

Racism, bias and post 9/11 discourses : A Critical Discourse Analysis of a British tabloid newspaper article and some possible uses of CDA in the EFL classroom.

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Abstract

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides analytical tools that can be used to uncover bias in texts. This paper uses Fairclough's (2006) three dimensional CDA framework to analyze an article from a British tabloid newspaper. Highlighting intertextuality, interdiscursivity, metaphor and Halliday's notion of transitivity, aspects of bias are revealed that show inherent racism toward both immigrants and the French, while also tying the text to the new post 9/11 political discourses of globalization. This is followed by a short exposition of schema theory and task based learning to show some of the possibilities for using CDA in the EFL classroom.

1.0) Introduction

According to Cots (2006, 338) reading in an EFL setting is typically an exercise in honing comprehension skills related to areas of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, among others. Students interact with texts in an attempt to absorb a target structure or learn a function of language. Training for efficiency and appropriacy and the generation of productive citizens is the goal of this model. Cots (ibid) explains that this emphasis on the structural/functional aspects of language is an incomplete representation. A full reading of a text would emphasize that linguistic structures also contribute to "a global meaning representing an ideological position"(ibid). In other words, in order for students to gain a complete reading, critical skills as well as comprehension skills should be learned. As Teo (2000, 11) explains "discourse does not merely reflect social processes and structures, but affirms, consolidates and...reproduces existing social structures". Thus, if the social structure/ideology being reproduced promotes inequality, it can be suggested that there are certain dangers in non-critical readings of texts.

In this paper a critical reading of an article from the British tabloid newspaper the *Daily Star* is undertaken (appendix 1 & 3). The subject of the article is the treatment of asylum seekers in France by the French police. Using the analytical tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and specifically the three dimensional framework developed by Fairclough (2006), the ideological positioning of the text is revealed. The objective here is not only to uncover the ideological agenda of the article but also to highlight features of CDA that can be used by both teacher and student in the classroom. Section 2.0 below gives an overview of CDA and Fairclough's position with regards to discourse analysis. A review of Fairclough's (2006, 198) three dimensions in 3.0 considers the terms and concepts of his framework. Background information about the text chosen for analysis is given in 4.0. In 5.0 the cultural context of the text is described. Sections 6.0 to 8.0 expand upon the concepts considered in 3.0 and demonstrate how Fairclough's ideas can be

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used as critical tools. In 9.0 the positives and negatives of using CDA in the classroom are taken into account.

2.0) Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a school of textual discourse analysis that emerged in Europe during the late 1980s (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, 447). Fairclough (2006, 12) separates the discourse analysis paradigm into non-critical and critical approaches to language texts. Non-critical approaches include Sinclair and Coulthard's analysis of classroom discourse, the ethno methodological approach to conversation analysis, Labov and Fanshel's study of the discourse of the psychotherapeutic interview, and Potter and Wetherell's use of discourse analysis in the field of social psychology. Fairclough (2006, 15) uncovers weaknesses inherent in these approaches stating that a common implicit flaw is the lack of emphasis on concepts such as class, power and ideology. Non-critical approaches tend to view texts as simply *there* rather than having been put there as a result of continued social change and invested with particular ideologies.

So that discourse analysis is not done in isolation, Fairclough (2006, 198) proposes a three dimensional framework as a guideline for doing discourse analysis. He puts forward an investigation into "discourse-as-text", "discourse-as-discursive practice" and "discourse-as-social practice" as a methodological tool to ensure a full textual analysis. Below these terms are further explained.

3.0) Fairclough's Three Dimensional Framework

3.1) Discourse as Text

Fairclough's first dimension propounds an emphasis on "the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse" (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, 448) In other words, an analysis should be made of the *vocabulary, grammar, cohesion* and *text structure* of any given text. Text producers make choices at all levels when authoring texts, which can have effects beyond the texts themselves. As Fairclough (2006, 76) states :

"People make choices about the design and structure of their clauses which amount to choices about how to signify (and construct) social identities, social relationships, and knowledge and belief".

As an example of the above, an analysis of *vocabulary* may deal with the political and ideological significance of alternative wordings or metaphor. With regards to *cohesion* the linking of clauses into sentences and sentences into larger units may reveal the argumentative structure of a text, while the conventions of *text structure* - the combination of text elements and episodes and how they are ordered—can disclose beliefs and assumptions about social relationships and identities (Fairclough, 2006,77). An example of this is given in 7.0 where an analysis of transitive

verbs clauses and metaphor is undertaken.

3.2) Discourse as Discursive Practice

The second dimension views discourse as “something that is produced, circulated, distributed, consumed in society” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, 448). Discursive practice sees discourse as numerous linguistic objects circulating within society. Fairclough (2006, 85) refers to the intertextuality of a text and differentiates between “manifest intertextuality” and “interdiscursivity”. Manifest intertextuality maintains that these objects are not created, nor do they exist in a vacuum, but rather influence, draw upon and transform one another historically in “chains”. Attention is also given to discourse representation or how text producers select, change and contextualize the utterances of others. Interdiscursivity points out that texts are constructed of a mix of genres and discourses: amalgamates of elements, which can include “generic conventions, discourse types, register” and “style” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, 449). Both intertextuality and interdiscursivity will be expanded upon in section 6.0.

3.3) Discourse as Social Practice

It is the emphasis on ideology and social struggle as “textual context” which differentiates CDA from non-critical discourse analysis. A CDA theorist will typically view a text as an object produced in a social context and attempt to highlight textual evidence of the inequalities and power imbalances inherent within that society. Influenced by the theories of Michel Foucault and Mikhail Bakhtin, CDA practitioners postulate that dominant forces in society create versions of reality that benefit those same forces. However, this construction of reality is not unalterable. People’s conception of reality is mediated by the use of language and other semiotic systems (Huckin, 1997, 79). By close investigation of these systems as evidenced in written and oral texts, CDA analysts can reveal the practices of dominant forces and so reveal points of ideological struggle and social change. Section 8.0 will cover this element of the framework in more detail.

4.0) The Text

The text chosen is an article from the *Daily Star Sunday* dated November 5th 2006 (Appendix 1& 3). The *Daily Star Sunday* is a weekend off-shoot of the British tabloid newspaper the *Daily Star*. Bell (1991,109) addresses two points that are relevant to the forthcoming analysis. Firstly, he classifies the *Daily Star* as a “down-market” newspaper, which draws its readership mainly from the working classes. Secondly, that in newspaper reporting, the linguistic choices of the speaker/reporter are influenced by the assumed audience of the report. This, as we shall see later, is reflected in the formal elements of the linguistic style of the text. The article is of the news story genre, which attempts to inform the reader of an important event or situation—namely French policy and treatment of asylum seekers living in the French port of Calais.

5.0) Context of Culture

There are three points to be considered with regards to the *Daily Star* text. The first is

British/Franco relations. According to Drake (1998) this association is a saga “comprising lengthy periods of bloody confrontation, easy and un-easy peace, and close- and not so close relations”. This relationship and the negative portrayal of the French has long been a mainstay of British tabloid culture. The second, immigration, has been a current running through British politics since the end of World War II. The fall of the Berlin Wall, the entry of former Eastern Block countries into the European Union, and more recently, displaced people seeking asylum in the U.K have ensured that immigration has remained a political football in British politics to the present day. The third element is the culture of globalization and post 9/11 political discourse, which will be further expanded upon in the discourse as social practice section below.

6.0) Discourse as Discursive Practice

6.1) Intertextuality

The headline of the *Daily Star* article reads *Send ‘em to Britain* with the sub-headline *France cracking down on asylum seekers it does not want*. Here, by using the colloquial term *send ‘em* rather than the more formal *send them* the writer of the piece attempts to align himself with his assumed working class audience. More importantly, though, the main headline gives evidence of an intertextual chain relating to conservative views of immigration in British politics. The term *send ‘em back* is a colloquial epithet coined after the British politician Enoch Powell made his infamous, anti-immigration, “Rivers of Blood” speech in 1968 (appendix 2). Using a quote from Virgil to predict large-scale interracial violence, Powell prophesied “like the Roman, I see the River Tiber foaming with much blood”. Powell’s solution was an end to immigration and immediate repatriation of immigrants living in Britain. Although Powell’s speech did not contain the phrase *send em back*, the term, echoing his sentiments, became a call to arms among working class conservative and right wing racist groups such as the National Front and the British National Party. The writer though plays with the meaning of the phrase by changing the term from *send ‘em back* to *Send ‘em to Britain*. This seeming reversal of meaning is ironic. The writer relies on the cultural knowledge of his assumed audience to recognize that his meaning is not *send immigrants and asylum seekers to Britain* but rather *keep them out*.

Tabloid newspapers in Britain have long promoted negative images of France and the French. Drake (1998) sites the “Up Yours Delors” headline carried by *The Sun* in 1990 and later demonstrates that “military ineptitude, cowardice, a lack of personal hygiene and immorality” are recurring themes in *The Sun’s* portrayal of the French. More recently the American media portrayal of the French as “cheese eating surrender monkeys” (The Guardian 11/03/2003) underlines an international movement toward Franco phobia in the right wing press. This further places the *Daily Star* article within a historical/social network of texts from which it draws. Here, though, we see the French portrayed in a new way: as militarized, brutal and fascist. Below, in a discussion of interdiscursivity, this more recent negative image of the French will be expanded upon.

6.2) Interdiscursivity

(Note: The numbers below in parenthesis refer to the sentence numbers of the text. See appendix 3.)

As Fairclough (2006,184) explains texts draw on other genres, discourses and narratives (orders of discourse) as well as historical/cultural/social texts.

In the first two paragraphs of the article we find evidence of this (Appendix 3). The writer chooses to use a narrative style that is comparable to a fictional text rather than a news story.

- (1) “The chill calm of the autumn air is suddenly shattered by the sound of barking dogs”.
- (2) “The smell of tear gas stings the nostrils as shadowy figures burst into makeshift homes in woodland that the terrified occupants now call The Jungle”.

Here the writer uses several literary devices to engage and hold the attention of the reader. It is apparent that, unlike the majority of the article where we are “told” what is happening, in this section we are “shown”. Emotive language is used to achieve this. Details such as the “chill calm” “the sound of barking dogs” “the smell of tear gas stings the nostrils” appeal directly to the reader’s senses. Both sentences are in the present tense, which gives a sense of immediacy to the movement of the narrative and places the reader at the scene, as it happens. Furthermore, the use of the passive in the first sentence creates an image that can be seen as a metaphor for the whole article. First there was peace (calm of the autumn air) which is associated with the asylum seekers, then there was violence (the sound of barking dogs) associated with the French police. Finally, evidence of the writer’s use of fictional narrative is the Red - Flag word “suddenly” in the first paragraph that again adds urgency to the text.

Bell, in Jaworski & Coupland (2006, 239), explains the importance of the first paragraph or “lead” of a news story. The lead, he tells us, is a summary of the central action and establishes the point of a story. Separated from the text neither of the above paragraphs would convey the point of the story—that the French police are attacking asylum seekers. The “who, what, when, and where” (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006, 240) orientation usual to the lead of a news story is left vague. Rather, the writer chooses to defer the main point until the third and fourth paragraphs. By leading the article in this way a sense of drama is created. First we are shown the violence and terror of a sudden attack, then we are told the “who, what, when, and where”. This deferment is used to add weight to the writer’s revelation and also to create a more powerful and striking drama. In this way the reader is manipulated into viewing the French police as ominous, violent and intrusive while the port of Calais is portrayed as a war-zone. Had the writer begun the story with the main point, for example :

“A Daily Star Sunday investigation has discovered that, every night asylum seekers living in the French port of Calais are being attacked by French police”.

the weight given to his revelation would be diluted as would his negative portrayal of France and the French police.

7.0) Discourse as Text

7.1) Transitivity

As mentioned above text producers make choices about the language they use. According to Halliday's Systemic-Functional Grammar (Coffin in Coffin & Burns 2000, 95) language and other semiotic systems exist in a network of possible options that text producers can draw upon to communicate meaning. Thus, the meaning expressed in a text will be dependent upon the options chosen or not chosen by the producer of the text. These options or "functional labels" are grouped into three interconnected systems of metafunctions—*Textual* (how information is organized), *Interpersonal* (how attitudes and feelings are expressed) and *Ideational* (how the world is pictured) (Teo, 2000, 24).

Teo (2000, 25) explains that "transitivity" or "who does what to whom" is a major component of the Ideational Metafunction. He summarizes Halliday's examples of transitive verb process types in the following way.

Material (Action or Event)

Behavioral

Mental (Perception, Affection, Cognition)

Verbal

Relational (Attribution, Identification)

Existential

Using transitivity theory and the above process types as analytical tools it is possible to pinpoint how the writer represents the dominant agents of the text and so uncover the motivation and attitude of the text producer. In the *Daily Star* text there are two dominant groups: the French police and the asylum seekers. Below, transitive verbs related to both groups in the text will be focused on in an attempt to interpret the intent of the writer. Table 1 presents clauses describing actions of the French police, while table 2 describes those of the asylum seekers.

Table 1

French Police

(Note : S/N=Sentence number. See appendix 3)

S/N	Participant (Who)	Process (What)	Participant (Whom/What)
2	Shadowy figures	burst (Material)	into makeshift homes.....
6	They (police)	come (Material) tell (Verbal)	at night and.... us to fuck off.
7	They (police)	don't want (Relational) are (Existential) determined to (Material) make (Material)	us here and..... us go over the channel.
12	They (police)	do not want (Relational)	us here.
14	The police	are always (Existential) raiding (Material)	the Jungle and anywhere else we sleep.
15	They (police)	come (Material)	with torches and dogs.....
17	They (police)	destroy (Material) arrest (Material) and fingerprint (Material) send (Material) refuse (Material) to give (Material)	our camps..... us and... us to a deportation centre in Paris but.... us any papers or anywhere to live.
18	They (police)	release (Material) tell (Verbal)	us and.... us to leave their country...
23police	demolished (Material)	a hanger known as the White House...
24	They (police) they....	said (Verbal) pulled (Material)	it (Hanger) was dirty and unfit to live in so.... it down.
26	I cannot believe that they (police)	destroyed (Material)	this squat....
31	The policethey....	have told (Verbal) want (Mental)	me... these people to go to England.
34	The police	pick us up (Material) and take (Material)	us to their station.
35	They (police)	give (Material) tell (Verbal)	us papers and.... us to go to England.
37the police....	come after (Material)	us.
41they (police)	do not want (Relational)	us here.

Table 2
Asylum Seekers

S/N	Participant (Who)	Process (What)	Whom (Who/What)
5	...asylum seekers in the area.....	told (Verbal)	us (Daily Star) that the new policy was introduced by.....
6	One terrified asylum seeker....	told (Verbal)	us (Daily Star): They come at night.....
9	The immigrants.....	now hide in (Material)	the sprawling forest.
11	Hadi Razi, a 17 year old student....	told (Verbal)	us (Daily Star) he is only heading to Britain.....
12	He (Hadi Razi)....	said (Verbal)	“There are no human rights in France....
20	We.... we....	live (Material) can sneak (Material)	for the day when... onto a lorry and make it to the U.K.
25	Now these people	have to sleep (Material)	on the street.
27	There are more than 500 people....	queuing (Material)	for food.
33	Gaafar Gibrel..... I..	said (Verbal) want to go to (Material)	England as the government here is after me.
34	I.....	sleep (Material) have (Relational)	under a bridge every night and no money or possessions.
37	Eyobe Kikidoone and his girlfriend Feven Kifle..... Kifle..... they...	are (Relational) also living rough (Material) while... wait to travel (Material)	the last part of their journey.
38	Eyobe..	said (Verbal)...	“When we try to sleep the police come after us.”
41	We...	can see (Mental)	they do not want us here.
42	We just..	want to get to (Mental)	England.

(Note : In sentences 12, 33 and 38 above it is assumed that there is an addressee to whom the participant spoke. For example (33) Gaafar Gibrel said (*to us/me/the reporter*) “I want to go to England..”)

The information above shows that the dominant group is the French police, with 31 examples of transitive verb process types attributed to them, whereas there are 19 attributed to the asylum seekers. Of those connected to the French police 20 are Material or Action process types. The majority of process types connected to the asylum seekers are Material (8 types) and Verbal (6 types). We see then that the writer has chosen to portray the police as participants that 'do' while the asylum seekers 'say'. In fact the French police are given no voice by the writer but are depicted by their actions. Within the article a worldview is created where the police are active/violent and the asylum seekers are verbal/passive. It is also clear that what the police 'do' is predominantly executed towards the asylum seekers. The clauses related to the asylum seekers, on the other hand, show them preoccupied with their daily lives and expectations for the future, or informing *Daily Star* reporters. On the surface the writer's intent seems to be to demonize the French while sympathizing with the asylum seekers. On closer inspection of the vocabulary chosen to portray the asylum seekers we find that the contrary is true.

7.2) Metaphor

(Note : the numbers below in parenthesis refer to the sentence numbers of the text. See appendix 3.)

Throughout the article language is used to portray the asylum seekers in a negative light. In confirmation of Santa Anna's (1999,199) findings two types of implicit metaphor can be found intimating that the asylum seekers are both animals and debased persons. The animal metaphor begins with the asylum seekers living in the "Jungle" (2) where they "sleep" (14) and "hide in the sprawling forest" (9). This is expanded further with an image of the asylum seekers as prey. One asylum seeker "feels like a hunted man" (11) and describes a friend as having "bite marks on his leg where he was attacked by one of the police dogs" (16). The debasement metaphor begins with the criminalization of the asylum seekers. They are raided (14) by police, picked up and taken to the station (37) arrested, fingerprinted (17) and released (18). The implied comparison continues in language related to homelessness. The asylum seekers live in "makeshift homes" (2) and squats (27) which are "dirty and unfit to live in" (25). They queue for food (58) and eat hand outs (13). They sleep rough (27), "sleep on the streets" (26) and one asylum seeker sleeps "under a bridge every night" (36). These metaphors may be intended to arouse sympathy but the negative connotations are obvious.

We see from the above that choices have been made and images created in order to create a version of reality. The events portrayed in the text have been filtered through the bias and prejudice of the author with the aim of convincing the reader that this reality is true.

8.0) Discourse as Social Practice.

Faichough (2000, 96) tells us that discursive change :

“...involves forms of transgression, crossing boundaries, such as putting together existing conventions in new combinations, or drawing upon conventions in situations which usually preclude them”.

In the *Daily Star* article we find evidence of this as old discourses support the new. British/Franco relations and immigration have long been mainstays of British tabloid culture but here we see the discourses of these subjects “respoken, or rewritten” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, 449) as a new discourse of control emerges. This new discourse derives from the culture of globalization and post 9/11 political discourse. Debrix (2003,151) discusses a new media discourse of national security described as “tabloid realism”. The culture of tabloid realism resists the idea of a world where borders, sovereignty and national security are being transformed by international events. As he explains :

“By proliferating fear-inducing images of current realities and preparing for a soon to be anarchical future, tabloid realists hope to conservatively re-anchor the state to stabilizing visions of national security, geographical borders, and economic interests”

The implication of the *Daily Star* article is that Britain’s “anarchical future” waits poised across the English Channel. The French have transformed from the militarily inept cowards of the past into violent machines of destruction. France contains “all the world’s misery” (31). It is a dystopian country with “no human rights” (12) and food queues. Conversely, England is a country of “economy and education” (45), a “good country”(41) where they are “nice to refugees” (20) and “have respect”. It is a utopia into which criminalized, homeless, animal like, asylum seekers attempt to “sneak” (20). The unspoken message here is that a kind of war zone exists beyond the borders of the British Isles. This new globalized world consists of those who perpetuate violence and those who flee from it. Both groups threaten the security and borders of Britain by participating in an inevitable invasion. This new world is to be feared by the British people and, although no solution to the problem is given, the implication is of a move toward “Fortress Britain”.

9.0) CDA in the EFL Classroom.

In EFL classrooms students are confronted with an assortment of written texts such as magazine articles, newspapers, advertisements and tourist brochures (Stenglin & Iedema in Burns & Coffin 2005,194). Massi (2001,3) justifies this potentially confusing array of texts by stating that exposure to as many instances as possible of language used in real contexts will help students develop their comprehension and production skills. If language is a social semiotic used to transmit culture through texts then :

“...our task as EFL teachers should be to develop in students an attitude that promotes the exploration and discovery of (1) basic text types (2) the structure of the values linguistically encoded, and (3) their social function”(Massi, 2001, 3)

If this is so then CDA and Fairclough's model has the potential to promote such exploration. Below the place of CDA in *schema theory* and *task-based* teaching is considered.

9.1) Schema Theory

As subjective interpretation is part of the CDA process, a reading using Fairclough's model fits well with the schema theory of reading. Giving an example of schema theory Brown (2001, 300) cites Clarke and Silberstein who explain that: "...reading depends on the efficient interaction between linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the world."

Huckin (1997,91) explains the importance of choosing a text that has a subject matter that is culturally familiar to students. A full analysis of a text relies on knowledge of the topic and its social context. We see from the above interpretation of the *Daily Star's* use of inter-textual chains that this is so. Without knowledge of British culture and the politics of immigration the above analysis would have been extremely difficult. With this in mind it is suggested that local texts containing topics of local interest be used for a critical discourse analysis in the language classroom (Huckin, 1997,91).

9.2) Task Based Learning

Cots (2006,341) suggests a pre-task, task cycle and language focus approach to teaching Fairclough's CDA framework. With regards to the above analysis there are several possibilities for task-based learning. A pre-task activity may consist of something as simple as a discussion of race to individual/group research into immigration policy. The task cycle, mirroring Cots (2006, 342), could take the form of report writing and presentation. The language focus section would focus on the language chosen by the writer of the text in order to promote his/her particular world view. Whatever form such activities take it is clear that CDA is compatible with task-based learning. Skehan in Brown (2001, 50) claims that a task is an activity in which meaning is primary. This is true of CDA which is both a technique and a task: the technique is to de-construct the text; the task is to discover the hidden meaning. Finally, Brown (2001, 50) points out that an important pedagogical purpose of task-based instruction is to "point learners beyond the forms of language alone to real-world contexts". With its emphasis on social practice and discursive change CDA fulfils this role.

9.3) Caution

Despite the usefulness of CDA as a tool for learning about language, certain steps should be taken with regards to the texts chosen for analysis and the depth of the analysis itself. A full analysis of a large newspaper article will no doubt be too complex for students at beginner level. A shorter text at this level may be more useful. Huckin (1997, 91) suggests something as brief as an advertisement or, if using a longer text, focusing on one aspect of technique such as metaphor. For Wallace (1999, 99) interpretation in CDA is a problem. While critical discourse analysts offer "useful model procedures" and "illuminating insights" their views are subjective and "...do not

capture the conflicts and uncertainties which surround socially shared interpretative processes". An example of this is in the above text analysis that uncovers a right wing bias but no opposite voice or point of view. Wallace's claim assumes that in the classroom a critical discourse analysis may strengthen any bias or ideology a student might have, rather than expose the student to the ideas and thoughts of others. This might be especially so in "large power distance societies" where inequality is tolerated to a higher degree than in western countries (Hofstede, 1986, 313). It must also be pointed out that in some societies entertaining an opposite to the dominant ideology is considered radical and maybe dangerous.

10.0) Conclusion

As we have seen text producers do not write in a vacuum. Texts are not simply *there* but are infused with ideologies and agendas. The choices writers make while producing texts can help to covertly promote meanings related to their own agendas. CDA, and especially Fairclough's framework, provides the reader with tools to reveal these hidden meanings. In the above textual analysis Fairclough's tools assisted in revealing the bias of the *Daily Star* article. It was shown that language not only "creates" but also "represents reality" and so "has the potential to reflect and shape changing as well as established social values" (Hennessy in Sunderland 1994, 104).

In the classroom CDA provides language students with an alternative to traditional skills based reading activities. By learning to use the tools provided by CDA students are invited to become actively involved in uncovering the cultural, social and political connotations of texts. In order to do this students must also access their own cultural/social knowledge. This positions CDA as a meaning based classroom activity ideal for task-based teaching. However, because of the complexity of CDA teachers may want to modify CDA activities for lower level students.

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Appendix 1.

DAILY STAR BUNGAY, November 5, 2005 23

France cracking down on asylum seekers it does not want

SEND 'EM TO BRITAIN

7500 claim status of the asylum and is suddenly challenged by the sound of barking dogs.

The words of last night do nothing to soothe the anxiety of thousands of refugees who are being told to leave the Channel. The system for the processing of asylum seekers is being dismantled, and the government is being accused of treating them as second class citizens.

The refugees are being told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.

DOMINIK LEHANSKI in London

... of last night from the three national radio stations. They had been told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.

The refugees are being told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.

The refugees are being told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.



LAST CHANCE: Immigrants gather to try to hitch an illegal ride to Britain, living on a diet of bread and cheese, right

LIVING IN BRITAIN: Refugees are only 50p

The refugees are being told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.

The refugees are being told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.

The refugees are being told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.

In the UK they are nice to refugees

The refugees are being told to leave the Channel and to go to Britain. They are being told to go to Britain and to go to Britain.

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Appendix 2.

Page one of Enoch Powell's speech. The complete speech can be found at the web address below.

http://www.sterlingtimes.org/powell_speech.doc 24/03/07

“Like the Roman, I see the River Tiber foaming with much blood”

The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against preventable evils. In seeking to do so, it encounters obstacles, which are deeply rooted in human nature. One is that by the very order of things such evils are not demonstrable until they have occurred: at each stage in their onset there is room for doubt and for dispute whether they be real or imaginary. By the same token, they attract little attention in comparison with current troubles, which are both indisputable and pressing: whence the besetting temptation of all politics to concern itself with the immediate present at the expense of the future. Above all, people are disposed to mistake predicting troubles for causing troubles and even for desiring troubles: “If only,” they love to think, “if only people wouldn't talk about it, it probably wouldn't happen.”

Perhaps this habit goes back to the primitive belief that the word and the thing, the name and the object, are identical. At all events, the discussion of future grave but, with effort now, avoidable evils is the most unpopular and at the same time the most necessary occupation for the politician.

Those who knowingly shirk it deserve, and not infrequently receive, the curses of those who come after. A week or two ago I fell into conversation with a constituent, a middle-aged, quite ordinary working man employed in one of our nationalised industries. After a sentence or two about the weather, he suddenly said: *“If I had the money to go, I wouldn't stay in this country.”* I made some deprecatory reply to the effect that even this government wouldn't last for ever; but he took no notice, and continued: *“I have three children, all of them been through grammar school and two of them married now, with family. I shan't be satisfied till I have seen them all settled overseas. In this country in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man.”*

I can already hear the chorus of execration. How dare I say such a horrible thing? How dare I stir up trouble and inflame feelings by repeating such a conversation? The answer is that I do not have the right not to do so. Here is a decent, ordinary fellow Englishman, who in broad daylight in my own town says to me, his Member of Parliament, that his country will not be worth living in for his children. I simply do not have the right to shrug my shoulders and think about something else. What he is saying, thousands and hundreds of thousands are saying and thinking—not throughout Great Britain, perhaps, but in the areas that are already undergoing the total transformation to which there is no parallel in a thousand years of English history. In 15 or 20 years, on present trends, there will be in this country three and a half million Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants. That is not my figure. That is the official figure given to parliament by the spokesman of the Registrar General's Office. There is no comparable official figure for the year 2000, but it must be in the region of five to seven million, approximately one-

Appendix 3

Transcription of the Daily Star text with numbered sentences.

Headline

SEND 'EM TO BRITAIN

Sub Headline

France cracking down on asylum seekers it does not want.

Text : sentences by number.

- 1) The chill calm of the autumn air is suddenly shattered by the sound of barking dogs.
- 2) The smell of teargas stings the nostrils as shadowy figures burst into makeshift homes in woodland that the terrified occupants now call the Jungle.
- 3) The target is the thousands of asylum seekers now living around the French port of Calais.
- 4) And a Daily Star Sunday investigation has discovered that the purpose of these nightly attacks is to force the immigrants to flee—straight to Britain.
- 5) Charity workers and asylum seekers in the area told us that the new policy was introduced by the hardline French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy.
- 6) One terrified asylum seeker told us: “They come at night to tell us to ‘F**k off to England’.
- 7) “They don’t want us here and are determined to make us go over the Channel.”
- 8) In the latest crackdown an empty warehouse in central Calais—makeshift home to more than 70 asylum seekers—was bulldozed after dark.
- 9) The immigrants, from war-ravaged Afghanistan and East African trouble spots Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia, now hide in the sprawling forest.
- 10) Last week I ventured into the Jungle—a patch of land yards from the ferry terminal which offers them a last hope of a new life in the U.K.
- 11) Hadi Razie, a 17 year old student from Afghanistan, told us he is only heading for Britain because he feels like a hunted man in France.
- 12) He said: “There are no human rights in France—they do not want us here.
- 13) “The charities hand out food twice a day—a lunch and dinner of bread and cheese or pasta.
- 14) “The police are always raiding the Jungle and anywhere else we sleep.
- 15) They come with torches and dogs and sometimes tear gas during the day and night.
- 16) My friend Mohammed Raza still has the bite marks on his leg where he was attacked by one of the police dogs.
- 17) They destroy our camps, arrest and fingerprint us and send us to a deportation center in Paris but refuse to give us papers or anywhere to live.
- 18) “They release us and tell us to leave their country but we always come back here, to Calais.
- 19) “There is nothing for us in France.
- 20) “We live for the day when we can sneak on to a lorry and make it to the U.K—in the U.K they are nice to refugees.”

- 21) Local teacher and charity volunteer Veronique Boutin, 36, is disgusted by the French Government's policy of pushing the asylum problem onto the U.K and told us: "Today I am here working as a volunteer for the Association La Belle Etoile.
- 22) "Charities are the only ones helping.
- 23) The French Government does not care.
- 24) "On October 24 police demolished a hanger known as The White House—where more than 70 asylum seekers lived.
- 25) They said it was dirty and unfit to live in—so they pulled it down.
- 26) Now these people have to sleep on the streets in freezing temperatures.
- 27) "I cannot believe they destroyed this squat—it is only a matter of time before someone dies sleeping rough.
- 28) "There are more than 500 people queuing for food.
- 29) "Nothing has changed since Sarkozy closed Sandgate camp four years ago.
- 30) I think now, if he is elected President, things will get even worse.
- 31) He has said we cannot have all the worlds misery in France.
- 32) "The police have told me they want these people to go to England.
- 33) "There is no solution to this situation.
- 34) It is awful."
- 35) Gaafar Gibrel, a 27-year-old Sudanese farmer, said: "I want to go to England as the Government here is after me.
- 36) I sleep under a bridge every night and have no money or possessions.
- 37) "The police pick us up and take us to their station.
- 38) They give us papers and tell us to go to England."
- 39) Eyobe Kikidoone and his girlfriend Feven Kifle, both aged just 16, are also living rough while they wait to travel the last part of their journey from Eritrea to Britain.
- 40) Eyobe said: "When we try to sleep the police come after us.
- 41) England is a good country.
- 42) They have respect for refugees.
- 43) But the French only give us bread.
- 44) "We can see they do not want us here.
- 45) "We just want to get to England where there is economy and education."