that these media can influence the mind of readers because they present the information both linguistically and non-linguistically. Anthonissen (2001) also refers to the complex interplay of written texts, images and other graphic elements of these media. Consequently, these media can be used strategically by those who seek to inject their ideas in hidden ways.

The concept of critical discourse analysis and the analytical framework of van Leeuwen (1996) are employed to explicate the representation of Muslim women in a non-Islamic newspaper.

Analytical Framework

Van Leeuwen's (1996) framework representing various social actors has been used as the canon for the analysis of the Guardian newspaper. The following are definitions and elaborations of the framework in van Leeuwen's (1996, pp.32-69) own words.

I. Exclusion

Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Exclusion includes

two other sub-categories termed as:

Suppression: a kind of exclusion where there is no reference to the social actors in question anywhere in the text.

Backgrounding: this term refers to an exclusion which is less radical; the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given activity.

II. Inclusion

Activation: It occurs when social actors are represented as the active and dynamic forces in an activity as in: "children seek out aspects of...". Passivization is used when the social actors are represented as 'undergoing' the activity.

Subjected social actors: Passivized social actor can be subjected or beneficialized. Subjected social actors are treated as objects in the representation, for instance as objects of exchange.

Genericization and Specification: The choice between generic and specific reference is another important factor in the representation of social actors; they can be represented as classes or as specific, identifiable individuals...Generalization may be realized by the plural without a definite article.

Individualization: Social actors can be referred to as individuals: "The ministry for sport and Recreation; Mr. Brown, said..."

Collectivization is another type of assimilation which does not treat groups of participants as statistics.

Association: Refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors which are never labeled in the text.

Indetermination and Determination: Indetermination occurs when social actors are represented as specified and anonymous individuals or groups; determination occurs when their identity is, one way or another, specified.

Differentiation: Differentiation explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or a group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the 'self' and the 'other'.

Nomination and Categorization: Social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity, by being nominated, or in terms of the identity and functions they share with others (categorization). Nomination is typically realized by proper noun, which can be formalization (surname only, with or without hon-

orifiers), semi-formalization(given name and surname...), or informalization (given name only).

Functionalization and Identification: Functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance, an occupation or a role. Identification occurs when social actors are defined not in terms of what they do, but rather in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are.

Personalization and Impersonalization: Personalization represents human beings as realized by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names or nouns. Social actors are impersonalized when they are represented by other means, for instance by abstract nouns, or by concrete nouns whose meaning does not include the semantic feature 'human'.

Overdetermination: Overdetermination occurs when social actors are represented as participating simultaneously in more than one social practice.

The Representation of Muslim Women in Guardian

In this section, six elements taken from the vanLeeuwen's framework (1996) will be studied in an article² chosen from the Guardian newspaper. These elements are selected for the sake of their over appearance in the text, which at the end, their effects on the total structure of the text would be discussed. The social actors represented in the chosen text are Muslim women, Westerners or Western feminists, experts, and finally the one who epitomizes Islamic principles -Prophet Muhammad. Of course, each of these actors are purposefully represented differently and by different forms and names. In the newspaper text, the writer plays the role of the interviewer and six Muslim women are interviewed.

Inclusion and Exclusion

Referring to the van Leeuwen's framework (1996), when a social actor is going to be excluded from the text, he or she should be suppressed or backgrounded in the text. A social actor is suppressed when there is no reference for him/her in the text. In the case of backgrounding, there are some traces of social actor(s) in the

2- «Can Islam Liberate Women» written by Madeleing Bunting published in The Guardian, Saturday 8th December 2001.

text but these references are somehow delayed. In other words, there is a distance between the social actors and their action in the text. In this newspaper text, Muslim women have two references: one is the women interviewed by the writer, the second is the women who comprise the Muslim society. Although there are two referents for Muslim women in the text, the social practices that these two groups of women undergo are to some extent the same. Of course, finding a specific practice assigned to Muslim women is not possible. Having a general look at the total structure of the text, one can find out that the most conspicuous practice that can be related to the Muslim women is their defensive stance. The main characters of the article are Muslim women, and their presence in the article is approximately pervasive, both as a whole group comprising an independent society in Islamic countries, and individually through presenting their complete identity. Claiming with a definite voice certainly that this group of social actors is included all over the text is a matter beyond our scope; however, it is clear that the cases in which they are excluded from the story are nugatory, if not nonexistent. When the article starts by asking a question, the answer given to this question, and from the first paragraphs of the article to the concluding part, Muslim women can be considered as the main actors of the text. Muslim women have appeared in the text through two voices: In the first case, they themselves take the floor and directly state what they believe. In the second case, the author rewords what they say. The following example illustrates how the author has reworded the Muslim women's utterances:

*They say they naturally prefer a degree of segregation, enjoying deeper female friendships, rather than the confusing ambiguities of friendships with men.

The second group of social actors that is worth an analysis is Western women. Although their presence in the text is not as highlighted as Muslim women, they play an essential role in understanding the characteristic features of Muslim women. Westerners are important because in most cases, they are compared with their Muslim counterparts. What follows shows the way these two groups are compared:

*All the women agree that this is one of the biggest sources of misunderstanding between western feminists and Muslim women.

*The Moroccan writer, Fatima Mernissi, ponders on how, in the west, women's reclaiming their bodies has led to the public expression of their sexuality, whereas in Islam it is about modesty.

As it is observable in these examples, this group of social actors is also included in the text. Of course, this inclusion which is to some extent similar to the Muslim women cannot be a good evidence to be discussed regarding the final judgment of the text. In other words, other categories which come in the following paragraphs help us understand the major role played by this group.

The next group of social actors presented in the text are experts who have been introduced by the author almost with full personal identity. To see how they are represented in the text, following examples are given:

* Dr. Tim Winter, a Muslim convert and Cambridge lecturer, probably one of the most respected Islamic scholars in Britain, corroborates the assertion that...

* Dr. Rabia Malik, a psychotherapist, sometimes finds herself in the difficult position of having clients who want to take another wife.

These experts, whose presence in the article is so essential, have been referred by the author so many times. Each expert, at first, is introduced with his or her occupational identity, then their correct pronouns are applied to address them. A case showing their exclusion was not observed.

The final social actor represented in the article is Prophet Muhammad. As mentioned earlier, the Prophet is the epitome of Islamic ethos and is considered as the most influential character in the history of Islam. Like all previous cases, here again, the traces of exclusion cannot be observed. These are the examples in which the Prophet's name or his related pronoun has been applied by the author:

* When I read about the Prophet's life, I feel it is unjust.

* For believers, the Prophet's life was perfect and according to God's plan.

* The Prophet admitted that he had a favorite, Aisha.

Activation and Passivation

Activation and passivation deal with the roles that are assigned to social actors in a given representation. In other words, these processes concentrate on the roles allocated to social actors. From the vantage point of van Leeuwen, the importance of these two processes is laid in the incongruence between the roles played by social actors in real-life practices and the grammatical roles found in texts. In other words, in a given representation, roles and social relations between

participants can be reallocated and rearranged. Activation and passivation can be realized by other different processes. Participation (grammatical participant roles), circumstantialisation (by using prepositional circumstantial such as by or from), and possessivation (the use of possessive pronouns to activate or passivate a social actor) are three processes through which activation can be realized. The processes of subjection and beneficialisation distinguish passivation from activation. A passivized social actor is considered as subjected when it is "treated as objects in the representation" (1996, p. 44). On the other hand, beneficialisation, as the term implies, is the state in which the passivized social actor "forms a third party, which positively or negatively benefits from it" (1996, p. 44).

The majority of cases in which Muslim women are included in the text, they have been represented actively. The process through which this group of social actors has been activated is mainly 'participation'. The following sentence illustrates how they are activated by playing the participant role:

- * All of these women fluently and cogently articulate how they believe Islam has liberated and empowered them.

In the first example given below Muslim women are activated in relation to activities such as 'articulating' and 'believing'. In the next case, 'justifying' is the activity whose actors are Muslim women. And in the last instance, the aforementioned social actors are dynamic forces in the acts of 'wishing' and 'expressing'. The noticeable point is that activation in all these three examples are realized by 'participation'. From among the three processes through which activation can be realized, participation is the most frequent one. In general, the number of activated Muslim women compared to passivized passivized passivized ones is so great that the latter can be hardly observed in the text. However, three cases of passivization were found in which the supposed social actors are passivized passivized by different agents. Below are examples of Muslim women passivization:

- * Although some were prepared to consider a polygamous marriage, they all confessed that it would be very difficult.

- * The biggest danger is of a backlash in which the position of women is politicised as it was under the Taliban, where women were not allowed to work or be educated.

- * Women are the traditional symbol of honour, and find themselves subjected

to restrictions to safeguard their (and the next generation's) contamination from western culture.

In the first example, Muslim women are passivized and considered as the receiving end of the act of 'preparing' while the actor has been omitted. The situation for the next case is somehow different. In this sentence, the phrase 'under the Taliban' shows that this group has become activated through the process of circumstantialization and women who have been politicized are passivized. Finally in the third case, the passivized Muslim women are the goal in a material process of 'contaminating' whose actor is Western culture. All of the three examples presented above illustrate the realization of subjected social actors in the process of passivization. In other words, the instance of beneficialization was not observed in the text.

The second social actor whose presence is hardly tangible in the text is Western women. In spite of their intangible existence, they are analyzed to show how influential they are in representing Muslim women. Western women are activated in all the cases of their presence. In all instances, Westerners come to the scene when a comparison has been made between them and Muslim women. These comparisons have been drawn by Muslim women, Muslim experts and sometimes by the author herself. Needless to say, such a comparison is to some extent inevitable. Below is the illustration of Western women in the text:

- * It is not about shame of the female body, as western feminists sometimes insist, but about claiming privacy over their bodies.
- * The Moroccan writer, Fatima Mernissi, ponders on how, in the west, women reclaiming their bodies has led to the public expression of their sexuality, whereas in Islam it is about modesty.
- * Back at ArRum, the women say that, for them, the affirmation of women's sexuality in Islam renders pointless many of the battles fought by western feminists.

The first statement which is an indirect quotation mentioned by Muslim women shows the activation of Western feminists in the material process of 'insisting'. The next two sentences are also in line with the first one. Although Western women are activated in these sentences, this activation does not mean that they passivized Muslim women or any other social actors. What one can conclude from these sentences is that these two groups of social actors are in sharp contrast with

each other.

The next group of social actors is Muslim experts who have become unexceptionally activated throughout the whole text. 'Participation' is the main process through which these social actors get the dynamic force in the text. Giving such an active representation to experts illustrates the determining role given to this group of actors. A more interesting point is that the cases in which Muslim experts have been passivized were not found. The following examples confirm the just mentioned fact:

- * The Moroccan writer, Fatima Mernissi, ponders on how, in the west, women reclaiming their bodies has led to the public expression of their sexuality, whereas in Islam it is about modesty.
- * Both Dr. Malik and Humera Khan, founder of the women-run organization An-Nisa, believe that the Koranic conditions on polygamy are so hard to meet that they virtually rule it out.

Analyzing the Prophet's presence in the text regarding the activation and passivization of him, we can understand that the activated Prophet - most frequently in the form of 'participant' - has a dual personality. In the first paragraph presented below, the Prophet is the actor of the material processes of 'insisting', 'admitting', 'glimpsing', 'marrying', and 'invoking'. The considerable point is that in all of the actions, the Prophet is shown as a person defying what he once believed and what he was defending and struggling for in his entire life. In spite of illustrating a paradoxical picture from the Prophet's personality in this paragraph, in the second one he turns to a gentleman whose gallantry and emotional qualities are appreciable. Needless to say, presenting such a personality who can be the embodiment of honesty and integrity, and simultaneously a man of irresolution can bring this question to the minds of readers that what kind of prophet is he? In short, we can say that this kind of activation causes a tangible vagueness in the representation of the Prophet. The aforementioned paragraphs are presented below:

- * Although the Koran insists that a man should treat all his wives equally, the Prophet admitted that he had a favourite, Aisha. Or the controversial incident when the Prophet glimpsed the wife of his adopted son and, after she had been divorced, he married her. Worst of all to a skeptical western eye, the Prophet often invoked God to explain such incidents.

* The fact that the Prophet, according to Aisha, was something of a new man, and used to clean and sew when he wasn't praying; and then there is the praise lavished on the emotional qualities engendered by motherhood of nurturing and patience, with the Prophet's repeated injunctions to honour your mother.

Genericization and Specification

Representing social actors as distinguishable individuals who have concrete and specialized presence in the context of reality or giving a representation in which social actors are considered as a whole entity is critical in CDA. In the text under analysis, Muslim women in most of cases have been referred to by a plural pronoun. As it was pointed in the previous sections, the term Muslim women referred to both those women interviewed in the text and the ones including the Muslim society. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the author, they are regarded as a community believing in identical norms and ethos. Of course, it should not be forgotten that the choice of plural pronoun which has led to the genericization of the referred social actors is an obligatory act in which no other options were remained for the author to use. The following instances show the genericization of Muslim women:

* They refuse to accept that some of the provisions of Sharia law seem to institutionalise inequality, such as...

* All the women I spoke to, without a moment's hesitation, dismiss the restrictions in the many Islamic countries that oppress women as unIslamic "cultural practices", for example...

Considering these sentences and those in the text, we can conclude that there is not any clear-cut evidence to betray that behind this kind of genericization, a special negative ideology is hidden.

When the case comes to Western women, the same status is observed. Apparently, when Muslim women are supposed to be compared with their counterpart, their opposite group is also generalized. Consequently, like the last social actors, Western women have also been generalized in an obligatory selection. Of course, it cannot be the best justification for the mentioned phenomenon, because in specific situations, the author has had a free hand to specialize

Westerners, but she has avoided doing so; however, whether this avoidance has rooted in the cognizance of the author or not deserves a detailed assessment. Two sentences coming below are examples of Western women genericization in which the social actors have been referred by the indefinite article 'A'.

* But there are other parts of Koranic tradition that, to a western eye, seem deeply shocking.

* These are the sort of explanations that simply fail to convince a skeptical western mind.

Care should be taken regarding the structure through which the above social actors are represented as classes. In these sentences, the indefinite article plays the role of generalizing.

Among the chosen social actors, the only one who has been specialized in all the circumstances is Muslim experts. All the experts have been introduced with their complete identity. Their surnames and sometimes their first names have been complemented. Specification in such cases can highlight the role of social actors and in this case, it maintains a logical balance in the whole content of the text. The following paragraph illustrates how a Muslim expert, as an identifiable individual, challenges the accepted norms of Muslim society:

*But the fact remains that polygamy, though by no means the norm, is practised in all Muslim countries. Mernissi believes that this is an explicit humiliation of women, because it asserts that one woman can't satisfy a man; interestingly, Mernissi, a stout critic of certain aspects of Islam, is regarded with some suspicion by many of the women I spoke to.

While in the above instance, the Muslim expert is specialized to criticize the Islamic norms, in the coming sentence, it can be observed how Western women and their society are the target of the Muslim experts' criticism:

* Dr. Winter takes a different tack, defending polygamy by arguing that it is widely practiced in the west, from Bill Clinton to Prince Charles.

These two examples show the authenticity added to assertions claimed by the author or Muslim women.

As pointed earlier, sometimes generalizing social actors or giving specialized status to them has been done unintentionally. The Prophet who is supposed to be the key figure for Muslims and also for those studying Islamic traditions and

principles cannot be generalized in such a context. As a result, the Prophet who is a criterion for judging about Islam and its principles is specialized in the text.

Determination and Indetermination

Indetermination makes social actors anonymous and unspecified. In this way, the author maintains his or her predetermined goal. Muslim women in the text are represented as specified actors who are considered as doers of their own specific actions. In other words, the determination of this group is much more pervasive than their indetermination. These are the examples of determined Muslim women:

- * What women such as Shagufta, Maha, Soraya, Fareena and Jasmin want is to return to the freedoms that Islam brought women in the 7th century and beyond, when women became prominent Islamic scholars, poets and thinkers.
- * The Muslim women I spoke to happily talked of women as being "more emotional" and men as "more rational".
- * All the women I interviewed roll off a long list of hadiths and Koranic verses to support women's rights.

The author reveals a representation of Muslim women in which they are responsible for what they do, say, and believe. Having created such an atmosphere in which everyone takes responsibility of her own actions, the author avoided any ambiguity in sending the message of Muslim women. In other words, whenever a statement is claimed by Muslim women, the reader would be sure that it is stated by the same social actors.

Western women also have the same status regarding the referred phenomenon. While the situation is suitable for the author to represent Western women in a more complicated way so that they are depicted to readers as impeccable individuals (it is supposed that the majority of readers are Westerners and the norm is that they are represented better than Muslims), she has not committed such an action. Appraising the following sentence, we can have a more tangible picture of what was mentioned above:

- * All the women agree that this is one of the biggest sources of misunderstanding between western feminists and Muslim women.

Although the above sentence cannot be considered as a comprehensive

evidence from which the phenomenon of determination can be analyzed, it does not represent Westerners anonymously or unspecified. In other words, the identity of these social actors is not as vague as the ones transferred through indetermination.

What can be stated about the Muslim experts and the Prophet regarding their specialization is the same as what was mentioned about the others. These two social actors are also determined, and in representing their identity, nothing is remained ambiguous.

Differentiation

With regard to differentiations made by Muslim women or those in which they have been the object of it, the following two sentences are good examples:

* Back at ArRum, the women say that, for them, the affirmation of women's sexuality in Islam renders pointless many of the battles fought by western feminists.

* Plus, it was compatible with being British - being a British Muslim, rather than Pakistani.

What can be drawn from these sentences - the second one is quoted by one of the Muslim women - is that Muslim women have a negative attitude towards the principles and percepts of Western culture and those who have adopted it. Whenever talking about moral codes, they try to make a distinction between what they are (the true representative of Muslim women) and their Western counterparts as well as other Muslim women living in countries such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The corollary of such a distinction made by these social actors is the process of differentiation. Besides what Muslim women believe and claim regarding the referred distinction, the author herself also highlights it by confirming what the Muslim women living in the West say with regard to their ideas about other Muslims in other countries. Of course, the neutrality of the author with regard to the ethical codes of Westerners is a fact which is obvious by considering such a claim:

* The Moroccan writer, Fatima Mernissi, ponders on how, in the west, women reclaiming their bodies has led to the public expression of their sexuality, whereas in Islam it is about modesty.

In the above sentence, the author referring to the name and affiliation of the person (Fatima Mernissi) shows that it is not her own idea; however, there are

some cases in which the author clearly has differentiated Muslim women from Western ones. Although these instances of differentiation can be rarely observed, they play crucial roles in showing the picture of Muslim women. An example of differentiation stated by the author is presented below:

* They haven't the freedom to develop the critical analytical tradition of western feminism, which has been so important in understanding how patriarchy has influenced religious, legal, moral and political systems.

The most obvious example of differentiation can be drawn from the Muslim experts' remarks. What they try to differentiate is the distinction between Western moral codes and the fundamental principles of its culture and those of Muslim community. Approximately in all cases, experts have favored Islamic norms and rejected those of Westerners. The following claims represent what was mentioned regarding the experts' differentiation:

* The Moroccan writer, Fatima Mernissi, ponders on how, in the west, women reclaiming their bodies has led to the public expression of their sexuality, whereas in Islam it is about modesty.

* As Mernissi points out in *Beyond The Veil*, Islam always understood that women's sexuality was active, while western Christianity socialised women into accepting sexual passivity - the "lie back and think of England" approach.

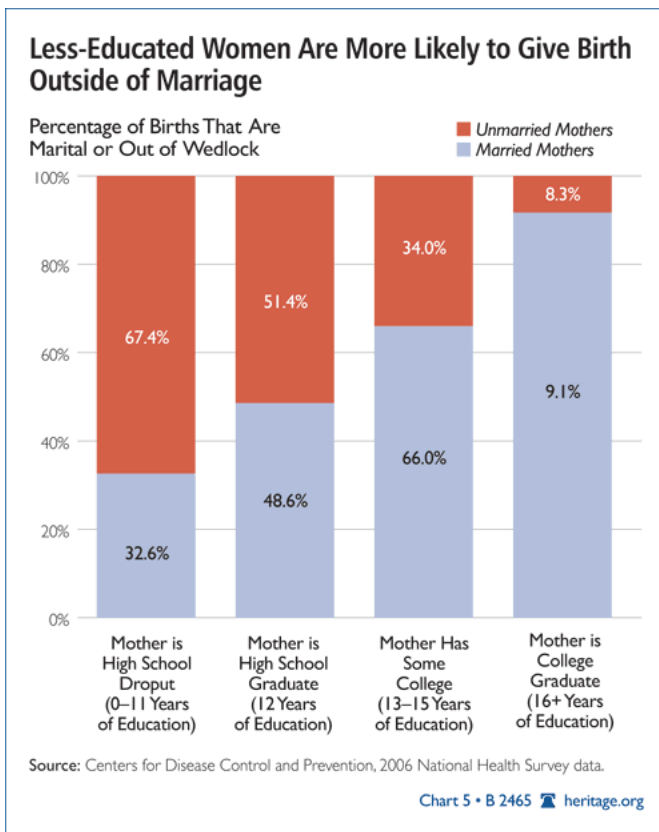
Nomination and Categorization

Using proper nouns is the most usual way to realize nomination which indicates the unique identity of social actors. On the other hand, categorization takes place when the social actors are represented in terms of their identities and functions that are shared with others. In the text under consideration, Muslim women are treated with their unique identities as well as with the common features they share with others. When the purpose of the author is to talk about Islamic norms and standards, Muslim women are treated in the form of categorization. In other words, they are categorized so that the readers realize that the features being discussed are common in the whole Muslim community. Nevertheless, instances of nomination are not rare and a case in point is when an individual Muslim woman explains her personal ideas. In none of these situations, the reader can discern any indecency attributed to Muslim women. To put it in another way, the author

strikes a balance between nomination and categorization to illustrate her objectivity regarding Muslim women's worldview. For each of the instances discussed above, an example is provided here:

- * Most strikingly, however, all of these women fluently and cogently articulate how they believe Islam has liberated and empowered them.
- * Shagufta, the 25-year-old editor of the Muslim magazine Q News, was brought up in London, in a traditional Pakistani home where the emphasis was on cultural conservatism rather than piety.

While both categories of nomination and categorization were found in the analysis of Muslim women, only the latter can be found for Westerners. No instance was found in which a Western women is known with her unique identity. Of course, it should not be ignored that the presence of Western women in the text is so rare



that we cannot make a comparison between them and Muslim women regarding the instances of nomination and categorization. Although Westerners have been categorized in all of the cases, one cannot claim that they are deemphasized intentionally or unintentionally by the author. At the end of the article, in two paragraphs the reader is faced with a comparison in which Westerners are considered as people with critical thinking ability and Muslims as naïve and unsophisticated ones. In the following sentence, the above mentioned point can be seen; in spite of the categorization of Western feminists, they are represented as superior people with respect to their ability in understanding essential matters of life.

* They haven't the freedom to develop the critical analytical tradition of western feminism, which has been so important in understanding how patriarchy has influenced religious, legal, moral, and political systems.

The most striking manifestation of nomination can be observed in the representation of Muslim experts. All of the experts can be realized by their unique identities, and since they play a functional role in the article, their nomination would also influence the readers' minds to a great extent. The extensive number of quotations attributed to experts - approximately all of them in favor of Muslims - is a point whose influence cannot escape from the readers' minds.

Conclusion

The representation of other ethnics with their special religious orientation has been one of the most common topics studied by critical discourse analysts. European countries with their special cultural, societal, and political stance are usually accused of treating other nationalities unfairly. Since these countries hold enormous power, they can inject and also impose their thoughts on other ethnics who, out of their undeveloped condition, can be easily affected by the flamboyant advertisements of Western countries. Usually such an injection can be done in two ways: In the first method, the cultural and social norms of those countries in the center of power are directly demonstrated to their target. The groups of people who are frequently influenced by such a strategy are among those who lack the ability to think critically. In the second method, what is going to be imposed on the targets' minds is at first clearly designed, and then, with special strategies it is injected into people's thoughts. Usually the targets of such a method are those who have limited access

to some kind of knowledge. The aim of this article was to uncover the hidden ideologies involved in the webs of discursive practices. Muslim women were chosen as the target of analysis since, among other reasons, they play a pivotal role in constructing an Islamic society. Another reason for which Muslims were chosen originates from the new status of Islamic countries after September 11, 2001 which created great changes in the international relationships specifically between Islamic countries and Western ones. The elements existing in the socio-semantic inventory designed by van Leeuwen (1996) was applied to critically analyze the text under consideration (Guardian). The findings of this study were against the hypothesis raised at the beginning of the study. While one expects to find a negative depiction of Muslim women in non-Islamic media, the findings of the present study do not confirm it strongly clearly. It should be taken into consideration that in spite of a somewhat positive representation of Muslim women, this representation is not completely neutral, especially when the author of the Guardian tries to question the independent identity of Muslim women in the concluding section of her article, the section which was not discussed between the interviewer and the interviewees. Overall, at least as far as this study is concerned, it cannot be concluded that all Western media have the same orientation towards other ethnic minorities; consequently, to have a broader view of Western media in the topic under analysis, a substantial comparative study is necessary.

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