ISLAMOPHOBIA IN THE UK PRINT MEDIA: AN INTERSECTIONAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT *: This paper investigates how various Muslim-identity groups are represented in the British press. The study adopted an intersectional critical discourse analysis as an analytical framework (see Baker and Levon 2016) of a corpus of a medium size. The method adopted used drew on corpus methods by identifying strong collocations associated with each identified identity followed by qualitative analysis. The findings highlight the living experiences of British Muslims which might be gendered, classed and racialized with certain Muslim identity-groups. The present study demonstrates through an intersectional approach that media representations of Muslims are constituted through race, gender and class and that Muslims are perceived to be othered in contemporary British public discourses.*

KEYWORDS: *Discourse of Islamophobia, Britain, corpus analysis, discourse analysis, intersectionality*

INTRODUCTION

Islamophobia has been described as a form of racism and an unsubstantiated fear of Islam. The media has a role in transmitting Islamophobic positions and coverage of events pertaining to Muslims (Ruthven 2002). Some studies claim that certain media outlets in the West perpetrate Islamophobia (Rana 2007 and Ahmed 2012). Rana (2007) shows that US media represents Muslims of Latino and African-American backgrounds as suspects of terrorist activities. Many studies have stated that the reproduction of Islamophobia in the media is due to the racialisation of Islam, perceptions of threats and inferiority and the othering of Muslims (Dunn et al. 2007). With the rise in anti-Muslim sentiments in the West, particularly in US, French, Australian and Denmark public discourses, political campaigns and discriminatory policies may encourage Islamophobic practices online such as reproducing xenophobic discourses and normalising abuse against Muslims (Koopmans and Ozak 2004). For example, Lambert (2013) shows that extremist nationalist organisations in the UK have been involved in anti-Muslim violence, harming mosques and Islamic centres since 9/11. Supporters of extreme right-wing politics hold populist views which oppose diversity, multiculturalism, Islam and immigration (Kaya 2018). Marranci (2004) further links Islamophobia to populist views which encourage a fear of multiculturalism and represent the 'other' as playing a powerful role in transforming cultural practices or societal norms through cultural contacts and interchange. In contrast to Islamophobia in the form of physically harming Muslims, a subtler form of Islamophobia which Muslims experience daily entails hostile treatment or discrimination in the workplace or being confronted by exclusion from a healthy social life (Moosavi 2015).

Recent critical discourse analysis studies have focused on the representation of Islam and Muslim women in the British media (Baker et al. 2013; Al-Hejin 2014; Al-Hejin 2015; Bleich et al. 2015; Samaie and Malmir 2017). Previous research finds Muslims as a social group to be misrepresented in the Western media due to prevalent negative stereotypes (Poole and

Richardson 2006). Yet these studies have fallen short of providing an account of the ways in which Islamophobia intersects with race, gender and social class. The current study investigates the representations of Islamophobia in the British press. The study implements an intersectional, corpus-based, discourse analysis framework with emphasis on collocation analysis to show discursive representations intersecting with gender, race and social class. A review of the relevant literature is presented, followed by a discussion of data and methods. Finally, the results of the study are presented and discussed.

ISLAM AND MUSLIMS IN BRITISH PRESS

Discourse studies have investigated the representations of Islam and Muslims in the UK media (Baker et al. 2012). Moore et al. (2008) analyses content and images associated with Muslims in the British media between 2000 and 2008 and finds that the language used in the British media associated with British Muslims reflects themes of threats, problems or opposition to British values. Baker et al. (2012) examines the representations of Muslims in a 143 million–word corpus of UK newspaper articles available between 1998 and 2009. Using Sketch Engine as an analytical tool, all noun collocates of Muslims are categorised by type of reference: ethnic/national identity, characterizing/differentiating attributes of Muslims, conflict, culture, religion, and groups/organisations. When further analysing the two most frequent collocates in the corpus—the Muslim community and the Muslim world—the study finds that British Muslims are homogenised and othered. Collocates associated with the Muslim community are found to reflect a discourse prosody which constructs the Muslim community as easily angered or offended.

Muslims in Western areas may be seen as having immigrant status, and recent research tends to describe immigrants' identities as not fixed, due to transnational ties and multiple belongings (Dwyer 2000). The multiple-belongings perspective contends that people are affiliated to multiple social groups thereby possess multiple 'belongings', these multiple belongings are constantly negotiated. For example, immigrants are agents possessing complementary views of their identities which combine their personal identity with the identity of the country they live in (Ehrkamp 2005).

Gender constitutes one of the strong components of the construction of the identity of the contemporary Muslims in the UK. Dwyer notes that a common theme among young British Muslim women constructing and contesting their own identities is that they 'had to constantly challenge other people's expectations of them' (Dwyer 1997, p. 62). The dominant representations of Muslim women, which young British Muslim women resist, are linked to two dominant discourses: 'racialised' discourses regarding their Asian background and 'Orientalist' discourses on Islam (Dwyer 1997). The racialised discourses construct Asian women as primarily passive and the victims of their regressive cultures, while the Orientalist discourses construct Islam as a backward religion embodying the opposite of Western culture. Young British Muslim women are also associated in the West with 'veiling', viewed in the West as an indication of the suppression of women's agency (Macdonald 2006). This introduces tensions between Muslim women's worldview and the environment they live in. Other studies suggest that Muslim women's clothing is viewed by Westerners as opposing mainstream culture (Donnel 2003). Negative representations in the media of Muslim women wearing hijabs are challenged by Muslim women themselves. In a study on the experiences of 13 veiled

American women, the findings suggest that Muslim women ascribe different meanings to their veiling; for some, the hijab defines their Muslim identity, while for others the hijab ensures respect of women's private entity and resists their objectification (Droogsma 2007).

Race constitutes another strong part of the construction of the Muslim identity in the UK. Garner and Selod (2013) argue that Muslim racialisation is a significant part of the British Muslim experience. Racialisation of Muslims and the consequent Islamophobia result from representations of Muslims as a homogeneous group. In the same vein, race is more prominent in American research context when it comes to racializing Muslims, for example, Love (2017) provides many cases of the racialisation of Muslims in the representation of Arabs in Hollywood films and in violence aimed at South Asian Americans, such as the murder of Sunando Sen. Brown Muslims are associated with illegal immigrant status in the US and have been represented as different from 'normal' Americans (Seldon 2015). Muslim racialisation in the UK also targets white Muslim converts, especially women who are most likely to experience Islamophobia. White converts not only lose their white privilege but also experience discrimination in the form of being disowned by relatives, forced to practice Islam in private and subjected to jokes about their Islamic appearance (Moosavi 2014).

INTERSECTIONAL CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Intersectionality in its initial stage is coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw to describe how race and gender interact to form the multiple dimensions of Black women's experience with work. Crenshaw highlights that these working black women were subjected to discrimination (Crenshaw, p. 1244). That discrimination according to Crenshaw was the results of women having multiple intersected identities that worked to their disadvantage. McCall (2005) and many others have advocated that intersectionality has provided significant insights to our contemporary understanding of gender. Yuval-Davis et al. (2005) provided the example of asylum-seekers as being labelled to belong to a racialized group and that the construction of their identity is influenced by their struggle to access resources and the low level of engagement with their host country. To elaborate on intersectionality, Hankivsky (2014) provides one of the most comprehensive definition of intersectionality which states that:

> Intersectionality promotes an understanding of human beings as shaped by the interaction of different social locations (e.g., 'race'/ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender, class, sexuality, geography, age, disability/ability, migration status, religion). These interactions occur within a context of connected systems and structures of power (e.g., laws, policies, state governments and other political and economic unions, religious institutions, media). Through such processes, interdependent forms of privilege and oppression shaped by colonialism, imperialism, racism, homophobia, ableism and patriarchy are created. (Hankivsky, 2014, p. 2)

Intersectionality is important to investigate from the representation level and Crenshaw points out that representational intersectionality takes into account the cultural construction of women in color and how they navigate their experiences. When looking at intersectionality from the representational lens, we focus on the discourse especially how information in texts flows around social divisions in different contexts (Anthias, 2013). The intersection analysis of discourse studies is an analytical framework which accounts for discursive representations

which overlap with gender, race and social class (see Baker and Levon 2016). Through analysing six male-identity groups in British press, Baker and Levon (2016) investigate the representations of masculinities by drawing on intersectionality as a process-centred approach that allow to reveal power relations in hierarchical social systems and the ideological principles that govern them. The intersectional analysis of these groups includes race and social class and involves corpus and qualitative analyses.

The present study adopts the intersectional critical discourse analysis to analyze the representations of different identity groups in the British press. This paper focused on furthering the understanding of Islamophobia in contemporary Britian. The present analysis also explores in what ways these representations are related to the view of Islam as the other in western context through a qualitative concordance investigation grounded in CDA.

DATA AND METHODS

A corpus about Islamophobia was built using the news database LexisNexis, which keeps an online archive of all UK print media. Articles were retrieved from 13 daily newspapers between the years 2001 and 2019 using keywords representing racialised and classed identity categories of British Muslim men and women. Articles were retrieved if they contained one of the following keywords: black Muslim women, black Muslim woman, Asian Muslim women, Asian Muslim woman, black Muslim men, black Muslim man, Asian Muslim men, Asian Muslim man, white Muslim women, white Muslim woman, white Muslim man, white Muslim men, working class Muslim men, working class Muslim man, working class Muslim women, working class Muslim woman, middle class Muslim men, middle class Muslim man, middle class Muslim women, middle class Muslim woman, upper class Muslim women, upper class Muslim woman, upper class Muslim man, or upper class Muslim men.

The size of the corpus is 164,229 words and 7,157 sentences from 167 articles. The articles are from the following newspapers: The Guardian (46), The Independent (30), The Times (21), The Daily Telegraph (11), The Mirror (The Daily Mirror and The Sunday Mirror) (8), The Observer (8), Daily Star Online (7), The Sunday Times (7), The Sun (6), The Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday (5), The Sunday Telegraph (3), The Express (1), The Sunday Express (1).
Similar to that of Baker and Levon (2015), the present study triangulates corpus methods with qualitative analysis, and identities are analysed separately taking into account the singular and the plural form of each identity. The whole corpus went through a corpus-based analysis at first. As the sample is relatively small, the qualitative analysis of exemplary data was feasible. The newspapers did not mention Black Muslim man/men and White Muslim man/men at all. Both corpus-based and qualitative analyses were done in a complementary manner. This was conducted to show multiple viewpoints and perspective of the Muslim living experience in the UK as represented in the British press and by giving weights to the two analyses, the conclusions were aided with more conclusive results. The methods employed followed a bottom-up approach where Sketch Engine was utilized to aid with the extraction of more contexts for the search word Islamophobia. Concordances are shown in 'one-example-per-line format' and often are retrieved from the corpus providing context before and after the searched word (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 35). Concordance analysis provides the best example of triangulating quantitative and qualitative analyses in corpus linguistics (McEnery and Hardie, 2012). Stubb (1997) suggests employing a qualitative analysis of data using concordances in

critical discourse studies. The concordance analysis of the word Islamophobia is followed by collocation analysis of each identity group, Sketch Engine identified the collocate with each category. Collocations 'are lexically and/or pragmatically constrained recurrent co-occurrences of at least two lexical items which are in a direct syntactic relation with each other' (Bartsch, 2004, p. 76). Kress (1999, p.85) points out that the collocation analysis in critical discourse studies demonstrates the ways in which 'linguistic-discursive practices' can be associated with the wider power relations in certain contexts.

RESULTS

The analysis is constructed according to the 12 identity categories under investigation: black Muslim man/men, black Muslim woman/women, Asian Muslim man/men, Asian Muslim woman/women, white Muslim man/men, white Muslim woman/women, middle-class Muslim man/men, middle-class Muslim woman/women, working-class man/men, working-class woman/women, upper-class man/men and upper-class woman/women. The corpus analysis first provides each collocate attached to the keyword *Islamophobia* and identifies the addressed identity label according to the concordance analysis of *Islamophobia*. This is followed by a collocation analysis of the discourses emerging from each identity group, highlighting the similarities and differences in representations of each identity group and determining whether subtle Islamophobic practices are uncovered.

General Patterns of Islamophobia

Before turning to the specific identity categories in focus, it is informative initially to present some general patterns of Islamophobia which arise from the corpus as a whole. Islamophobia has a raw frequency of 28 (191.29 times per million) and is found in 13 articles. The qualitative analysis of the citation of *Islamophobia* in the UK print media corpus is aimed at revealing any general patterns associated with the term. The is accomplished by identifying the grammatical patterning collocated with the search term, grouping semantic domains commonly used in describing Islamophobia and thereby revealing attitudes and values associated in the public discourse of UK media. Figure 1 gives a snapshot of the concordance analysis as searched in the corpus.

Islamophobia is used by the British media to describe the discriminatory living experiences of British Muslims in which is described as a term that most UK print media attempt to describe some social acts of individuals. Certain modifiers of *Islamophobia* (*videos*, *blatant*, and *casual*) illustrate how Islamophobia reflects the commonality of the experience of many British Muslims living in the UK by denoting the experience to be blatant and casual. Islamophobia is the object of certain verbs in the corpus, such as the verb *condemn* (1), though only occurring once in the corpus, *condemn* alludes to the realisation that Islamophobia should be denounced in the UK print media. *Islamophobia* also appears as the object of the verb *institutionalised* (1), identifying the recent emergence of Islamophobic practices in the UK as the result of Islamophobia running deep in the UK. The last modifier found in the corpus is the verb *spread* (1) which has the object *Islamophobia* and British newspapers are identified as the agent spreading Islamophobia. In addition, *Islamophobia* is the subject of verbs such as *be* (4), used in documenting common Islamophobic practices in the UK such as in videos showing verbal abuse on the bus. Also, *Islamophobia* is paralleled with *war*, *hatred* and *racism*, which

illustrates that Islamophobia is identified in the corpus as equivalent to prejudice and hatred of Muslims. Lastly, the adjective *rife* (5) illustrates the prevalence of Islamophobia in the UK.
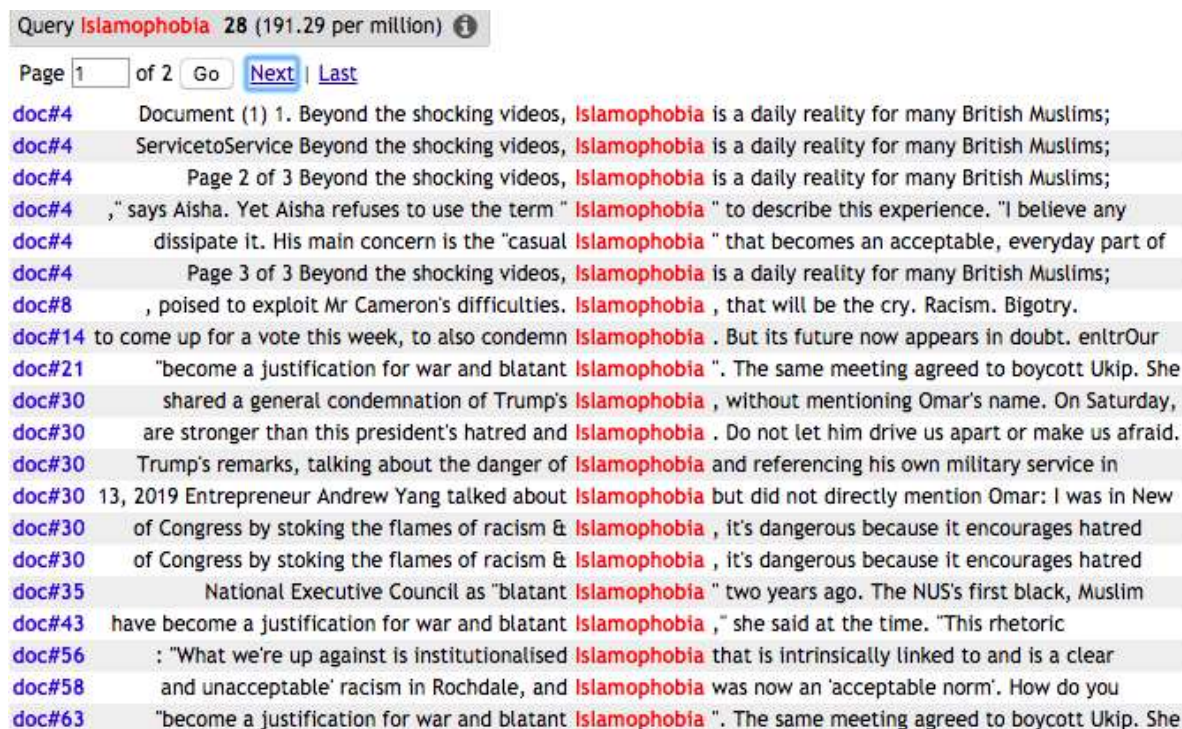

Figure 1.   **Concordance analysis of the word Islamophobia in the UK print media corpus.**

Black Muslim men and women

As shown in Table 1, each searched identity category yields a different set of collocates, and little overlap is observed among the four categories. The collocate *celebrate* occurs with *black Muslim man*, while many collocates occur with *black Muslim woman*. Collocates of *black Muslim woman* reflect many aspects of the her single identity: her achievements are denoted with collocates such as *first*, *elect*, *phenomenal* and *candidate*; her life and clothing choices are referred to with such words as *pregnant* and *wear*; discrimination against her is shown with the collocate *penalise* and her age group with *young* as a collocate. In the corpus, there was no citation found of *black Muslim men*, yet with *black Muslim women*, two collocates were found: *face* and *phenomenal* both overlap with the description of the black Muslim woman.

Table 1.   Collocates of search terms related to black Muslim identity

Search Term	Frequency	Collocates
black Muslim man	1	celebrate (1)
black Muslim woman	28	first (13), be (5), become (3), wear (2), elect (1), allow (1), phenomenal (1), pregnant (1), young (1), penalise (1), have (1), candidate (1)
black Muslim men	N/A	
black Muslim women	2	face (1), phenomenal (1)

A qualitative analysis of the collocate *phenomenal* from the newspaper quote below shows that black Muslim women are described in terms associated with a discourse of empowerment. Even though black Muslim women are restricted in their access to employment, they are able to exploit social media to their advantage. They capitalise on their increased visibility online to land jobs which may seem out of reach, such as modelling.

> In recent years it has become harder to ignore Muslim women: in the Instagram/YouTube/bloggersphere, they have told the world that they can be seen; phenomenal black Muslim women are being signed by modelling agencies, featuring in advertising campaigns across the world and fronting magazines (The Guardian, March 8, 2019).

Asian Muslim men and women

In Table 2, *Asian Muslim man/men* or *woman/women* are the most frequent terms describing types of identity groups referenced in the corpus, signifying that Asian Muslim identities may be seen as the 'other'. In other words, the exemplary British identity is not Asian Muslim. The collocates of *Asian Muslim man* and *men* support this proposition, provoking a negative discourse prosody for sexual crimes with a depiction placing Asian Muslim men as criminals (*perpetrator*, *attacked*, *groomed*, *for sex*, *gang*) or as hating the British culture (*seething* as used to describe young Asian Muslim men). The term *disproportionately* is associated with *Asian Muslim man* and *men* and indicates a stereotyped depiction of Asian Muslim men as more prone to commit sexual and violent crimes, with collocates associating them with such crimes (*linked*, *leads*).

Table 2. **Collocates of search terms related to Asian Muslim identity**

Search Term	Frequency	Collocates
Asian Muslim man	22	young (6), British (5), perpetrator (2), marry (2), be (2), have (2), seethe (1), first (1), disproportionately (1)
Asian Muslim woman	21	token (2), young (2), British (2), live (1), comprehensive-educated (1), example (1), south (1), first (1), arrive (1), become (1), say (1), be (1), succeed (1), know (1), come (1), have (1), be (1), comic (1)
Asian Muslim men	26	gang (5), linked to (10), bring (1), attacked (1), leads to (1), have (1), allowed (1), groomed by (1), captures (1), see (1), depicts (1), for sex (1), disproportionately (1)
Asian Muslim women	6	south (2), British (1), victims (1), young (1), face (1)

The qualitative analysis of the quotation from the Guardian below demonstrates how Asian Muslim men are associated with an idea of being sexually violent as a given, statistical fact. Even though the article relies only on an 'impression' and on 'patchy and flawed' figures to support its claims, Asian Muslim men are discursively constructed as being prone to sexual violence.

> Available figures are patchy and flawed, but on the face of it they do suggest Asian men are disproportionately involved in group grooming leading to sexual abuse, compared with their numbers in the national population. This impression is supported by several sources in law enforcement who spoke to the Guardian (The Guardian, May 14, 2013).

By contrast, the term *Asian Muslim woman* is represented fairly positively, with collocates such as *token*, *educated*, *first*, *example*, *comic*, *succeed*, *know*, *say* and *become*. Asian Muslim

women are occasionally labelled either by their geographical origin (coming from *South Asia*) or by their age group (*young*) or stereotyped as *victims.* Such collocates invoke a discourse of discrimination where South or young Asian Muslim women are perceived as more likely to be victims of domestic violence by Asian Muslim men.

The qualitative analysis of the Guardian quote below shows a specific context of a successful baker coming from a South Asian Muslim background, Nadiya Hussain. This excerpt provides a pinnacle example of a person going beyond the discourse of restriction usually associated with Asian Muslim women in general into a discursive construction of power, success and being a source of inspiration.

> In a way, Nadiya has broken her own glass ceiling. While black and Asian women face even more challenges than their white counterparts to be successful in their careers, we have witnessed Nadiya rise to fulfil our collective aspirations for her. Her final words have moved a nation more deeply than many leaders can manage, she's inspired people of all backgrounds to believe in themselves and in a greater, more inclusive British society for all (The Guardian, October 8, 2015).

White Muslim men and women

At first glance, *white Muslim man/men* did not appear in the corpus. Gendered Islamophobic stigmatisation of white Muslim women is prevalent in the corpus and related to the depiction of their living experiences inside and outside the UK. The identity category *white Muslim woman* is discussed in terms of a discourse of religious discrimination, particularly with the collocates *qualified* and *refused*, which are used to show that white Muslim women are denied access to employment despite being qualified. The collocate *friends* recounts a specific context of religious discrimination in which a white Muslim woman's car was attacked. White Muslim women are discussed in the corpus in terms of their association with ISIS and the danger that they pose to the UK with the collocate *army.*

Table 3.Collocates of search terms related to white Muslim identity

Search Term	Frequency	Collocates
white Muslim man	N/A	
white Muslim woman	4	qualified (1), friend (1), refused (1),
white Muslim men	N/A	
white Muslim women	6	army (6)

Consider the following excerpt: 'An "army" of white Muslim women is being recruited to attack Britain, it has been claimed' (The Sun, October 9, 2017). A qualitative analysis of the excerpt shows how the term *white Muslim women* invokes feelings of fear in the UK by its association with military groups. White Muslim women are depicted as terrorists who may carry on terrorist activities in the UK.

Working-, middle- and upper-class Muslim men and women

In the corpus, there is no mention of *working-, middle- or upper-class man* or *men*. Instead, the focus is placed almost exclusively on *woman* and *women*. In the analysis of instances of *working-* and *middle-class Muslim women*, two distinct images emerge. The first instance is an article about a working-class, Muslim woman who entered the National Unit of Students elections and failed. The article reads, 'Martin, who describes herself as a "black, working class single mother" also beat outsider Tom Harwood' (The Guardian, April 26, 2017). With this description, the woman in question describes her multiple belongings to many identity categories: *black*, *working class*, *single* and *mother.*

The second image is illustrated in the following quote: 'It is an immense privilege to be born female, Muslim and middle class. You get immeasurable family support' (The Independent, October 1, 2001). This is a depiction of a middle-class Muslim woman, who is described with a privilege discourse and as having an additional mission of fighting inequality inside her communities. No example of *upper-class Muslim woman/women* is found in the corpus.

DISCUSSION

The main research question of this paper is how various types of Muslims in the UK are represented in the British media. The paper addressed gendered, classed and raced representations and their possible contributions to the creation and dissemination of Islamophobic discourses. The intersectional approach of critical discourse analysis adopted here gives holistic insight into what types of Islamophobic representations are associated with each Muslim identity group in the corpus of British media. By examining representations of different Muslim identity types, the triangulation approach of corpus and qualitative analyses shows that Islamophobic representations are not monolithic; rather, they reflect the diverse living experiences of British Muslims and how these living experiences are gendered, racialised and classed. Research on the rising of Islamophobia has attributed it to populist ideology which opposes multiculturalism and immigration in the UK, especially when multiculturalism threatens what Kasiyarno's (2014, p.13) study refers to as "the hegemonic culture" of the host country. Islamophobic representations are not only associated with hatred of Muslims; they have always been associated with fear of what Muslims would bring to Western society and Western values.

The religious identity of Muslims is constituted through race, gender and social class (Peek, 2005). In deconstructing the term *Islamophobia*, Halliday (1996) explains that Islamophobia may include a form of racism called anti-Muslimism. Anti-Muslimism is a hostility towards Muslim communities and towards individual Muslims, rather than towards Islam as a religion. People express racism towards what they can see, namely physical characteristics associated with a certain race. The findings of the present study are in line with Halliday's explanation; the fear of certain types of Muslims, the discrimination against some types of Muslims and the restrictions or privileges experienced by some types of Muslims are racialised and gendered. Of all the identity groups examined, *black Muslim men/man* are not cited in the corpus. The discourses of discrimination and empowerment of Black Muslim women in the workplace is distinct and may differ from the experience of other Muslim women. Black British Muslim

women are subjected to subtle forms of Islamophobia in finding work, and therefore the experience of black British Muslim women is constructed in terms of facing religious discrimination. Yet, the current analysis demonstrates that black Muslim women as a group are celebrated for their ability to overcome restrictions and to succeed in accessing creative work opportunities. The representation of Asian Muslim men and women has been informed by a racialised Islamophobic discourse in the British print media. Asian Muslim men are depicted as a homogenous group, more likely to be members of gangs who commit sexual offenses. This representation of Asian Muslim men is also found in Alexander's (2004) research, and the othering of Asian Muslim men manifests in an Orientalist discourse which alienates them. Only two social classes, working class and middle class, are represented in the corpus. The articles about Muslim women report two examples of women, one who challenges the discourse of restrictions by thriving in the public sphere despite her working-class background and the second inspiring a discourse of privilege by the Muslim woman's membership in the middle class.

Similar to the representation of *black Muslim man/men*, the representation of *white Muslim man/men* is not found in the corpus, and *white Muslim woman* and *women* are constructed differently than the construction of Asian or Black women. In an example of what may be considered the experience of facing Islamophobia, the white Muslim woman is viewed as struggling to find work. White Muslim women are depicted as possibly dangerous and are constructed as engaging in terrorism. In general, the new Islamic identity of white Muslim converts is constructed in the media as socially excluded. The social rejection of this category manifests itself by an association between white Muslim converts and terrorism, which invokes populist discourses depicting Islam as a danger. This populist trope has been associated with the rise of right-wing politics. These views oppose elitist stances which do not alienate culturally diverse Muslim immigrants (Hafez 2017). The racialisation of white Muslim women is found in other work; for example, in Garner and Selod (2015) the whiteness privilege of white Muslim converts is stripped and also lowered in the social hierarchy by associating the converts with terrorism.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines contemporary discourses of Islamophobia by investigating the representation of various Muslim-identity groups in the British press, in particular, the ways in which Islamophobic representations of Muslims intersect with gender, race and social class. The analyses employ a triangulated approach with both quantitative and qualitative investigation of a corpus of 164,229 words in 13 daily British newspapers published between 2001 and 2019. Similar to other studies adopting an intersectional approach to discourse analysis (see Baker and Levon 2016), this study serves to highlight the value of intersectionality in discourse studies in unravelling Islamophobia as experienced by different Muslim groups. The findings concerning the representation of Muslim-identity groups in the British press show that Muslims experience subtle forms of Islamophobia. This is evidenced by the use of binary discourses of privilege and empowerment to mark the living experience of middle-class Asian women and Black Muslim women; the perceived social and religious restrictions on Black and Asian Muslim women and discourses of religious discrimination against white Muslim women, Black Muslim women and Asian Muslim women. The subtle forms of Islamophobia found in the data are gendered, classed and racialised. A populist portrayal of Muslims as potentially

harmful to society is prevalent in the corpus as well, particularly in the representations of Asian Muslim men and white Muslim women. Such representations are influenced to an extent by populist ideological positions which depict Islam as a danger to the Western way of life. These more directly–Islamophobic representations of Muslims are due to the rise in right-wing politics in the West.

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