

**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PROPAGANDA CREATED BY
MIRROR.CO.UK AND THEDAILYSTAR.NET NEWS ARTICLES FOR CONCERNING
ISLAMOPHOBIA**

Thesis

Submitted as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements to Obtain Strata 1 (S1) Degree



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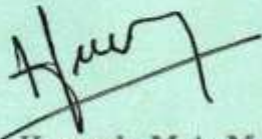
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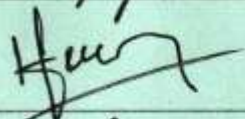
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ABSTRACT

Wanda, Pahuse. 2020. “Critical Discourse Analysis of Propaganda Created by Mirror.co.uk and Thedailystar.net for Concerning Islamophobia”

This research investigates the propaganda techniques used by the online news author concerning Islamophobia. This study used lexical choices by Fairlough’s textual analysis and the aim of this study is to identify the words including verb, noun, adverb and the propaganda techniques that used by the news author to describe Islam and Muslims in their news articles. Types of research used in this study are descriptive qualitative research. The results of this study are from mirror.co.uk found that the author used 72 words including verb, noun, and adverb for describing Muslims. Meanwhile, thedailystar.net found that the author used 83 words with negative meaning for describing Islam. From the analysis of the lexical choice, the top frequencies used by the two media are terrorists, extremists, radicals and militants. From the analysis of propaganda techniques, found that both media used name-calling, card stacking, and testimonial propaganda techniques. The two media used name-calling techniques in total 155 words, card stacking in total 31 sentences, and 11 sentences are testimonial propaganda techniques. Both media also used the words which have negative connotation, and images. In such manner, it is proposed that the world of Islam be aware of this false opinion used negative propaganda against Islam and take fitting and convenient measures with the goal that they could present the genuine idea of this holy religion to the world and diminish the quantity of Islamophobic assaults on Muslim people group all through the world.

Key words: Critical discourse analysis, Propaganda, Islamophobia, Mirror.co.uk, Thedailystar.net, Lexical Choices.

ABSTRAK

Wanda, Pahuse. 2020. “Critical Discourse Analysis of Propaganda Created by Mirror.co.uk and Thedailystar.net for Concerning Islamophobia”

Penelitian ini menyelidiki teknik propaganda yang digunakan oleh penulis berita online tentang Islamophobia. Penelitian ini menggunakan pilihan leksikal berdasarkan analisis tekstual Fairlough dan tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi kata-kata termasuk kata kerja, kata benda, kata keterangan dan teknik propaganda yang digunakan oleh penulis berita untuk menggambarkan Islam dan Muslim di artikel berita mereka. Jenis penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Hasil penelitian ini berdasarkan dari mirror.co.uk menemukan bahwa penulis menggunakan 72 kata termasuk kata kerja, kata benda, dan kata keterangan untuk menggambarkan Muslim. Sementara itu, thedailystar.net ditemukan bahwa penulis menggunakan 83 kata dengan makna negatif untuk menggambarkan Islam. Dari analisis pilihan leksikal, frekuensi teratas yang digunakan oleh kedua media adalah teroris, ekstrimis, radikal dan militan. Dari analisis teknik propaganda, ditemukan bahwa kedua media menggunakan name calling, card stacking, dan teknik propaganda testimonial. Kedua media tersebut menggunakan teknik name calling dengan total 155 kata, card stacking total 31 kalimat, dan 11 kalimat adalah teknik propaganda testimonial. Kedua media juga menggunakan kata-kata yang memiliki konotasi negatif, dan gambar. Dengan cara seperti itu, diusulkan agar dunia Islam hati hati akan pendapat keliru ini menggunakan propaganda negatif terhadap Islam dan mengambil langkah-langkah yang sesuai dan nyaman.

Kata Kunci: Critical discourse analysis, Propaganda, Islamophobia, Mirror.co.uk, Thedailystar.net, Lexical Choices.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Research Problem

Human is living by innovation, one of the human innovations is in the field of technology. Technology makes it easier for humans to carry out daily life, especially on the internet. By using internet, we could get information from news article more quickly than printed news. The development of technology on the internet has brought many good things to our life. However, the internet also has a detrimental effect on our lives, such as hoax, fake news, and also the propaganda from the news article. In this study, the author was analyzed the propaganda news from news article (online) which blamed muslims community by using Critical Discourse Analysis.

Discourse analysis is one of linguistic disciplines which belong to macro linguistics. Discourse study is concern to social and political phenomenon which occurs in society. Critical discourse analysis is a contemporary approach to the study of language and discourses in social institutions. Drawing on poststructuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics, it focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts. Critical discourse analysis refers to the use of an ensemble of techniques for the study of textual practice and language use as social and cultural

practices (Fairclough, 1992b). It builds from two broad theoretical orientations. First, it draws from poststructuralism the view that discourse operates laterally across local institutional sites, and that texts have a constructive function in forming up and shaping human identities and actions. Second, it draws from Bourdieu's sociology the assumption that actual textual practices and interactions with texts become "embodied" forms of "cultural capital" with exchange value in particular social fields (Fairclough, 1992).

Media, especially news article, plays important role in human life. The media function is not only as a source of information but also as social control. It also deals with the production of beliefs and domination within the social context. Moreover, it is the domain in which social reality is formed and ideologies are normalized (Richardson, 2007:2). The media authors from news agency may express an occasion as their own perspective and their own point of view, it was affected into social life of their readers especially in propaganda anti muslims field. Based on this fact, several researcher have conducted research in the field of discourse analysis to analyzed how media describing Islam on their news article, including the author of this study. This study is focused on how media (news online) used propaganda by lexical choices, and find the differences and similiarities by the two media to coverage their content based on summary and background of the news articles, in this case *mirror.co.uk* and *thedailystar.net*.

There are several studies have been done by other researchers which is related to this study in analyzed about media discourse. The first study is a research from the New York Times. This study was conducted by Lemmouh,

(2008). He studied A Critical Linguistic Analysis of the Representation of Muslims in the New York Times. He's discussed the lexical and syntactic features that contribute the stereotyped image of out groups in news paper. He found that the linguistic features analysed point to a systematic 'othering' and stereotyping Muslims as compared to other participants.

The second study analyzed from The New York Times news. This research was conducted by Allazany, (2013). He studied Islam and Muslims in the New York Times: Two Versions, Two Camps. He discussed the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the New York Times in the wake of the 9/11 events and the ensuing two years. He found that the newspaper makes a departure from a monolithic representation avoiding the negative implication of reportage that homogenized Islam and shows Muslims as a monolithic block that entails no differences.

The third study is a research about Yahoo sites. This research was conducted by Amiri, (2015). He studied The Representation of Islamophobia: A Critical Discourse Analysis. He discusses a descriptive study attempted to explore the representation of Islamophobiar ove the internet with a rather precise look at the news via the commonly-viewed yahoo site. He found that the news reported in Yahoo site reveals a false image of Muslims and Islam so that there can be an increase in the case of Islamophobia towards Islam throughout the world, the manifestations of which are attacks on Muslims and Mosque on the west.

The previous research above has encouraged the researcher to conduct this study. However, there are some differences between this study and the previous ones. This study is also analyze the Media discourse, but the object is coming from *mirror.co.uk* and *thedailystar.net*. In this study the researcher focused on how the media authors used propaganda to concerning islamophobia, this research analyzed by exploring and analyzing the lexical choice and the used of propaganda techniques, also the similiarities and differences the author of *mirror.co.uk* and *thedailysatr.net* news articles. However, the relevant study above give the researcher much contribution to conduct this study. Especially, in the field of media discourse. Lemmouh, (2008) Stated that media as the primary source of information in society has power to establish the societies knowledge, beliefs, values, social relation and identity.

Propaganda etymology of which stems from the Latin root meaning ‘to sow’ or to ‘spread out’, is primary method of cognitive conditioning, which has the power to distil an ideal into the human mind, in order to influence or control their future actions (Badar, 2016). Propaganda is information that is not objective and is used primarily to influence an audience and further an agenda, often by presenting facts selectively to encourage a particular synthesis or perception, or using loaded language to produce an emotional rather than a rational response to the information that is presented (Smith, 2016). Propaganda is often associated with material prepared by governments, but activist groups, companies and the media can also produce propaganda. In the twentieth century, the term propaganda has been associated with a manipulative approach, but propaganda

historically was a neutral descriptive term (Smith, 2016). A wide range of materials and media are used for conveying propaganda messages, which changed as new technologies were invented, including paintings, cartoons, posters, pamphlets, films, radio shows, TV shows, and websites.

Propaganda can be categorised according to the source and nature of the message. There are three types of propaganda, namely white propaganda - coming from an openly identified source; black propaganda, - identified as being from one source, but actually from another; and grey propaganda – one which is without any identifiable source or author (Badar, 2016). The term ‘propaganda’, itself, was born in the nomenclature of the Catholic Church’s missionary efforts in the 17th Century. Originally derived from *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* (the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith), the term came to reflect methods used to evangelize the Church’s message, through scripture, symbolism, and ritual (Stanley, 2017). Based on the definition and the types of propaganda above, the type of propaganda in this research is ‘Black Propaganda’ because it’s clearly made a negative perspective about Muslim’s community in society.

In the backdrop of fear, conspiracy theories, and singling out private universities as “new madrasas”, Bangladeshi politicians, analyst, and intellectuals are surprised, secular-educated, rich urban youths, not poor, madrasa-educated students took part in the Gulshan attack. Their surprise reflects their lack of familiarity about Islamist terrorist outfits in the world, overwhelmingly led manned by upper class, Muslim technocrats.

(Thedailystar.net,2016)

Figure 1.1 A Quotation from Thedailystar.net

From the quotation above, it can be seen from the lexical choices of the author *thedailystar.net*, they used the word *fear*, *terrorist*, *conspiracy theories*, *attack*, and *Islamist terrorist outfits*. It could be seen as media propaganda for concerning negative perspective about muslims. They also try to provide a rather harsh image of Islam, Muslims, and Muslim communities. Based on definition of propaganda, it can be categorized as 'black-propaganda', because they just seen the correspondents only from one people, or one group of people. (Whittaker, 2005:55) said that all the research conducted show negative and pesimistic view of the media towards Islam, and Muslims and have constituted a stereotypic image of the Muslims which characterizes them as aggressive, violent, strange, and against women. In line with Hasan Khani¹¹ claim that The Magazine follows an Islamophobic policy through a wide coverage of news and attempts to presents of false potrayal of Islam through such terms as radicalist, militarist, fundamentalist, aggressive, and jihaddist.

Analysis of propaganda is a complex undertaking that requires historical research, examination of propaganda messages and media, sensitivity to audience response, and critical scrutiny of the entire propaganda process (Jowett, 2005).

Jowett, (2005) said propaganda is deliberate and systematic attempt to the shape of perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of propagandist. Based on Jowett, (2005) there are 10 steps plan of analysis that incorporates the major elements of propaganda. There are: 1. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign. 2. The context of which propaganda occurs, 3. Identification of the propagandist,

4. The structure of the propaganda organization, 5. The target audience, 6. Media utilization techniques, 7. Special techniques to maximize effect, 8. Audience reaction to various techniques, 9. Counterpropaganda, if present, 10. Effects and evaluation. Meanwhile, there are some techniques of making propaganda, there are: 1. Bandwagon Propaganda, 2. Card Stacking Propaganda, 3. Plain Folks Propaganda, 4. Testimonial Propaganda, 5. Glittering Generalities Propaganda, 6. Name Calling Propaganda, and 7. Transfer Propaganda.

Moreover, there are several study which analyzed propaganda in a text, the first study was conducted by Uudelep (2008). His studies entitled Propaganda Instruments in Political Television Advertisements and Modern Television Commercials. He discusses political TV advertisements all categories of propaganda instruments were used, but in non-political TV advertisements technological propaganda instruments were not implemented. In political TV advertisements the emphasis is on creating the image of strong leader, for that all suitable both people with authority in given field or celebrities. In non-political TV advertisements messages are directly aimed at target audience and the visual imagery is used for assuring public that people who are similar to them are thinking and behaving in the way presented.

Second, is a study was conducted by Woo Lee, J (2009). His studies entitled Red Feminism and Propaganda in Communist Media. He concerned with the media representation of female athletes in communist society. He analysed the text and images were investigated in a qualitative manner and thematic and discourse analysis was performed.

Third, is a study was conducted by Kohl, D (2011). Her studies entitled The Presentation of 'Self' and 'Other' in Nazi Propaganda. She analysed the distinction between 'self' and 'other', and the representation of 'self' by Adolf Hitler. She observed the way Hitler's and Goebbels chose to present the Aryans versus the Jewish people provided the Germans with all they needed to have an enhanced ingroup feeling: a degree of homogeneity, a common mental object (Jewish People).

Fourth, is a study was conducted by Whiting, S.A (2012). Her studies entitled "The Discourse of Defence": "Dissident" Irish Republican Newspapers and the "Propaganda War". This study analyzed the mainstream discourse clearly defines the Self and Other.

Fifth, is study was conducted by Richardson, J.E (2013). His studies entitled Continuity and Change in Anti-Immigrant Discourse in Italy 'An Analysis of the Visual Propaganda of the Lega Nord. He discusses the electoral success of right-wing extremist and rightwing populist parties in many European countries has been accompanied by xenophobic and racist propaganda campaigns in their respective nation-states.

Sixth, is a study was conducted by Lukin, A (2013). Her studies entitled Journalism, Ideology, and Linguistics : The Paradox of Chomsky's Linguistic Legacy and His 'Propaganda Model'. She considered the media coverage of the 2003 'Collation' invasion of Iraq, in light of the contradictions between assumptions about discourse in the 'propaganda model'.

Seventh, is a study was conducted by Khachatryan, S (2013). She studied about Critical Discourse Analysis of the Russian LGBT Law and its Propaganda in Russian Media. She observed that problematizes the Russian LGBT law that have given rise to aggressive anti-gay propaganda movement, especially in Russian Media. Based on Fairclough's and Foucault's theories of governmentality and power of discourse, critical discourse analysis is used to explain by who the media discourse is formed, how and why.

Eight, is a study was conducted by Nobstedt, S.A (2015). He studied about From the Persian Gulf to Kosovo – War Journalism and Propaganda. He discusses from a pilot study of the discourse on Kosovo in four leading dailies from four countries: Greece, Norway, Sweden and UK. The context for war correspondents and media coverage of military operations in international conflicts is flooded by propaganda.

Ninth, is a study was conducted by Putri, I.T (2018). Her studies entitled Is There a Correlation Between Propaganda and Radical Action?: A Critical Discourse Analysis. She analyzed Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model which is related to the three dimensions such as text analysis, social cognition, and social context.

Based on several study about propaganda in a text above, there is none of the researcher which was analyzed the propaganda for concerning Islamophobia from mirror.co.uk and thedailystar.net based on lexical choices and the used of propaganda techniques and also the differences and the similarities in the

summary and background of the news articles. This study analyzed the propaganda were created by *mirror.co.uk* and *thedailystar.net* for concerning islamophobia with using Fairlough's critical discourse analysis method. This study focused on analyse the lexical choice and find out the similiarities and differences by both media author in their summary and background of news artciles. However, the previous relevant studies above give much contribution to conducted this study. The first contribution is gave the researcher of this research a knowledgement in analysing how the propaganda language works in the text of media online/printed news. The second contribution is about the textual analysis of discourse by fairlough's.

Islamophobia is an intense fear or hatred of, prejudice against, the Islamic religion or Muslims, especially when seen as geopolitical force or the source of terrorism (Wike, 2016). The term was first used in early 20th century and it emerged as neologism in the 1970s, then it became increasingly salient during 1980s and 1990s, and it reached public policy prominence with the report by Runnymede Trust's Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (CBMI) entitled *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (1997). The introduction of the term was justified by the report's assessment that "anti-Muslim prejudice has grown so considerably and so rapidly in recent years that a new item in the vovabulary is needed" (Meer, 2009).

In conducting the study, the author was interested about how the media author's concerning Islamphobia in their news article. Rankema (2004:266)

purposed that is impossible to find objectivity in the production of the news because the journalist cannot be completely neutral.

1.2 Identification of Research Problem

News article is a part of media discourse which could be studied from linguistics area such as critical discourse analysis and stylistics analysis. In critical discourse analysis, the news article can be analysed based on textual features, discursive practice and socio-cultural practice. This study classified as macro-linguistics, is a study about language in abroad sense including cultural and behavioural features associated with language. From many branches of macro-linguistics, this study belongs to critical discourse analysis.

This study focused on electronic discourse which are online news articles produced by two different media. News article as a part of media discourse is expected to be objective as public reference. In any case, most of western media produced news article is often identified biased. Hence, the researcher tried to analyse the news article which have high percentages of islamophobia in their news article content. The author also attempted to analyze the content including lexical choices, and the used of propaganda techniques and also the differences and similiriaties of the news articles summary and background by applying critical discourse analysis model based on Fairlough's (1995).

1.3 Limitation of the Research

Based on identification above, this study was limited to eight news articles taken from *mirror.co.uk* and *thedailystar.net* taken randomly which have high percentage of Islamophobia in the content. In this study the researcher analysed the lexical choices and the used of propaganda techniques and also find out the similarities and the differences from both media in the summary and background of the news.

1.4 Formulation of the Problem

The formulation of the problem has been elaborated in the following research questions :

1. What are the lexical choices used by the author of *mirror.co.uk* and *thedailystar.net* for concernig Islamophobia in their news article?
2. What are the propaganda techniques that used by the news author?
3. What are the similarities or difference in the summary and background of the two media?

1.5 Purpose of the Research

1. To find out what are the lexical choice used by the author of *mirror.co.uk* and *thedailystar.net* for concerning Islamophobia in their news article.
2. To find out the propaganda techniques that used by news author.
3. To find out the similarities or differences from the summary and background of two media.

1.6 Significance of the Research

This study is expected to give benefits :

- a) Theoretically, this research hopefully can give much knowledge about linguistic analysis study especially in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). And also how propaganda works on a media by the lexical choice of the author.
- b) Practically, this study is expected for the reader to know how media created Islamophobia by using Propaganda techniques in a news and the lexical choice, and the similarities and differences in the summary and background of the news articles of the two media. The researcher hopes this research can give contribution to the next researcher as reference.

1.7 Definition of Key Terms

There are several of terms used by the researcher in this research. As follows :

Propaganda	: Information that is not objective and is used primarily to influence an audience and further an agenda
Critical Discourse Analysis	: An interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice.

Islamophobia	: Is an intense fear or hatred of, prejudice against, the Islamic religion or Muslims
News Article	: Articles reporting news which will be the object this research.
Mirror.co.uk	: Online News from U.K
TheDailyStar.net	: Online News from U.K

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

5.1 Conclusion

According to the results of analysis of eight news articles from Mirror.co.uk and Thedailystar.net, it can be concluded that the two media have some similarities and differences in the way they described muslim's on their news articles. The two media share similarities in term of lexical choices. Mirror.co.uk and Thedailystar.net described muslim's and their behavior by using words with negative meaning and connotation, such as militant, terrorist, fighter, and maniac. Thus, the way they described muslim and the title given to muslim is also can be classified that they were used some propaganda techniques to raise Islamophobia among the readers. From the seven techniques of making propaganda, the news author used three of them. They are, name calling techniques, card stacking techniques and testimonial techniques.

Moreover, the analysis on the similarities and differences based on summary and background in the content of two media showed that they are have the same of naming to described the Islamist group, same responses, and both of news are not give the detail information about the Islamist group such as IS, ARSA and so on. Despite the similarities, both of media have one differences, mirror.co.uk used less words with negative connotation oh their summary of the

news. Meanwhile, Thedailystar.net used a lot of words with negative connotation on their news summary.

5.2 Suggestion

This study that primarily studied critical discourse analysis of propaganda to raise Islamophobia by Mirror.co.uk and Thedailystar.net. This study, compared that how the two media used lexical choices and the using of propaganda techniques to describes Muslim's. Furthermore, it is suggested that the future researcher will study the critical discourse to get deeper result and have more detail. And the researcher also suggested for the news agencies to write and make the news more balanced and not give some bias to minority and others.

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