

**“THIS IS NOT A MUSLIM BAN”**

The Representation of Muslims in the Initial  
News Coverage of Four American Regional  
Newspapers Around Trump’s Travel Ban in  
2017

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## Foreword

Dear reader,

You are about to read my third, and final, thesis. After having written about diversity within the Dutch Police, and national American stereotypes from Dutch and American perspectives, I now had the pleasure to study the representation of Muslims in American newspapers. As this topic highly interests me, I have enjoyed writing this master thesis. It has been great to learn a lot of new things about this topic and about new research methods, all with great help from my supervisor Emmeline Besamusca. I therefore want to thank her for her great feedback and ideas, and, not to forget, the fun thesis meetings. I would also like to thank my mother Barbara, and boyfriend Maarten for listening to me and being there during my thesis project.

Have fun reading!

Hannah N. Warnar

## Abstract

When on September 11, 2001, the United States was victim of a terrorist attack by Islamic terrorist network al-Qaeda, representations of Arabs and Muslims in U.S. media shifted. Many Arabs and Muslims in the United States became victims of “hate crimes, work place discrimination, bias incidents, and airline discrimination” (Alsultany, 2012, p. 4), and media started representing both Arabs and Muslims alike as *the Other*, by mainly talking about Arabs and Muslims, rather than giving them a voice in the discourse (Joseph, D’Harlingue & Wong, 2008). At the same time, Muslims were mainly portrayed in a negative way in U.S. media (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016; Nurullah, 2010). On January 27, 2017, former President Donald Trump released an executive order banning all individuals from seven predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States for 90 to 120 days. In this case, Muslims were the victims of a U.S. President’s decision, instead of the perpetrators of a terrorist attack on the United States. To find out whether this different role of Muslims also means they are differently represented in U.S. media, this study discovered how Muslims were represented in the initial news coverage of four American regional newspapers around President Trump’s travel ban in 2017. The regional perspective provides relevant insights because individuals and groups should not only be fairly represented in national papers, but also in regional ones. The Critical Discourse Analysis framework by Fairclough (1989) was used to analyze the representation of Muslims in a total of 100 newspaper articles from the Salt Lake Tribune (Utah), Dayton Daily News (Ohio), the Chicago Daily Herald (Illinois), and The Spokesman-Review (Washington). As Fairclough’s (1989) view on discourse searches for the relationship between texts and their social context, this study analyzed Muslim representation in discourse through a textual, discursive and social dimension. Findings showed that the four regional newspapers mainly referred to the individuals subject to the travel ban as *refugees*, *Muslims*, or by naming their country of origin. However, Chicago Daily Herald used more personal terms than the other newspapers. Regarding the attributes that were ascribed to the Muslims, the newspapers mostly wrote about them being banned from the United States, and being demonized. This supports earlier research by Ahmed & Matthes (2016) and Nurullah (2010) in that Muslims in U.S. media are mainly portrayed in a negative way. Dayton Daily News wrote least about the individuals being demonized, and The Spokesman-Review mostly wrote about them being accepted and sympathized, compared to the other newspapers. Furthermore, the Muslims themselves were given the least voice in the newspaper articles, while the most voice was given to institutional experts, who were mainly politicians. This lack of voice in the discourse supports previous research by Joseph, D’Harlingue & Wong (2008), Nurullah (2010), and Shaheen (2008), who found that Muslims were often represented as *the Other* in U.S. media. Though these findings portray a clear image of Muslim representation, it must be noted that the results have emerged from the initial ten days of news coverage and that different results will presumably be found in later news coverage.

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## 1. Introduction

On September 11, 2001, four American planes were hijacked by nineteen Arab-Muslim men who worked for the Islamic terrorist network al-Qaeda. When three of those planes flew into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon respectively, citizens of the United States, and the rest of the world, were in mourning. Short after these attacks, also referred to as 9/11, many Arabs and Muslims in the United States were victim of “hate crimes, work place discrimination, bias incidents, and airline discrimination” (Alsultany, 2012, p. 4). Almost sixteen years later, on January 20, 2017 Donald J. Trump was inaugurated as the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. He was a president who made bold decisions that affected many citizens, and foreigners, often in a negative way. American citizens gave Trump four years to practice his ideas as promised during his campaign. Not only did Trump promise to build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico, and say that he would cut taxes for the poorer, he also promised his people to ban Muslims from entering the United States. In his first week as president, and with the terrorist attacks on 9/11 in mind, Trump created an executive order to ban individuals from seven predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States.

President Trump’s decisions became the topic of the day throughout the United States. Citizens had no choice but to read and hear about Trump’s executive order, the so-called travel ban. U.S. media, such as TV shows and newspapers, had no choice but to cover this news topic to inform citizens. As a result, the individuals subject to the travel ban were inevitably named, and maybe even framed, in the news coverage regarding the travel ban. Last but not least, readers inevitably formed opinions and beliefs about the individuals concerned based on what they read and heard from the U.S. press.

As 9/11 had a great impact on the media representation of, and discrimination against, Arabs and Muslims, it would be relevant to build onto previous publications and discover how Muslims were represented in U.S. media in a more recent event, such as Trump’s travel ban. Not only is this event more recent, it is also an event in where Muslims were the victims instead of the perpetrators. Studying this will not only demonstrate potential developments, but will also show what the impact of a U.S. President’s decisions can be on the representation of a certain group in news media. Especially in the American political system, where the ruling party has large power over political decisions, studying their impact on representations in U.S. media can be of great social relevance.

In the next chapter of this thesis the context of the case that will be studied will be demonstrated. Thereafter, the theoretical framework presents the theoretical embedding that is needed to understand how the study will be conducted. In the method chapter, the corpus will be presented, along with a description of the analytical instruments that will be used. Next, the results section demonstrates the outcomes of the study, which will be discussed in a wider context in the discussion chapter. The last chapter, the conclusion, will provide an answer to the research question and propose limitations and suggestions for further research. Lastly, a reference list and appendices can be found.

## 2. Context

This chapter provides relevant contextual information for the research project. Background information about the travel ban, previous literature on terminology, Muslim representation in U.S. media and other similar studies will be demonstrated. Additionally, the main research question will be presented in this chapter.

### 2.1 The Travel Ban

On January 27, 2017, former President of the United States, Donald J. Trump, released Executive Order 13769: Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry. With this, all individuals from Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen were banned from entering the United States for 90 to 120 days, and refugees from Syria were banned indefinitely. Since these are predominantly Muslim countries, critics called it the *Muslim ban*. Supporters of the order named it the *travel ban*. Trump claimed that his travel ban existed to prevent terrorist attacks and was needed for homeland security (Arafa, 2018). However, adversaries of the order claimed that it was discriminatory (Arafa, 2018). Trump initially claimed that his order was not based on religious exclusion, calling it the *travel ban*, and later on even a *temporary pause*. He claimed that the order was a result of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, though this was questioned by scholars as the countries of origin from the 9/11 committers were not on the list of the travel ban (Arafa, 2018). Table 1 demonstrates demographic and geographic information about the seven banned countries. Taking into account Trump's claims about the travel ban and the demographics and geographics of the seven countries, it is unclear why he chose these exact countries and why other 'Muslim countries' were not on the list.



**Table 1***Demographic and Geographic Information About the Banned Countries*

Country	Continent	Ethnicity	Religion	Number of Individuals in the U.S.
Iraq	Asia	75%-80% Arabs, 15%-20% Kurds	96% Islam, 4% Christianity	176,737 (United States Census Bureau, 2019)
Iran	Asia	61% Persians, 16% Azerbaijanis, 10% Kurds	Islam	500,000 (Business Insider, 2020)
Libya	Africa	78% Arabic Berbers, 10% Berbers, 5% Turks	Islam	12,000 (Wikipedia, 2012)
Somalia	Africa	Somali clans	Islam	182,951 (United States Census Bureau, 2019)
Sudan	Africa	Arabic	70% Islam, 10% Christianity	75,254 (United States Census Bureau, 2019)
Yemen	Asia	Arabic	Islam	100,000 - 200,000 (Wikipedia, 2018)
Syria	Asia	90% Arabs, 10% Kurds	87% Islam, 10% Christianity	179,248 (United States Census Bureau, 2019)

*Note.* Not all percentages add up to a total of hundred percent because some small percentages have been left out of this table.

*Note.* The information in the table about continent, ethnicity and religion is retrieved from Landenweb (2021), a Dutch website that provides information about worldwide countries, regions, islands, and cities.

On March 6, 2017, when Trump signed a second Executive Order exempting more individuals from the ban and allowing all residents from Iraq to enter the U.S., his intentions with the order became clearer. Where Trump initially stated that the order existed to protect the nation from terrorist attacks, during the second order Trump expressed his dissatisfaction with the revised order by proposing that the travel ban indeed existed “to eliminate travelers based on religion” (Arafa, 2018, p. 12). Therefore, journalists and media outlets started using the term *Muslim Ban* (Collingwood, Lajevardi & Oskooij, 2018).

Though many individuals from all over the United States criticized the order and started demonstrations against it in U.S. airports and cities, public opinion was still divided (Collingwood, Lajevardi & Oskooii, 2018). National polling demonstrated that almost half of the U.S. citizens supported the travel ban a few weeks before the order was officially released.

Similarly, Lajevardi and Abrajano (2019) found that “anti-Muslim American sentiment is a strong and significant predictor of supporting Trump” (p. 296). However, in February 2017, polling displayed that less individuals supported the ban and opposition had grown (Collingwood, Lajevardi & Oskooii, 2018). One of the reasons for the decreasing support towards the ban was that individuals with “strong American identities” (p. 2) thought of the executive order as un-American as the issue became more prominent (Collingwood, Lajevardi & Oskooii, 2018). The ban was disputed to such a large extent, that President Joe Biden lifted the ban on his first day as President of the United States, on January 20, 2021 (Mansoor, 2021).

## **2.2. Terminology**

What must be noted in the case of Trump’s travel ban, is that though the ban is essentially about Muslims, this group is often taken together with the ethnic group of Arabs. Many scholars and media statements have neglected to distinguish between Arabs and Muslims as two different identity markers (Lind & Danowski, 1998; Shaheen, 2008), namely an ethnic group versus a religious group of individuals. Only 15-20% of the worldwide Muslims are Arab, however, these groups are often lumped together (Alsultany, 2012; Lind & Danowski, 1998; Shaheen, 2008). Shaheen (2008) found that, though the majority of Arab Americans are Christian, Hollywood movies tend to never present Arabs as Christians, but always as Muslims. This results in emphasizing Arabs as *the other*, as Americans view their nation as fundamentally Christian. Because Arabs and Muslims are often written about as one, this study will question whether the equation of the two groups still occurs, also taking into account other possible terminology.

## **2.3 Arab and Muslim Representation in U.S. Media**

Various scholars have written about the representation of Arabs and Muslims in the media. Lind and Danowski (1998) contributed to a book about the portrayal of Arabs in the U.S. press and found that the “representations of Arabs in Western media have relied heavily on racial myths and stereotypes” (p. 157). Alsultany (2012) wrote a book about Arab and Muslim representation in the media after 9/11. According to Alsultany (2012), the portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in U.S. media has shifted both during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and after the terrorist attack on 9/11. In the beginning of the 1900s, the Middle East was portrayed in silent movies as a faraway region with deserts, flying carpets and rich Arabic men. Then, parts of

the Middle East were colonized by Europeans, which resulted in the representation of both *good* and *bad* Arabs in movies. The representation of bad Arabs grew in 1945, when the United States became a global power, by portraying Arabs as terrorists more often. Alsultany (2012) found that this negative portrayal of Arabs gave way to a more positive representation of Arabs and Muslims after 9/11. By representing the Other sympathetically, the U.S. tried to appear “as an enlightened country that has entered a postracial era” (Alsultany, 2012, p. 16). However, the U.S. media did make a distinction between bad Arabs and Muslims (which were against the U.S. nation), and good Arabs and Muslims (which proved their loyalty to the U.S. nation) (Alsultany, 2012).

More negative portrayals of Arabs and Muslims can be found in American newspapers. Ahmed and Matthes (2016) performed a meta-analysis of 345 published studies to discover the media representation of Muslims and Islam from 2000 to 2015. They found that most studies analyzed U.S. media and half of the studies analyzed newspapers. Also, most studies compared media representation before and after 9/11. Their findings showed “a change in the patterns of representations of Muslims and Islam in the mainstream media since the attacks of 11 September 2001” (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016, p. 231), with the portrayal of Muslims and Islam worldwide being mostly negative. They found that several American newspapers presented Muslims as terrorists, fundamentalists, radicals, extremists, and fanatics post-9/11 (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016).

Nurullah (2010) wrote an article about the portrayal of Muslims in the media and the process of *Othering*. He noted that most individuals’ “perceptions of Islam and Muslims in the U.S. are shaped by media coverage through stereotyping in movies, TV shows, cartoons, and other media” (p. 1025), in where Muslims are often portrayed negatively and as terrorists. A more recent major paper by Chmaissany (2021), who wrote about self-representation of Arabs and Muslims in a U.S. TV drama, found that the negative portrayals of Arabs and Muslims have damaging consequences for individuals of the two groups. Additionally, it has a negative contribution to other individuals’ opinions and views of Arabs and Muslims. Therefore, having predominantly negative portrayals of Arabs and Muslims in U.S. media has an important impact on societies’ views and stereotypes of the two groups. Looking at a journal article studying Trump’s travel ban, Collingwood, Lajevardi and Oskooij (2018) found that *high American identifiers* (individuals who highly identify with American identity) initially supported Trump’s travel ban, partially because of the demonization of Muslims in the contemporary information environment. Not only are Arabs and Muslims frequently portrayed in a negative way, for example as terrorists, both groups are also often portrayed as

*the Other* in U.S. media (Joseph, D’Harlingue & Wong, 2008; Nurullah, 2010; Shaheen, 2008). These studies demonstrated that U.S. media talked about Arabs and Muslims, rather than giving them a voice in the discourse.

## **2.4 The Nation as a Unit of Measuring**

When looking at previous studies analyzing Arab and Muslim representation in U.S. newspapers, it stands out that the corpus was often taken from national newspapers. Joseph, D’Harlingue and Wong (2008), for example, wrote a book chapter about Arab Americans and Muslim Americans in the *New York Times*, comparing articles from before and after 9/11. Similarly, Ahmed and Matthes (2016) found that many studies had analyzed major American media sources, such as the *New York Times*, for representations of Muslim and Islam. Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2003) contributed to a book about the framing of terrorism by looking for the framing of Muslim-Americans. They analyzed the *New York Times* as well, along with two other large daily U.S. newspapers: *New York Post* and *Daily News*.

## **2.5 Research Question**

As presented above, much research has been done into the representation of Arabs and Muslims in U.S. media, and more specifically national American newspapers. Given that individuals and groups should not only be fairly represented in national papers, but also in regional ones, this study will analyze Muslim representation in regional newspapers. To do this, the following research question has been formulated: “*How are Muslims represented in the initial news coverage of four American regional newspapers around President Trump’s travel ban in 2017?*”. The terminology of *Muslims* needs further discussion in chapter 3. The choice for regional newspapers will be explained in chapter 4.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical concepts, notions, and insights relevant to this current study into the representation of Muslims in U.S. regional newspapers will be discussed. To understand Muslim representation, the terms *representation* and *identity* will be explained. Then, a discussion on *in-group vs. out-group* is considered. Thereafter, the term *discourse*, and Fairclough's (1989) *Critical Discourse Analysis* will be examined to gain a better understanding of his vision on texts and discourse.

#### 3.1 Representation

According to Rigney (2007), discursive representations are the images that texts and other media present of the world. *The world* can be understood in a broad sense, namely the representations of an individual, a group, an ethnicity or a nation. With this, individuals' view of the world is guided through language (Rigney, 2007). The danger of representations can be that individuals are guided into a generalized direction, believing that the presented images of a certain group apply to every individual who is part of that group. This happens when writers of a text present characteristics of a person or a group, projecting it onto their group or nation as a whole (Rigney, 2007). In literature, the concept of representation has tried to emphasize that the presented images are nothing more than images, highlighting that they do not present the world itself (Rigney, 2007). However, this would mean that the reader of a text must understand that the images do not always represent the existing world. Hall (1997) demonstrated that representation is not a straightforward process as well. He stated that representation is a way of exchanging meaning between members of a culture through language, signs, and images. According to Hall (1997), this exchange can solely take place through collective, cultural and conceptual maps, sharing common ideas. That representation is more than simply referring to individuals or a group is emphasized by Coupland (in Ten Thije, 2016), who stated that representations are a total set of semiotic means by which individuals and groups can be identified. Leerssen (2007a) emphasized the importance of *nations* in the concept of representation by saying that a nation's identity can be identified by "patterns of behaviour in which 'nations' articulated their own, mutually different, responses to their diverse living conditions and collective experiences" (p. 18).

Studies have shown that representing a group in a certain way, by disproportionately highlighting aspects of that group, can heavily influence individuals to believe those aspects

and take them into consideration when making decisions and evaluations (Collingwood, Lajevardi & Oskooij, 2018). When news media, for example, use racial cues in their communication, it has been found that this can activate racial thinking and influence individuals' political preferences (Collingwood, Lajevardi & Oskooij, 2018).

### **3.2 Identity and Identity Markers**

Representation not only creates an image of a group, it is also a way of establishing that group's identity (Leerssen, 2007b). According to Bucholtz and Hall (2003), identity is an ongoing process where individuals organize themselves into a group based on common grounds. Leerssen (2007b) has a similar view on a group's identity, describing it as "a collective cohesion which leads group members to suspend a sense of individual differences in favour of the group's collective distinctness from the rest of humanity" (p. 337). Therefore, an individual's identity can provide them with a sense of belonging, as well as evoke negative reactions from individuals who are different from them (Jackson, 2014).

There are various identity markers that express to what group an individual belongs. One identity marker is nationality, where a group of individuals all belong to a nation that is "defined by a common history, language, culture and descent, or else to a social stratum defined by their place in the country's body politic" (Leerssen, 2007c, p. 378). An example of nationality as an identity is to be American or Iraqi. Another identity marker is that of ethnicity. According to Song (2009), ethnicity has been used to group individuals based on their assumed ancestry. An example of ethnicity is to be Arab. Ethnicity is often grouped together with the identity marker of race, because both markers are historical and social constructs (Song, 2009). As race is biologically-based (Derksen, 2007), both race and ethnicity can be associated with physical markers, such as skin color, which can be linked to originating from a certain geographical region (Song, 2009). An example of race is being African American. A fourth identity marker is that of religion, which is generally shaped by local and national culture. This is, for example, visible in Indonesia and Iran where different forms of Islam can be distinguished (Song, 2009). All above-mentioned identity markers fall under the umbrella term of *class*, along with for example age, gender, geography, and constitutional markers.

According to Song (2009), after the events that happened on September 11, 2001, Westerners have merged religion, ethnicity, and race into one identity. This resulted in discrimination against individuals who seem to be Middle Eastern, Arab, South Asian, or

Muslim, leading to a discussion about whether contemporary Islamophobia is racial, religious or ethnic discrimination.

### 3.3 In-group versus out-group

Identity does not only contain identity markers to describe an individual; identity can be self-ascribed or ascribed to the other. How one sees oneself, presents oneself and is perceived by another, can all vary. This has to do with the concepts of in-group and out-group, where an individual can be part of several groups with shared identities (the in-groups) that serve as the norm, and notices other groups or individuals that do not meet the standards of the in-group and are therefore believed to be an out-group (Jackson, 2014). Because in-groups perceive out-group individuals as being different from the standard, the out-group is often seen as the Other (Jackson, 2014). This often results in stereotyping individuals from out-groups, in which “very little unfavorable behavioral information is needed to confirm a negative stereotype about a group” (Ratcliff & Nosek, 2011, p. 2), while much favorable information is needed to contradict a negative stereotype about those out-groups. This unequal treatment of in- and out-groups gets emphasized in media discourse, in which terms as *us* and *them* are used to talk about oneself or the other (Nurullah, 2010). Holliday, Hyde and Kullman (in Ten Thije, 2016), note that the notion of *otherization* has to do with changing attitudes towards individuals who are foreign or different. They stated that in the process of *otherization*, the Other is often “reduced to less than they are” (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman in Ten Thije, 2016, p. 585).

### 3.4 Terminology on Identity

To reduce discrimination against racial or ethnic minorities, the American Psychological Association (APA) (2019) created a stylebook on the preferred racial and ethnical terminology for bias-free language in scholarly communication. Ethnicity and race are often grouped together, though the APA (2019) emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between race and ethnicity. They state that *race* refers to physical differences that cultures consider socially significant, while *ethnicity* identifies shared cultural characteristics, such as language, practices and beliefs. Their advice for referring to racial and/or ethnic groups is to be as specific as possible and use the terms that the participants of those groups themselves use (American Psychological Association, 2019). Additionally, the APA (2019) points out

that racial and ethnic terminology changes over time due to personal preferences, terms becoming dated and the emergence of negative connotations.

According to the APA (2019), the correct terminology for American individuals of African origin is either *black* or *African American*. They do emphasize that *African American* should never be used as an umbrella term for individuals of African origin worldwide, because in those cases their ethnic or national origin, for example *Somalian*, works best. The APA (2019) further states that the use of *Negro* and *Afro-American* are outdated, and the usage of these terms is considered inappropriate.

When referring to individuals from Middle Eastern origin and North African descent, it is best to refer to their nation of origin, for example Iran or Iraq (American Psychological Association, 2019). For Americans from Arab origin, in some cases it is allowed to use the term *Arab American*. Lastly, when referring to individuals of Asian origin, the term *Asian* is appropriate to use. When writing about Asian individuals in the United States, the term *Asian American* can be used (American Psychological Association, 2019).

To decide which terminology best suits the individuals discussed in this study, some complications are noticeable. The seven countries that were banned from the United States in Trump's travel ban (see 2.1) do not all have the same racial origin, since they are Middle Eastern, North African, and Asian countries. Furthermore, five out of the seven countries can be referred to as *Middle Eastern*, which leaves two of them out. Also, their ethnicities differ, as the countries are predominantly represented by individuals that are Arab, Persian or from the Somali clans. As the seven countries are all predominantly Muslim countries, in this study their inhabitants will be referred to as *Muslims*. Since previous literature demonstrates that many scholars have used the term *Arab* in their studies, this thesis will analyze whether this unpreferred term is used in American regional newspapers as well. Other racial or ethnical terms that are used to describe individuals when referring to Trump's travel ban will be considered as well.

### **3.5 Discourse**

The APA Stylebook can be consulted to use the correct terminology on identity while presenting the world through discourse. Discourse has been described in various ways by scholars, though all seem to agree that it has to do with language as a way to present social life and parts of the world. Rigney (2007) decomposes the term by saying that discourse is "language use in which different utterances are linked together into larger aggregates" (p. 313), for example texts. Analyzing discourse is therefore concerned with studying those texts.



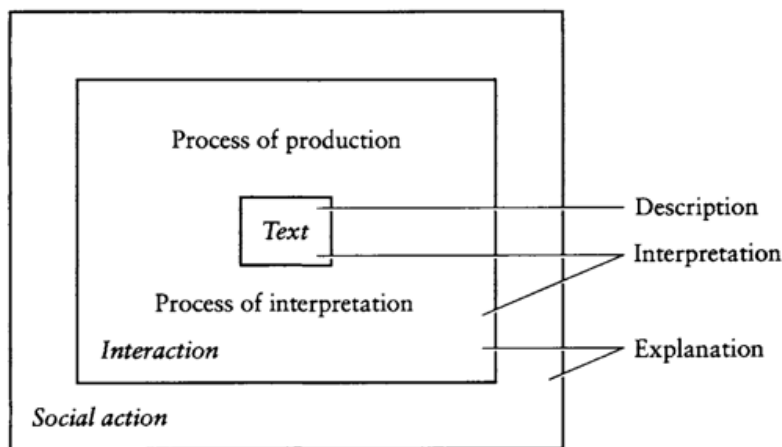
Taking a closer look at discourse, Rigney (2007) states that language is used to talk about the world. Fairclough (2003) endorses this, by believing that language is used as an “element of social life” (p. 203), which represents parts of the world. With this, the concept of discourse is closely linked to representation, both being about individuals that talk about the world, and therefore giving a voice to a particular discourse theme, such as that of an orientalist (Rigney, 2007). Fairclough (1989) emphasizes that language and texts should be seen as a part of a wider social process, which will be explained next.

### **3.6 Critical Discourse Analysis**

As mentioned above, the analysis of discourse is concerned with studying texts that write about the world. With this, one studies the relationship between texts and their social context (Fairclough, 1989). Norman Fairclough developed an approach to do this, called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The approach evolved from Halliday’s approach of Systemic Functional Linguistics in which the relationship between language and social life was analyzed as well (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (1995) added a new perspective to the approach by calling it a *critical* discourse analysis. With the *critical* part, he wanted to focus his analysis on what is wrong within a society, by looking at institutions, organizations and other possible social *wrongs*. An important focus in the study of CDA is to analyze power relations and inequalities that result in these social wrongs (Fairclough, 1995). This can be done through language, which is not solely a reflection of reality; it is a construction of reality. Language therefore needs to be studied in a wider context to discover what messages are conveyed in the use of language. Therefore, Fairclough (1992a) sees CDA as a three-dimensional framework, analyzing textual, discursive, and social practices. A visualization of this framework can be seen in figure 1. The aim of CDA is to understand how these three dimensions are connected to each other. Fairclough (1989) proposed three stages that coincide with the three dimensions. Together, these three stages provide a description of the text, an interpretation of the meaning of the description, and an explanation of the implications of that meaning for social practice (Fairclough, 1989).

**Figure 1**

*Critical Discourse Analysis: Three-Dimensional View of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2014, p. 10)*



### 3.6.1 Textual Dimension

The first dimension of CDA is a textual analysis. Though this is an essential part of analyzing discourse, it cannot be seen separately from the other two dimensions (Fairclough, 2003). The textual dimension is concerned with social events (such as texts) that are shaped by social practices, structures and agents (Fairclough, 1995). Social agents are responsible for the production of texts, but this always depends on the social structures and practices (Fairclough, 1995). According to Fairclough (1995), texts appear as parts of social events in three ways: in acting, representing, and identifying. While writing a text, the text is part of an action. Additionally, the content acts as a representation of aspects of the world, while simultaneously social agents can be identified from texts (Fairclough, 1995). When conducting a textual analysis in CDA, two questions may be asked. Wodak (2013) proposed these two questions in the context of Fairclough's CDA. The first question looks at how individuals in a text are referred to linguistically. The second question aims to find out what characteristics and traits are attributed to those individuals (Wodak, 2013).

Other authors that emphasized the importance of the first question are Simpson & Mayr (2010). They stated that when the discourse of news media is being analyzed, an important question is: how does the medium define individuals' identities? In the context of this study the question would be: how do the newspapers predominantly refer to the individuals subject to the travel ban? A model that has proven to be useful for studying discourses of racism is the *Social actor analysis* (Simpson & Mayr, 2010; van Leeuwen, 1996). This model helps the researcher to discover the lexical representation of social actors

in discourses based on six categories: functionalization, identification, classification, relational identification, physical identification and nomination (Simpson & Mayr, 2010).

To find out what characteristics and traits are attributed to the lexical represented individuals in discourses, the notion of *predication* is of importance. Predication analysis aims to find out whether the attributed words (for example in the form of adjectives, nouns, metaphors, et cetera) are rather negative or positive (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). With this, the following sub-questions will be answered:

1. How do American regional newspapers refer to Muslims in their news coverage regarding Trump's travel ban?
2. What characteristics and traits are attributed to Muslims in the news coverage in American regional newspapers regarding Trump's travel ban?

### **3.6.2 Discursive Dimension**

The discursive analysis builds on the textual analysis by interpreting what is written about and find out how and whether texts exist in response to other, already existing, texts (Fairclough, 1992b). This closely links to the concept of intertextuality, which “points to the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 270). According to Fairclough (1995), media texts, such as newspaper articles, are particularly important in this regard. He created the term *genre chains* to demonstrate how sometimes genres are predictably chained together, which results in the transformation of meanings along the chain by recontextualizing (Fairclough, 1995). There are several ways to either incorporate or respond to other texts. An author may explicitly present prior texts by marking an utterance with quotation marks, or choose to incorporate by responding to it in one's own words (Fairclough, 1992b). By analyzing how previous texts are incorporated in the discourse, one can analyze to whom a voice is given. Social actors may either be included in or excluded from texts, based on the newspaper's interests and intentions (Simpson & Mayr, 2010). Being included in a text is therefore as important as being excluded from it (Simpson & Mayr, 2010). Once the included social actors are identified, the role of those speakers in the discourse can be analyzed. These social actors can be categorized into three categories according to Koole & Ten Thije (1994), namely as *institutional expert*, *immigrant expert* or *immigrant representative*. The following sub-question will be answered regarding the discursive dimension:

3. Who is given a voice regarding Trump's travel ban in the news coverage of American regional newspapers?

### **3.6.3 Social Dimension**

The third, and final, dimension of CDA is the social dimension. This dimension builds onto the results of the analyses of the first two dimensions by connecting the textual and discursive practices to social context. The production of texts is limited by relations of power (Fairclough, 1992b). To discover how power relations shape discourses, one must place the production of the text, and the intention of the sender, in a wider context by analyzing social practices (Fairclough, 1992b). Texts as social events are increasingly important in contemporary society as they bring "changes in our knowledge (we can learn things from them), our beliefs, our attitudes, values and so forth" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8). The following sub-question will be answered for the social dimension:

4. To what extent does the social practice of the news coverage of the four American regional newspapers correspond with the textual and discursive representation of Muslims regarding Trump's travel ban?

### **3.7 Academic Relevance**

In previous research, representation of groups has been focusing on how these groups were considered to be the Other. In other words, so far, the study of representation has tried to discover how out-groups were portrayed. This current study tries to explore other dimensions of Othering, by analyzing the representation of a group that cannot solely be seen as the Other, but is linked to individuals of their in-groups in various ways.

Additionally, this study tries to escape the national perspective of analysis. A well-known, but also highly critiqued, study that has taken a national perspective of cultures and nations is that of Hofstede (1984). He developed six dimensions for comparing national cultures. However, critics believe that one should not rely solely on dimensional information for understanding a culture (Ross & Faulkner in Ten Thije, 2016). Therefore, this current study considers the representation of a certain group from a regional perspective.

## 4. Method

The following chapter will provide a description of how the corpus will be collected and how the Critical Discourse Analysis will be operationalized. Each dimension contains their own method of analysis, from which the procedure is described in paragraph 4.2. Lastly, a remark is made about validity.

### 4.1 Corpus

To analyze the representations of Muslims in American regional newspapers around Trump's travel ban, a corpus must first be collected. Four regional newspapers have been chosen for the analysis. These are *The Salt Lake Tribune*, *Dayton Daily News*, *Chicago Daily Herald*, and *The Spokesman-Review*. These four regional newspapers are chosen because their news articles are all available through the online database Nexis Uni. Therefore, one search instrument can be used to collect the corpus. No other American regional newspapers were available in the database.

Table 2 demonstrates the four newspapers that will be analyzed, along with information about the context of the newspapers. As can be seen, the circulation of the four newspapers is more or less comparable. Additionally, all papers were daily newspapers in 2017, the time frame that will be studied. Detailed information about migration in the four chosen states can be found in appendix A.

**Table 2**  
*Information Four Regional Newspapers*

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Circulation</b>	<b>Geography</b>	<b>Political Direction</b>	<b>Daily or Weekly</b>
The Salt Lake Tribune	130.000	Salt Lake City, Utah	Left-Center	Daily
Dayton Daily News	124.071	Dayton, Ohio	Center	Daily
Chicago Daily Herald	150.000	Arlington Heights, Chicago, Illinois	Right-Center	Daily
The Spokesman-Review	86.115	Spokane, Washington	Center	Daily

Nexis Uni gives the opportunity to search for specific search terms and select filters regarding date, geography, publication type and more. Table 3 demonstrates the selected

filters and search terms that were used to collect newspaper articles from the four chosen regional newspapers regarding Trump’s travel ban.

**Table 3**  
*Filters Nexis Uni Regional Newspapers*

Newspaper	Key Terms	Date	Geography	Publication Type	Total Number of Articles
The Salt Lake Tribune	Muslim ban OR Travel ban	27-01-2017 - 05-02-2017	North America - United States	Newspapers	76
Dayton Daily News	Muslim ban OR Travel ban	27-01-2017 - 05-02-2017	North America - United States	Newspapers	32
Chicago Daily Herald	Muslim ban OR Travel ban	27-01-2017 - 05-02-2017	North America - United States	Newspapers	35
The Spokesman-Review	Muslim ban OR Travel ban	27-01-2017 - 05-02-2017	North America - United States	Newspapers	26

To find news articles, the key terms *Muslim ban* OR *Travel ban* were used. With this, all articles containing either the first or the latter key word were demonstrated. This was done to make sure that all news articles contained information about Trump’s travel ban. All articles were published within the time frame of the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 2017, till the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 2017. This includes the initial ten days after the release of the executive order. Therefore, all selected news articles covered the initial news coverage that was published on the topic.

The first selection of news articles makes the corpus a total of 169 articles. To limit the size of the corpus, a final filter was applied. Here, random sampling was used. According to Dörnyei (2007), this sampling method reduces “any extraneous or subjective factors” (p. 97), and is therefore entirely left to chance. An online random sampling tool for research was used to select 25 articles per newspaper. Information about the corpus can be found in appendix B.

## 4.2 Operationalization

The following sections describe how Fairclough’s CDA model will be operationalized. The operationalization of CDA is ambiguous as it depends on the genre and register of the texts. Therefore, this study draws upon predecessors with similar corpora.

### 4.2.1 Operationalization Textual Dimension

First, a social actor analysis (Simpson & Mayr, 2010; van Leeuwen, 1996) will be done to identify the lexical representation of Muslims in the newspaper articles. Here, all lexically presented terms that refer to the individuals subject to the travel ban will be categorized based on six categories. The model of analysis initially provides two basic categories:

*functionalization* and *identification*. With **functionalization**, social actors are referred to in terms of what they do: their occupation or social activity. Examples are *immigrant* or *President*. When categorized as **identification**, social actors are referred to in terms of what they are. This category has five sub-categories, which will be explained next. The first sub-category is that of **classification**. Here, an identity is defined by an individual's class, for example their age, gender, nationality, race or religion. This current study adds the options of classifying an individual based on geography or described as being constitutional (for example *foreigner* or *visa holder*). The second sub-category is **relational identification**. Here, social actors are represented in terms of their relations to others, for example *brother* or *mother*. The next option is **physical identification**, in which individuals are defined based on their physical characteristics, such as the color of their skin. The sub-category of **aggregation** describes social actors in terms of quantity and statistics, for example by saying *200 Muslims*. Lastly, social actors can be referred to in terms of **nomination**. Here, they are defined through proper nouns, such as their surname (formal), first name (informal) or both (semi-formal).

Next, a predication analysis will serve to find out which linguistic means are adopted to ascribe characteristics and traits to the lexical represented individuals. Also, it will be determined whether the social actors are represented rather negatively or positively in the newspaper articles. During this part of the analysis, all lexical categories that appear as an answer to sub-question 1 will be taken into consideration. To identify predications in the texts, a set of rules must be made.

Studies by predecessors (Huisman, 2016; Schüller, 2017) will be drawn upon to create a list of grammatical functions that can be identified as predications. The final set of rules, along with an example, will be presented next:

1. **Attributive use of adjective:** the adjective is placed directly before or after the noun (in this case the lexical represented word).

Example from corpus: “and that “we should not turn our backs” on blameless refugees” (Milbank, 2017).

2. **Predicative use of adjective:** the adjective is connected to the predicate by a linking verb (all forms of *to be*, *to become*, and *to seem*. Action verbs such as *look*, *touch*, *smell*, *appear*, *feel*, *sound*, and *taste*. Outliers such as *turn*, *grow*, *remain*, and *prove* (Grammarly, 2020)).

Example from corpus: “Last week, Iraqis were furious over this repeated call by Trump” (Allen & Ohanlon, 2017).

3. **Verbal adjective:** the lexical represented word is combined with a verb that can be turned into an adjective.

Example from corpus: “A federal judge in New York has issued an emergency order temporarily barring the U.S. from deporting people from the seven majority Muslim nations subject to Trump's 90-day travel ban.” (“The Latest:”, 2017).

4. **Lexical represented words that are connected with *as***

Example from corpus: ““If we send a signal to the Middle East that the U.S. sees all Muslims as jihadis, the terrorist recruiters win by telling kids that America is banning Muslims and that this is America versus one religion,” Sasse said.” (Caldwell, 2017).

5. **Subordinate clause in attributive sense:** complementing sentences that provide informational support to the main clause in where the lexical word is mentioned.

Example from corpus: “mostly women and children, who "suffered unspeakable horrors."” (Milbank, 2017).

The predications found will be categorized per newspaper. This will be done by grouping similar predicates per newspaper and labelling those groups with an overarching, descriptive predicate. Where possible, the same categories will be used for each newspaper. These categories have the function of providing a list of overarching themes that are presented in the articles. To enhance validity, two (near-)native speakers of English will be consulted to repeat the process of categorization without prior knowledge of the researcher’s categories. These so-called co-coders will be given the instruction to group all similar predicates together with a total of approximately five categories. Furthermore, they will be instructed that all predicates should belong to a category and each category has to be labeled with a term that is a predicate in itself. An example of how a predicate can be grammatically constructed will be given to the co-coders. Consulting two co-coders in the process of categorizing the predicates is relevant to the importance of decentring (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009). Here, perspectives of *outsiders* are included in the research process to prevent the data from being influenced by a one-sided perspective. This is particularly important for this current study



because newspaper articles are being read by various individuals with differing perspectives on the discourse.

Lastly, the researcher will make a final table of categories along with a total number of predications per newspaper. This will be done by taking into consideration what categories the researcher and the two co-coders developed. After having received the categories from the two co-coders, it turned out that the instructions for labeling each category were not clear enough. Therefore, it was decided to stick with the category labels that were developed by the researcher, while the categorization of the predicates was aligned with those from the two co-coders.

#### **4.2.2 Operationalization Discursive Dimension**

In the discursive analysis all direct quotes and paraphrases in the news articles will be noted. Furthermore, every individual who is a speaker and who is reported on something he or she said will be noted down. Then, it will be analyzed what the roles of the included speakers are in the discourse, categorizing them as *institutional expert*, *immigrant expert* or *immigrant representative*. An additional option created for this study is that of *other individuals*. An institutional expert has knowledge in their institutional field. This actor often has a professional voice and is seen separately from his or her ethnical background. An immigrant expert has knowledge of (a certain group of) immigrants. Here, the actor's personal identity plays a role. Lastly, an immigrant representative functions as a spokesman that is representing a group. Immigrant representatives often speak from a we-perspective. In order to identify with what function a speaker participates in the discourse the researcher will look at the context to discover whether the ethnical background of the speaker is relevant in the participation. The discursive analysis can be found in appendix G.

#### **4.2.3 Operationalization Social Dimension**

To operationalize the social dimension, the characters of the four American regional newspapers will be considered in relation to the findings of the textual and discursive dimensions. Furthermore, the current migration in the four states will be considered in the social analysis. Information about this can be found in appendix A. In table 2 the political directions of the four newspapers were briefly mentioned. Another important aspect to discover the social context of the newspapers is their mission statement. This provides information on what the newspapers promise their audience and what their ideology is. Table

4 demonstrates the mission statements of each newspaper. By connecting the social context of the newspapers to the findings from the first two dimensions, the relationship between social practice and textual and discursive results can be found. The social analysis thus functions as an extension and deepening of this study.

**Table 4**  
*Mission Statements Four Regional Newspapers*

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Mission Statement</b>
The Salt Lake Tribune	Independent voice; interesting, important and inclusive stories; fairness and accuracy (The Salt Lake Tribune, 2019).
Dayton Daily News	Dayton's best source for in-depth local news, sports, business and entertainment; what's really going on in our community (Dayton Daily News, n.d.)
Chicago Daily Herald	Remaining local and engaged in the community; primary information source for our suburban audience (Daily Herald, n.d.).
The Spokesman-Review	The largest news and information provider in the Inland Northwest (The Spokesman-Review, n.d.).

### 4.3 Validity

As discussed above, several methods of analysis will be used for this study. Though each analysis will be conducted using Fairclough's (1989) view on discourse, the several methods of analysis all deliver a different perspective to the study. Not only does this strengthen the outcomes and answer to the research questions, it also enhances the validity of the results. Furthermore, two co-coders were consulted in the research process to enhance validity. As newspaper articles are read by various individuals with differing perspectives on discourse, it is of importance to include various coders in the study of discourse.

Another important note is that the researcher is aware of the concept of *decentring* during the research project. Decentring implies overcoming the potential bias of one's own cultural background (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009), and more importantly, acknowledging that this cultural bias exists. Distancing from one's personal cultural background is not always fully possible; thus, the researcher is aware of the potential consequences this might have on the study. A possible bias in this study is the pre-existing criticism against former President Trump, which might cause the researcher to have a biased view of the discourse.

## 5. Results

Visualized by tables and graphs, this chapter presents the results of the lexical analysis, the predication analysis, and the discursive analysis.

### 5.1 Lexical Analysis

In the 100 analyzed newspaper articles, a total of 1263 lexical words/phrases were found. Though the complete lexical analysis can be found in appendix C, a summarized overview of the number of categorized lexicalizations is demonstrated in table 5.

**Table 5**  
*Results Lexical Analysis*

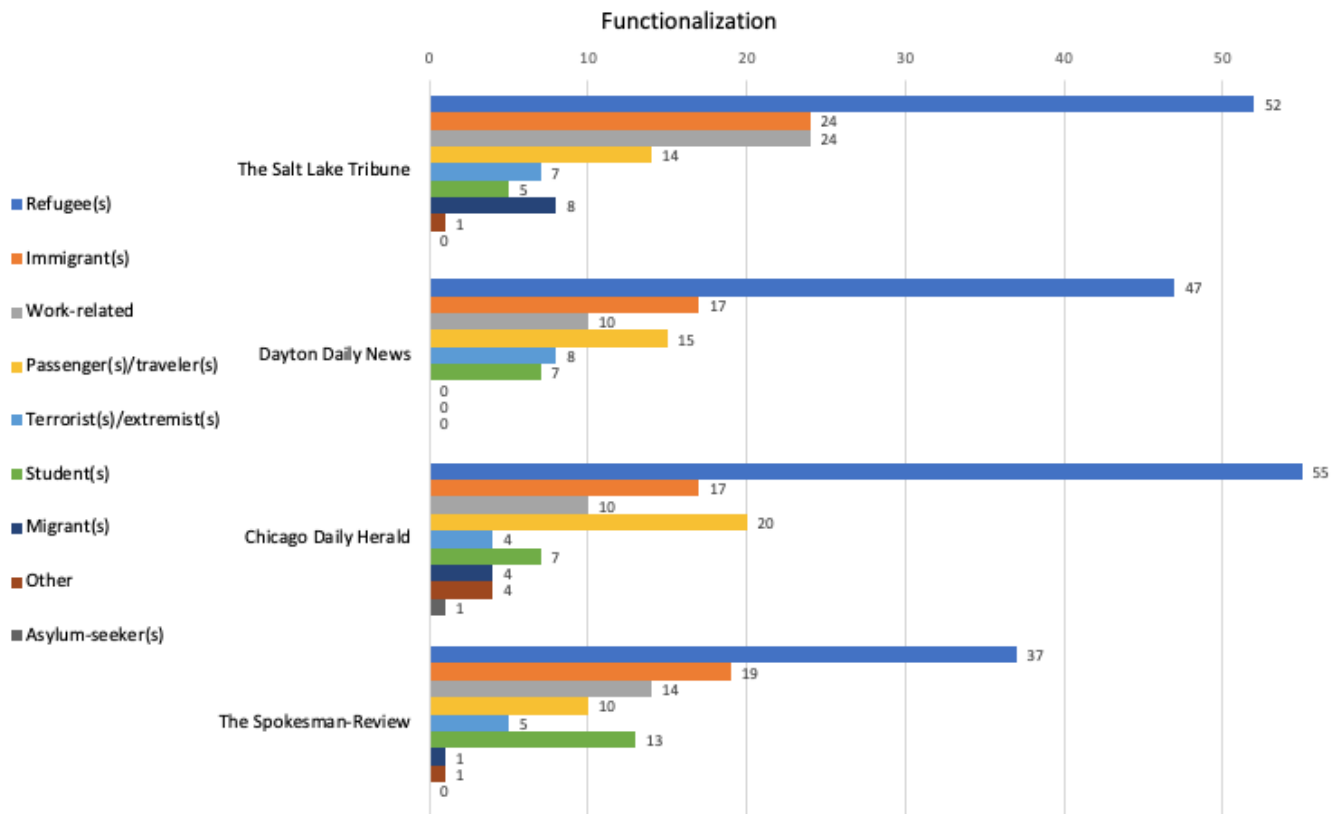
	<b>The Salt Lake Tribune</b>	<b>Dayton Daily News</b>	<b>Chicago Daily Herald</b>	<b>The Spokesman- Review</b>
<b>Functionalization</b>	136	103	122	100
<b>Classification</b>	150	104	137	80
<b>Relational Identification</b>	21	16	51	17
<b>Physical Identification</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Aggregation</b>	30	24	39	27
<b>Nomination</b>	25	13	50	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>242</b>

An overall pattern in the lexical analysis is that all four newspapers primarily referred to the individuals subject to Trump's travel ban by using functionalized and classified words/phrases. None of the newspapers used physical identification to refer to the individuals concerned. Looking at the newspapers more individually, it has been found that the Chicago Daily Herald used the most lexical representations. This newspaper especially gave more attention to the categories of relational identification and nomination. The Spokesman-Review presented the least lexicalizations.

Graph 1 demonstrates an overview of the sub-categories that were found in the category *functionalization*. In all four newspapers, the individuals subject to the travel ban were referred to as *refugees*, *immigrants*, *passengers/travelers*, in their function as worker or student, and as *terrorist/extremist*. The word *refugee(s)* was most often used in all newspapers. Lexical words that were found in the sub-category *other* are *tourist(s)*,

*dissenters*, and *detainees*. Figure 2 illustrates examples of functional lexical words that were found in the newspaper articles.

**Graph 1**  
*Sub-categories Functionalization*



**Figure 2**  
*Examples of Functionalization*

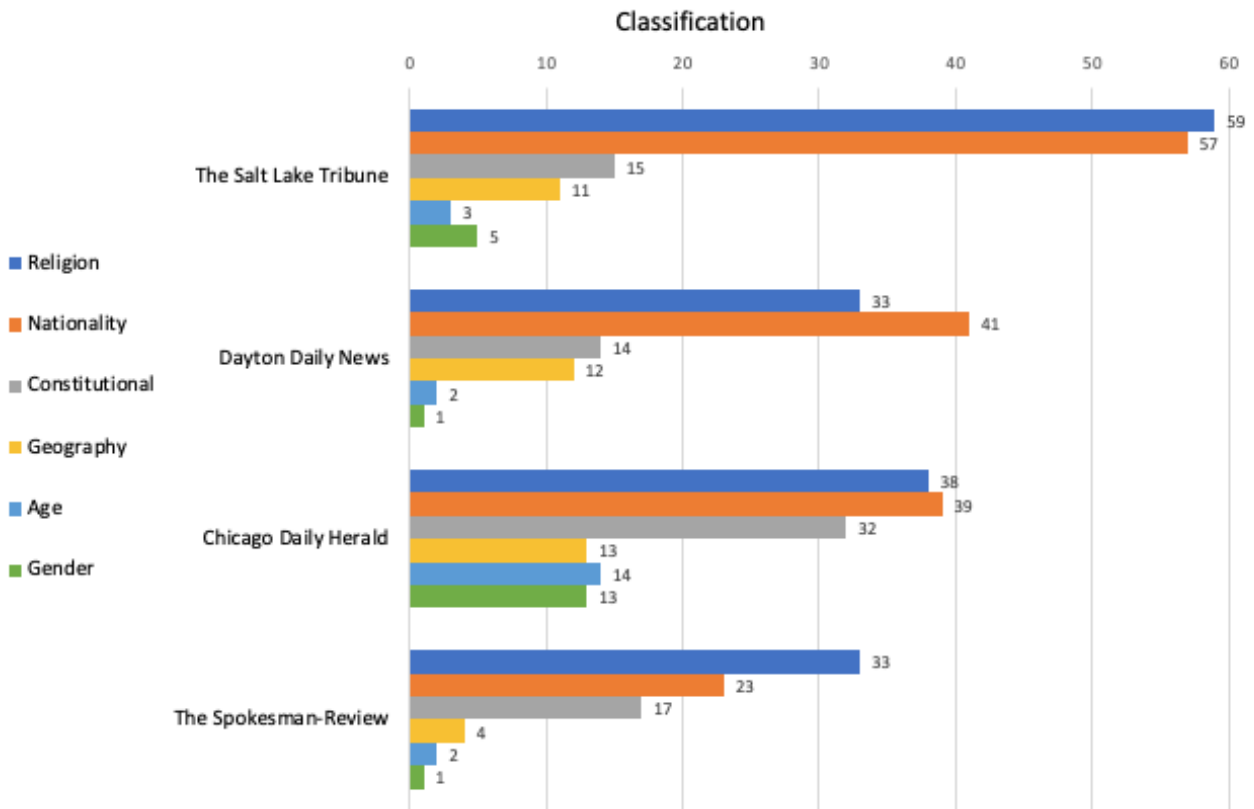


Graph 2 provides an overview of the sub-categories that were found in the category of *classification*. Here, in all four newspapers the individuals subject to the travel ban were most often referred to using their religion and nationality. When referred to the sub-category *religion* (see graph 2), the newspapers mentioned that the individuals concerned were from *Muslim-majority countries*, called them *Muslim(s)*, referred to their religion *the Islam*, or *people from the Islamic faith*. The Salt Lake Tribune, Dayton Daily News and The Chicago Daily Herald also mentioned *The Islamic State* in their articles. The Salt Lake Tribune overall referred to Muslims and their religion more often (59 times), compared to the other three newspapers (33 and 32 times). Only one other religion was mentioned by The Salt Lake Tribune and Chicago Daily Herald, they both referred to *Syrian Christians*.

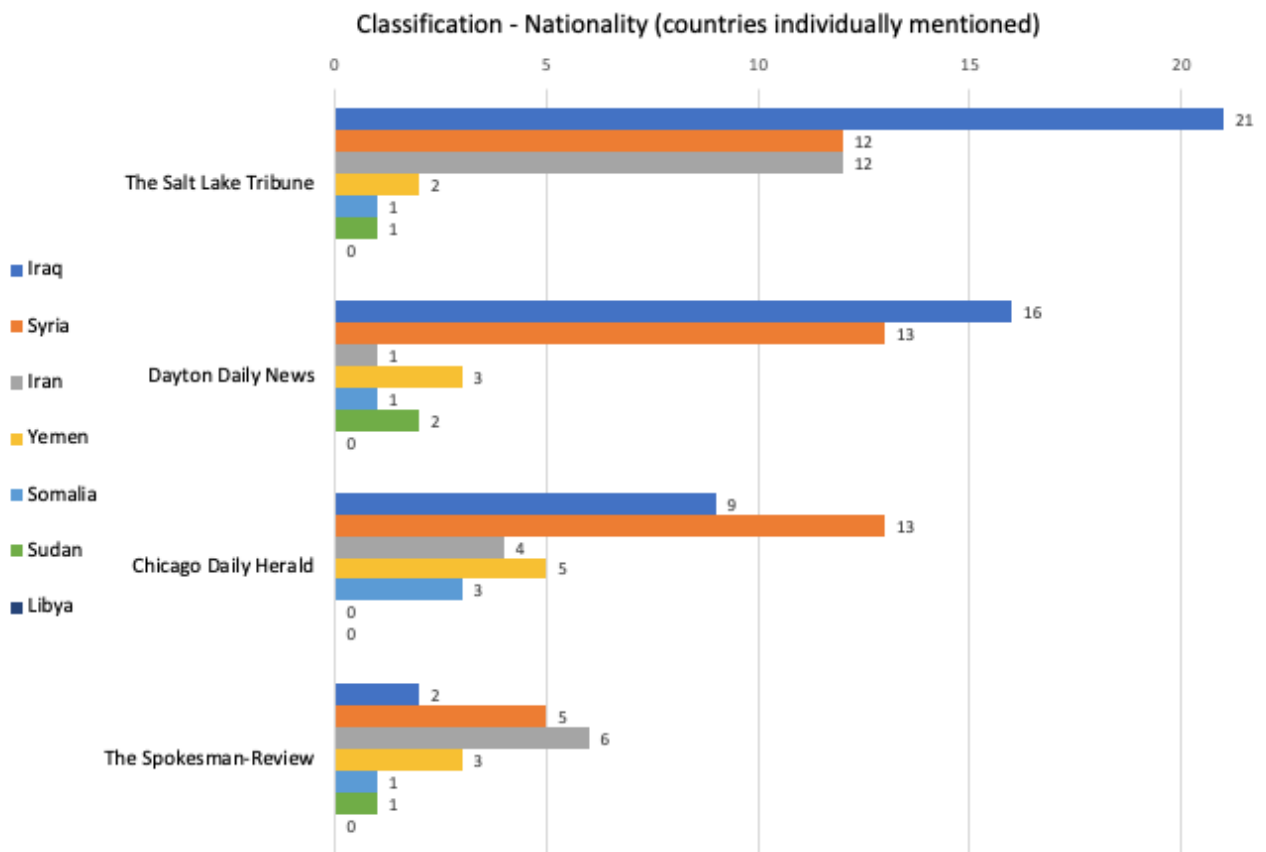
When the sub-category *nationality* was used, the individuals concerned were referred to as, for example, *Syrians*, or *an Iraqi*, or all individuals were referred to at once by saying: *Anyone from Iraq, Syria, Iran, Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Yemen*. Figure 3 demonstrates examples of lexical classification words that were found in the newspaper articles. Furthermore, graph 3 demonstrates how often the newspaper articles referred to the individual countries that were subject to Trump's travel ban. Here, the collective references, such as *Anyone from Iraq, Syria, Iran, Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Yemen*, were not included. The Salt Lake Tribune and Dayton Daily News most often referred to citizens from Iraq (namely 21 and 16 times), The Chicago Daily Herald most frequently mentioned Syrians (13 times) and The Spokesman-Review mentioned Iranians most often (6 times). The Chicago Daily Herald did not individually mention citizens from Sudan and none of the newspapers individually mentioned Libyans.

In the sub-category *constitutional*, the individuals subject to the travel ban were referred to as, for example, *people who were detained*, *foreigner(s)*, *visa holders*, and *permanent residents*. The Chicago Daily Herald most often (32 times) used these expressions to refer to the individuals subject to the travel ban. Last, in the sub-category *geography*, the individuals concerned were referred to mentioning that they came from certain countries, without mentioning which countries. Examples are *people from the seven countries*, and *travelers from the affected countries*. The Spokesman-Review made the least use of this category.

**Graph 2**  
*Sub-categories Classification*



**Graph 3**  
*Sub-category Classification – Nationality*



**Figure 3**  
*Examples of Classification*



Figure 4 demonstrates examples of lexical words that were found in the category of **relational identification**. Next, figure 5 shows examples of lexical words that were categorized under **aggregation**.

**Figure 4**  
*Examples of Relational Identification*



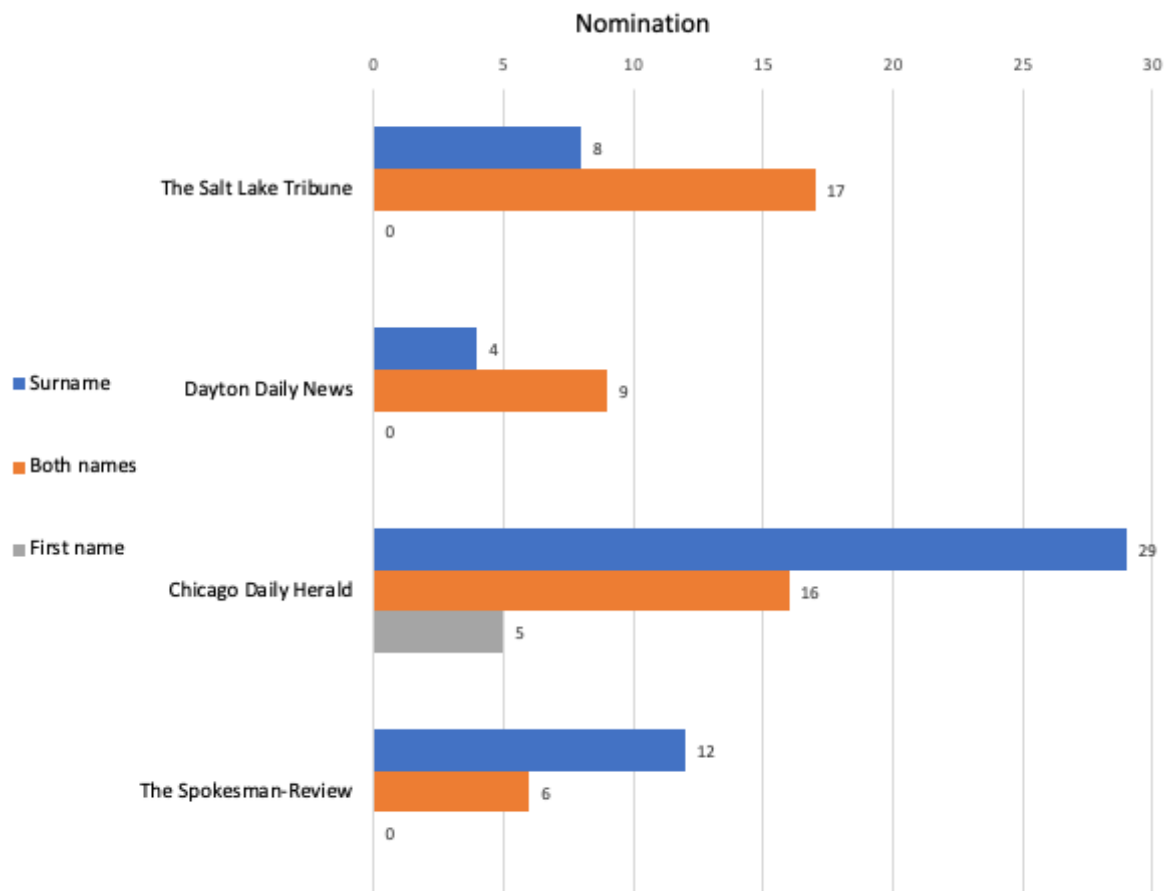
**Figure 5**  
*Examples of Aggregation*



Graph 4 demonstrates the sub-categories for *nomination*. Here, Chicago Daily Herald is the only newspaper that referred to individuals subject to the travel ban by their first name. The only ones that were mentioned by their first name were wives and children. Additionally, the Chicago Daily Herald often (29 times) used an individual's surname. Examples of lexical words in the category of nomination can be found in figure 6.



**Graph 4**  
*Sub-categories Nomination*



**Figure 6**  
*Examples Nomination*



## 5.2 Predication Analysis

From the total of 1263 lexical words/phrases that were found, a total of 451 predicates were found in the four newspapers (see appendix D). These predicates were categorized by the researcher and two co-coders, which can be found in appendix E. In appendix F, the final categories of the predication analysis are demonstrated. These final categories are *the banned individuals subject to the travel ban*, *the accepted individuals subject to the travel ban*, *the sympathized individuals subject to the travel ban*, *the demonized individuals subject to the travel ban*, and *the loyal individuals subject to the travel ban*. Tables 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d and 6e demonstrate which predicates were found in each category.

**Table 6a**

*Predicates – The Banned Individuals Subject to the Travel Ban*

**The Salt Lake Tribune**

Ban on (13x) - Banning (4x) - Ban (3x) - Detained (3x) - Removing (3x) - Deporting (3x) - Blocked (2x) - To halt (2x) - Targeting (2x) - Restricting – Limiting – Will not be resettled - Who had been detained - Who was detained - Suspending - Were stopped from boarding - Who were detained - Were stopped from boarding - Who were detained - Who have been prevented from boarding - Stranded - Block - Bans on - Who wound up stranded - To bar - Aggressive ban on - Who was handcuffed and spent nearly 19 hours in detention - Barred from - Is now barred from entering the United States - Rejected - Shutdown of - Relocated - Who are targets - Have been prevented from boarding - Curtail - Affect - Affects - Exemption - Affected - Confusion among.

**Dayton Daily News**

Ban on (12x) - Detained (6x) - Bars (3x) - Blocked (3x) - To ban (2x) - Banned - Blocks - Will be deterred - Who have been affected - Restrict - Defeating - Target - Targeted - Being held - Moratorium on - Who have been stranded or detained - Halting - Removing - Have been barred - Deportation - Suspends - To bar - Suspends - Bans - Ban - Detention of - Detentions of - Impacted - Detain - Whose loved ones had been detained - Blocking - Stranded - Deport - Was blocked - Suspended - Who were denied - Banning - Whose resettlement in the United States was stopped - Deporting.

**Chicago Daily Herald**

Detained (15x) - Ban on (7x) - Barring (3x) - Banning (3x) - Affected (3x) - Bars (3x) - Undocumented (3x) - Banned (2x) - Affecting (2x) - Stranded - Questioned - Relocated - Blocked - Resettle - Defeating – Bans - Targeting - Abruptly detained - Sent back - Confusion - Stranded - Targeted - Being held by authorities - Ban on all –Exempt - Was held - Required to return to their points of origin - Moratorium on - Targets - Tearing apart - Target - Deporting - Not allowed - Prohibiting - Rejection of - Deporting - That may never arrive - Bans - Deportation - Targeted - Who found themselves abruptly unable to enter the United States - Sent back - Stopped - Barred - Stuck.

**The Spokesman-Review**

Ban on (11x) - Detained (3x) - Undocumented (3x) - Ban for (2x) - Barring (2x) – To ban (2x) - Blocks (2x) - Bars - Block - Ban for - Stopped - Unable to enter the U.S. - Excludes - Denied - Removing - Forced - Denied - Unwelcome - Shutdown of - Deported - Stranding - Suspension of - Ban - Deportation of - Suspending - Deporting -Banning - Block - Detention - Exclusion.

## Table 6b

### *Predicates – The Accepted Individuals Subject to the Travel Ban*

#### **The Salt Lake Tribune**

Welcoming (2x) – Accepting (2x) - Allowed (2x) - Admitting - Welcomed - Greeting - Allowed to travel to the U.S. - Resettle - The arrival of - Acceptance of - Allowed to fly - Settled.

#### **Dayton Daily News**

To allow (2x) - Allowed - Allows - Accepting - Approved – Admit.

#### **Chicago Daily Herald**

Released (4x) - Allowed (3x) - Welcome (2x) - Free to leave - Release - Release of – Freed - Approved – Permanent.

#### **The Spokesman-Review**

Allowed (7x) - Welcoming (2x) – Hire (2x) - Released - The acceptance of - Allows - Welcome.

## Table 6c

### *Predicates – The Sympathized Individuals Subject to the Travel Ban*

#### **The Salt Lake Tribune**

Sympathy for - Are not the enemy - Are not the terrorists - Hard-working - Support for - Blameless - Fleeing war-torn nations - Backing of - Protect - Fleeing conflict – Who suffered unspeakable horrors - Vulnerable – Bewildered - Who have escaped unimaginable violence - Defenseless - Who risked their lives.

#### **Dayton Daily News**

Respect - Talented - To support - Treasure – Unite - Victims of terrorism and war - Fleeing war.

#### **Chicago Daily Herald**

Impact on (2x) - Proud - Supporting - Support - Strong - Caring for – Help – Young – Afraid – Worried - Despair – Despaired - Pleaded for his life - Torn apart.

#### **The Spokesman-Review**

Affected (3x) - Blameless – Safe - Support - Victim of terrorism - Who suffered unspeakable horrors - Unwitting - Best sources in the war against terror - Affects - Who are religious minorities - Torn apart - Separated.

## Table 6d

### *Predicates – The Demonized Individuals Subject to the Travel Ban*

#### **The Salt Lake Tribune**

To blame - Fighting insurgents - The demonization of - Thankless - Dangerous - Discriminate against - Eager - Bad - Furious - Irrelevant - Crackdown on - Discrimination against - Irreparable injury to – Freeloading - As jihadis - Non-Christian – Nonwhite - Radical.

#### **Dayton Daily News**

Irrelevant - Illegally - Talked about in a negative way - The game against - Bad - Were furious - Radical Islamic.

#### **Chicago Daily Herald**

Hate - Harms - Violated - Bad – Illegally - Who intend to commit terrorism in the U.S. - Afraid - Killing - Illegal - Discriminated against - Fears of - Non-U.S - Radical.

#### **The Spokesman-Review**

Foreign (4x) - War on - Desperate - Terrorists - Not adequately screened - Discrimination against - Radical.

**Table 6e**

*Predicates – The Loyal Individuals Subject to the Travel Ban*

**The Salt Lake Tribune**

Legal (3x) - Who helped safeguard American lives - Who have served faithfully alongside U.S. troops - Who hold permanent U.S. residency - Who have supported U.S. - Well-vetted - Who have worked with the U.S.

**Dayton Daily News**

Legal (3x) - Vetting – The most thoroughly vetted – Vetted – Who served and sacrificed alongside U.S. forces - Who worked for the U.S. - Who had worked as an interpreter for the U.S. army - Who served the U.S. government.

**Chicago Daily Herald**

Legal (8x) - Lawful (2x) - The most highly vetted – Who recently received her green card - Who have immigrant visas - Vetting of - Who has lived in the U.S. for 18 years - Who worked alongside the U.S. - Who is a U.S. citizen - Who has lived in the U.S. for 16 years - Who have worked for us.

**The Spokesman-Review**

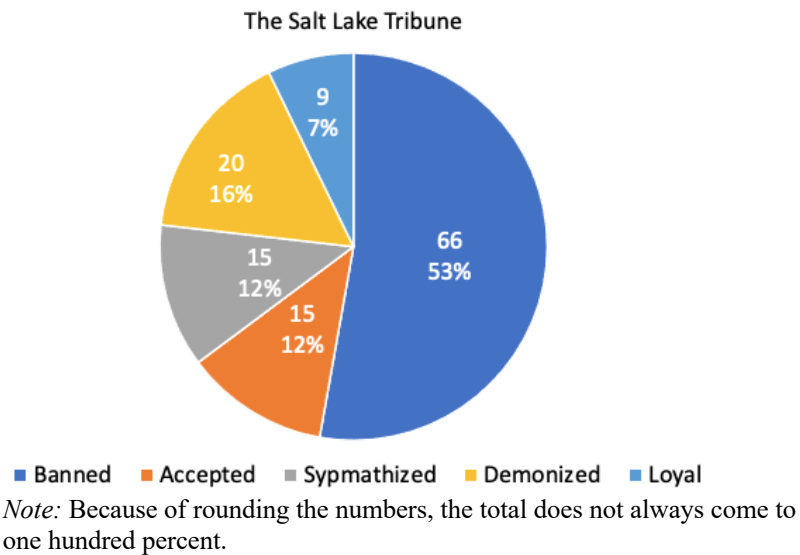
Legal (4x) - Lawful (3x) - Who had worked on behalf of the U.S. government - Who are authorized to live and work in the U.S.

Table 7 demonstrates how many predicates were found per category per newspaper. Additionally, graphs 5, 6, 7 and 8 provide a visualization of the percentages per category per newspaper. All newspapers mostly used predicates referring to the individuals subject to the travel ban being **banned**. From all four newspapers, Dayton Daily News had the most predicates about **banned** individuals subject to the travel ban compared to the other newspapers. 66% of their predicates were about the individuals concerned being **banned**. Looking at which newspaper had the highest percentage of predicates about **accepted** individuals concerned, The Spokesman-Review scored highest with 16%. The Spokesman-Review as well had the highest percentage in coverage of **sympathized** individuals subject to the travel ban, with 15%. Here, Dayton Daily News scored lowest with a coverage of 8% about **sympathized** individuals. The Salt Lake Tribune covered more about **demonized** individuals, compared to the other newspapers, scoring 16%. Dayton Daily News scored lowest about **demonized** individuals with 8%. Last, Chicago Daily Herald covered the highest percentage of **loyal** individuals concerned, with 14%. The Salt Lake Tribune wrote the least about **loyal** individuals, having 7% of their predicates being about **loyal** individuals subject to the travel ban.

**Table 7**  
*Results Predication*  
*Analysis*

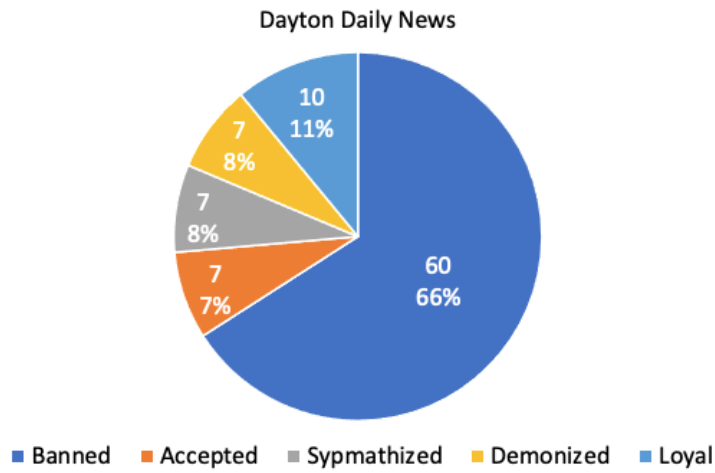
	<b>The Salt Lake Tribune</b>	<b>Dayton Daily News</b>	<b>Chicago Daily Herald</b>	<b>The Spokesman-Review</b>
The <b>banned</b> individuals subject to the travel ban	66	60	74	45
The <b>accepted</b> individuals subject to the travel ban	15	7	15	15
The <b>sympathized</b> individuals subject to the travel ban	15	7	15	14
The <b>demonized</b> individuals subject to the travel ban	20	7	16	13
The <b>loyal</b> individuals subject to the travel ban	9	10	19	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>96</b>

**Graph 5**  
*Predication Categories The Salt Lake Tribune*



**Graph 6**

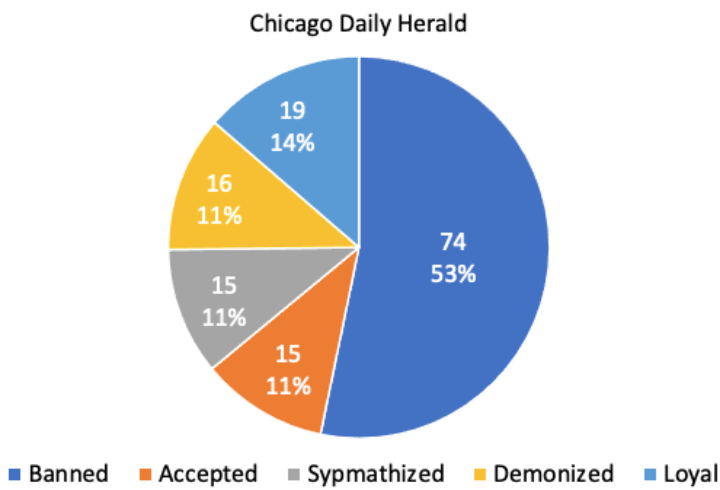
*Predication Categories Dayton Daily News*



*Note:* Because of rounding the numbers, the total does not always come to one hundred percent.

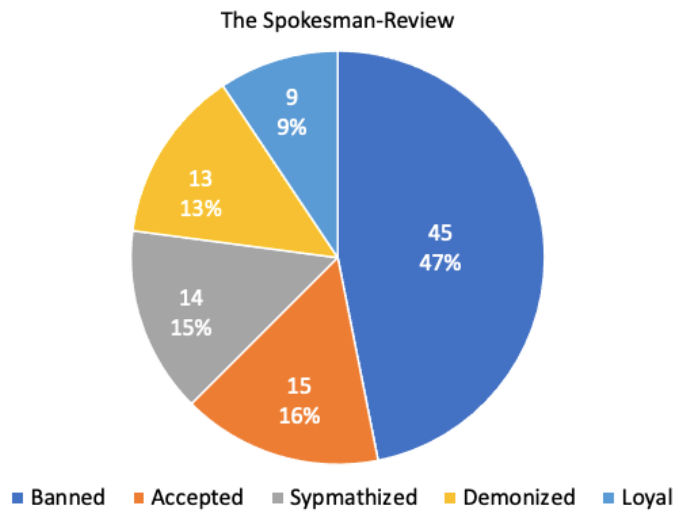
**Graph 7**

*Predication Categories Chicago Daily Herald*



*Note:* Because of rounding the numbers, the total does not always come to one hundred percent.

**Graph 8**  
*Predication Categories The Spokesman-Review*



*Note:* Because of rounding the numbers, the total does not always come to one hundred percent.

### 5.3 Discursive Analysis

In the discursive analysis, a total of 455 speakers were found in the four newspapers (see appendix G). Table 8 demonstrates what kinds of speakers were found in the 100 newspaper articles. Out of all the speakers, 360 were **institutional experts**. The **institutional experts** that had a voice regarding Trump’s travel ban were consulted on their knowledge about the following areas: politics (258 times), business (34 times), education (24 times), NGO’s (11 times), governmental organizations (7 times), sports (6 times), and journalism (once). Political speakers were, for example, President Trump, a White House Secretary or Senators. Business speakers worked at, for example, airports or law firms. Educational speakers were either professors, students or University presidents. Speakers working at NGO’s worked, for example, at the American Civil Liberties Union. Governmental speakers were, for example, employed at the U.S. Customs and Border Protection. The *sports*-speakers were from top sport teams and one journalist had a voice in the newspaper articles.

In total, 30 **immigrant experts** were consulted in the newspaper articles. Examples of **immigrant experts** are the director of the Arab American Civil Rights League, and an immigrant attorney representing a Yemeni-girl. Furthermore, a total of 41 individuals subject to the travel ban had a voice as **immigrant representatives**. The Salt Lake Tribune gave a voice to immigrants from Iraq (4 times), Somalia (3 times), Iran (3 times), Sudan (once), and Afghanistan (once). Dayton Daily News gave a voice to one immigrant from Syria, one from

Iraq and four immigrants whose nationalities were not mentioned. The Chicago Daily Herald spoke to the most immigrants compared to the other newspapers, coming from Iraq (6 times), Iran (4 times), Syria (4 times), Somalia (twice), India (twice), Yemen (once) and unknown nationality (once). The Spokesman-Review gave a voice to an immigrant from Iraq, one from Iran and two immigrants whose nationalities were not mentioned. Last, a total of 6 other individuals had a voice in the newspaper articles, most of them being protesters at airports.

**Table 8**  
*Results Discursive*  
*Analysis*

	<b>The Salt Lake Tribune</b>	<b>Dayton Daily News</b>	<b>Chicago Daily Herald</b>	<b>The Spokesman-Review</b>
<b>Institutional expert</b>	110 (77%)	68 (79%)	96 (73%)	86 (90%)
<b>Immigrant expert</b>	19 (13%)	11 (13%)	15 (11%)	4 (4%)
<b>Immigrant representative</b>	12 (8%)	6 (7%)	19 (15%)	4 (4%)
<b>Other individuals</b>	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)
<b>Total*</b>	<b>143 (99%)</b>	<b>86 (100%)</b>	<b>131 (101%)</b>	<b>95 (99%)</b>

*Note.* Because of rounding off the numbers, the total does not always come to one hundred percent.

As can be seen in table 8, all newspapers mostly gave a voice to **institutional experts** regarding Trump’s travel ban. The Spokesman-Review dominated in this by having 90% of their speakers being **institutional experts**. Differences were found in the amount of **immigrant representatives** as speakers, varying from 4% till 15%. The Chicago Daily Herald gave the most **immigrant representatives** a voice.



## 6. Discussion

In this chapter, the main findings of the analyses will be discussed by answering each sub-question, and will then be compared to findings from previous research. Additionally, possible explanations for the findings will be given.

### 6.1 Lexical Analysis

*How do American regional newspapers refer to Muslims in their news coverage regarding Trump's travel ban?*

It has been found that the four analyzed American regional newspapers mostly used the categories of functionalization and classification to refer to the individuals subject to the travel ban. In other words, it was found that newspapers tend to refer to individuals in terms of what they do and where they come from. All newspapers most often used the term *refugees* to mention the individuals concerned. Second, the Salt Lake Tribune and The Spokesman-Review mostly referred to the individuals concerned in terms of their religion (*Muslims*), and then using their nationality (*Iraqi* and *Iranian*). Dayton Daily News and Chicago Daily Herald second most used the individuals' nationality (*Iraqi* and *Syrian*), and then their religion (*Muslims*) to refer to the individuals subject to the travel ban. Overall, the newspapers more often tended to refer to groups rather than to individuals. The Chicago Daily Herald was an exception to this rule, since that newspaper used more relational identification and nomination than the other newspapers. Therefore, this newspaper wrote about the individuals subject to the travel ban in a more personal way compared to the other newspapers. However, the Chicago Daily Herald has not individually mentioned citizens from Sudan and Libya in their news articles. All other newspapers have not mentioned Libyans either.

These findings contradict previous research by Ahmed and Matthes (2016) who said that American newspapers presented Muslims as terrorists, fundamentalists, radicals, extremists, and fanatics post-9/11. Though terms such as *terrorists*, *extremists*, and *radical* were sometimes mentioned, the overall used terms were those of Muslims' religion and nationality. Based on previous findings (Alsultany, 2012; Lind & Danowski, 1998; Shaheen, 2008) it was also expected that the newspapers would mention Arabs in the context of Trump's travel ban on Muslims. However, Arabs were not mentioned once in the analyzed newspapers and the individuals concerned were mostly referred to in terms of religion and nationality. Therefore, the four American regional newspapers referred to the individuals concerned in line with the stylebook for bias-free language by the American Psychological

Association (2019). The APA (2019) namely proposed to be as specific as possible, use terms that the participants of those groups use themselves, and preferably name the specific national origin of an individual. An explanation for this contradiction with previous research could be that the Muslims in the research by Ahmed and Matthes (2016) were referred to with the terrorist attacks on 9/11 in mind, while the Muslims subject to the travel ban were not terrorists, but the victims of a U.S. President's decision. Another possible explanation is that journalists of newspapers are expected to write in an objective way, using factual terms. It is therefore logical that the individuals subject to the travel ban were mainly referred to as *refugee(s)*, and in terms of their religion and nationality.

## 6.2 Predication Analysis

*What characteristics and traits are attributed to Muslims in the news coverage in American regional newspapers regarding Trump's travel ban?*

With a predication analysis it has been found that all four American regional newspapers mostly wrote about individuals subject to the travel ban as being **banned** from the United States. Second, they mostly wrote about the individuals concerned being **demonized**, then **accepted** and **sympathized**, and last about individuals being **loyal**. In total, all newspapers wrote about the individuals concerned being **banned** and **demonized** 301 times, and about them being **accepted** to the U.S., **sympathized**, and **loyal** 150 times. In other words, the newspapers mostly attributed negative characteristics and traits to Muslims subject to the travel ban. However, some differences were found between the four newspapers. Dayton Daily News wrote the most about **banned** individuals, but the least about them being **demonized**, compared to the others. Salt Lake Tribune, however, most often wrote about **demonized** individuals. The Spokesman-Review wrote the most about **sympathized** and **accepted** individuals concerned, compared to the other newspapers.

This contradicts previous research by Alsultany (2012), who said that U.S. media distinguished between *good* and *bad* Arabs and Muslims after 9/11, in where *good* Arabs and Muslims proved their loyalty to the U.S. nation. Though 41 predicates were found about the individuals subject to the travel ban being **loyal** to the U.S. and working for the U.S., the overall sentiment of the represented Muslims was still negative. The findings of this current study do support previous research by Ahmed and Matthes (2016) and Nurullah (2010) in that the portrayal of Muslims and Islam worldwide has been mostly negative.

The topic of the newspaper articles can be a possible reason for the overall negative sentiment. Muslims were **banned** from entering the United States, which makes it reasonable

that the newspapers mostly wrote about them being **banned**. Though this term can be interpreted in a negative way by readers, it is not illogical that the journalists of the newspapers mainly wrote about the individuals concerned this way.

However, the predication category of *demonized* individuals was second largest. A possible explanation for the contradiction with Alsultany's (2012) findings, is that it is not clear whether the analyzed Muslims in this current study were all 'loyal' to the United States. Though there is no proof that the individuals concerned were disloyal to the U.S., the regional newspapers might still have thought of them as being against the U.S. nation, and therefore labeled them under Alsultany's (2012) idea of *bad* Muslims. It is also possible that the writers of the newspaper articles perceived Muslims as being an out-group, and therefore as the *Other* (Jackson, 2014), which often results in negatively stereotyping that group (Ratliff & Nosek, 2011), in this case the Muslims.

Another explanation could be that the negative portrayals of Muslims in previous research have been difficult to change. Collingwood, Lajevardi and Oskooij (2018) found that disproportionately highlighting aspects of a group can heavily influence individuals to believe those aspects. Therefore, it is possible that the previous negative portrayals have influenced individuals to such an extent that they believe that Muslims should be portrayed negatively, even though the Muslims are the victims, instead of the terrorists in case of the travel ban.

### 6.3 Discursive Analysis

*Who is given a voice regarding Trump's travel ban in the news coverage of American regional newspapers?*

With a discursive analysis it has been found that all four American regional newspapers mostly gave a voice to **institutional experts** in their news articles regarding Trump's travel ban. Of these **institutional experts**, most work in the political field. The Spokesman-Review gave a voice to the most institutional speakers compared to the other newspapers, having 90% of their speakers being **institutional experts**. Resultingly, this newspaper gave a voice to the least **immigrant experts** and **immigrant representatives**, compared to the others. Besides the *other individuals*, who rarely had a voice in the newspapers, **immigrant representatives** were given the least voice in the four newspapers. They did all differ in the coverage of **immigrant representative** speakers, varying from 4% (The Spokesman-Review) to 15% (Chicago Daily Herald). From the **immigrant representatives** that were given a voice, Dayton Daily News and The Spokesman-Review not always mentioned their nationality,

while the Salt Lake Tribune and Chicago Daily Herald gave a voice to immigrants from 5 to 7 different nationalities.

Though the news articles were about Muslims being victims of the travel ban, the Muslims themselves were not often given a voice. Instead, institutional speakers, mostly politicians, were often given a voice in this discourse. This supports previous research by Joseph, D'Harlingue & Wong (2008), Nurullah (2010), and Shaheen (2008), who found that U.S. media portrays Muslims as the *Other* since 9/11, which can be seen in the lack of voice Muslims have in U.S. media. A possible explanation for this is that the first ten days of discourse were analyzed for this study. In the initial news coverage about a topic, it is not unusual for newspapers to write about what happened in a factual way with easily accessible information. Responses from politicians are in this case easier to access than background stories from refugees. However, this does not take away that it reinforces the voicelessness that the group already has in the discourse analyzed for this study.

## 6.4 Social Analysis

*To what extent does the social practice of the news coverage of the four American regional newspapers correspond with the textual and discursive representation of Muslims regarding Trump's travel ban?*

For the social analysis, the social practices of the newspapers were analyzed along with the findings from the textual and discursive analyses. To achieve a better understanding of the social practices, the researcher sent out an email to the four newspapers asking for additional information about their mission statement and who they are. None of the newspapers responded to this request. Therefore, the analysis was done with information from table 4, paragraph 4.2.3, and appendix A.

The Salt Lake Tribune promises their readers that they write inclusive stories with fairness and accuracy. The analyses in this study demonstrate that the newspaper most often referred to the individuals subject to the travel ban as refugees and Muslims, which are accurate and factual terms. The newspaper had most predicates about **banned** individuals subject to the travel ban, and scored highest of all four newspapers in predicates about **demonized** individuals. Last, the Salt Lake Tribune gave a voice to immigrants from five different countries in their news articles, which corresponds with their promise to be inclusive. According to Deseret News (2015), many Muslim immigrants have been settling in Utah and many opportunities have been created for Muslim refugees. Additionally, Muslims in Utah are not discriminated against by Republican officials (Salt Lake Tribune, 2018). This

does not correspond with the finding that the Salt Lake Tribune scored highest with predicates about **demonized** Muslims.

Dayton Daily News promises their readers to write news about what is really going on in their community. In this newspaper, the most predicates about **banned** individuals subject to the travel ban were found, and the least predicates about **accepted**, **sympathized**, and **demonized** individuals concerned. Additionally, the newspaper did not give a voice to many immigrants and often forgot to mention their nationality. Therefore, it can be concluded that Dayton Daily News did not give a fair and double-sided image of what was going on in their community regarding the travel ban. These findings are not completely surprising since many anti-Muslim bias incidents have been happening in Ohio, and many Muslims in that state are traumatized and at risk of drugs, gangs and violence (Hatuga, 2018).

The Chicago Daily Herald tells their readers that they are local and engaged in the community. This newspaper used the most lexical words, giving the most attention to relational identification and nomination compared to the other newspapers. This means that the Chicago Daily Herald wrote about the individuals subject to the travel ban as persons most often. This can also be seen in the other lexicalizations that were found, since of all four newspaper they most often used constitutional lexical words. Additionally, this was the only newspaper that referred to individuals by their first name, and most often referred to them by their surname. The Chicago Daily Herald had most predicates about **loyal** individuals concerned, compared to the other newspapers. Lastly, they gave the most immigrants a voice in their newspaper articles. Thus, it can be concluded that the Chicago Daily Herald indeed reports about their community in an engaged way. A reason for this might be that more than 40 percent of all refugees in Chicago are from the seven countries from Trump's travel ban. Therefore, the writers of the newspaper articles might have had easy access to personal stories.

Though almost half of the predicates in The Spokesman-Review were about **banned** individuals subject to the travel ban, this newspaper had the most predicates about **accepted** and **sympathized** individuals, compared to the other newspapers. Furthermore, from all newspapers, The Spokesman-Review gave institutional experts the most voice and immigrant representatives the least voice. This small contribution by immigrant representatives does not correspond with the migration in the State of Washington, since it relies heavily on their immigrant population and is home to the largest Somali population in the U.S. (Siddiqi & Auffray, 2020). However, the Muslim community in Washington also faces police brutality, racial inequity and exclusion based on race (Siddiqi & Auffray, 2020). Therefore, writers of

newspaper articles in Washington State might have been used to speaking to institutional experts rather than immigrants.

All in all, differences in representation were found between the four regional newspapers. However, all four newspapers mostly referred to the individuals concerned as refugees, mostly wrote about them as being **banned**, and mainly gave a voice to institutional experts. Therefore, it can be concluded that the regional perspective provides relevant differences between the newspapers and between differences in the states, though the overall discourse seems to be the same for all four newspapers.

## 6.5 Integration of Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's (1989) model for Critical Discourse Analysis should not be seen as three separate levels. Findings in one level can help explain the results from another level as these are all linked together in the end. The discussion of the social analysis in paragraph 6.4 already linked the findings of the social analysis to the textual and discursive dimensions. However, links between the textual and discursive dimension were found as well. Findings in the textual level from this current study showed that the texts from the newspaper articles mainly wrote about the **banned** refugees, Muslims, and terms referring to individuals' nationalities. Furthermore, in the discursive level of CDA it was found that the newspapers mostly gave a voice to **institutional experts**, whom were mainly politicians. This finding in the discursive level explains why in the textual level mostly negative portrayals of Muslims were found: the Muslims themselves were rarely given a voice, and were mostly talked about by **institutional experts**. These **institutional experts** might have seen the individuals subject to the travel ban as the Other, causing them to reduce the individuals to less than they are (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman in Ten Thije, 2016). This might have resulted in the portrayals of Muslims in the initial ten days of news coverage being mainly about them being **banned** from entering the United States, and being **demonized**.

## 7. Conclusion

In this final chapter the main research question will be answered. Furthermore, limitations of the study are considered and suggestions for further research are made.

### 7.1 The Representation of Muslims

In order to answer the main research question: *How are Muslims represented in the initial news coverage of four American regional newspapers around President Trump's travel ban in 2017?*, a total of 100 newspaper articles from four regional newspapers were analyzed. This study has found that the four newspapers mainly referred to the individuals subject to the travel ban as *refugees*, *Muslims* or by naming their country of origin, such as *Iraqis*. Six countries of origin that were subject to Trump's travel ban were individually mentioned in the newspapers, only Libyans were not individually mentioned once. Furthermore, the newspapers mainly wrote about the Muslims as being **banned** from the United States. Taken together, the newspapers more often wrote about **banned** and **demonized** individuals than about **accepted**, **sympathized**, and **loyal** individuals subject to the travel ban. Moreover, the Muslims were underrepresented regarding Trump's travel ban when it comes to having a voice in the discourse. The newspapers namely mainly gave a voice to **institutional experts**, who were mostly politicians. The least voice was given to **immigrant representatives** in the newspapers. Lastly, Chicago Daily Herald reported as they promised in their mission statement, while Salt Lake Tribune and Dayton Daily News did not. This last newspaper provided a too one-sided image of Muslims regarding the travel ban compared to what they promise in their mission statement. To conclude, the four American regional newspapers represented Muslims around President Trump's travel ban in an overall negative and underrepresented way, though they all did correctly refer to the Muslims when mentioning them. This conclusion is not illogical, taking into account that this study analyzed the initial ten days of the news coverage.

### 7.2 Review of Research Process and Limitations

The abovementioned findings of this study were found within a timeframe of ten weeks. Due to time constraints, several choices have been made that need to be considered. Firstly, the researcher analyzed the initial coverage of four newspapers regarding Trump's travel ban. To do this, news articles from the first ten days (from January 27 till February 5) after the release

of the executive order were analyzed. The fact that this study analyzed the initial ten days of news coverage has inevitably influenced the outcomes of this study. Additionally, changes in public opinion might have had an impact on the discourse in the newspapers, as national U.S. polling displayed that in February 2017 less individuals supported the ban and opposition had grown. On the other hand, Fairclough's (1989) view on discourse using a Critical Discourse Analysis states that language is a construction of reality, it might have therefore been possible that the changes in public opinion were due to the sentiment in news reporting. Therefore, it must be noted that the representations of Muslims regarding Trump's travel ban might have changed after the initial news coverage that resulted from this current study.

Though decisions were based on similar previous studies, an element of subjectivity in this study was unavoidable since the researcher made decisions about the research process. This might have impacted the outcomes of this study. Therefore, this study was less replicable than other studies. The researcher has tried to avoid subjectivity by consulting two co-coders to categorize the findings of the predication analysis. With this, several individuals have given their perspectives on what the final predication categories should be. However, the process of including co-coders did not fully go according to plan and needs an alternative methodological approach in the future. The instructions for co-coding appeared not clear enough, causing the labels for the predication categories to be unsuitable. For future research, it might be better to categorize and label the predicates during a group discussion with the co-coders, instead of individually. This way, the researcher is able to make the assignment clearer and directly intervene if unsuitable choices are being made. Additionally, all coders together will come to unambiguous decisions during a group discussion.

Lastly, for the discursive analysis the researcher initially planned to distinguish between direct quotes and paraphrases. However, during the analysis it became clear that this distinction was not relevant for this current study. Mainly because most speakers were both quoted and paraphrased, and because of the limited time frame of this study, the researcher decided to not distinguish between quotes and paraphrases.

### **7.3 Suggestions for Further Research**

This study questioned how Muslims were represented in four American regional newspapers in their news coverage in the first ten days following the release of Trump's travel ban. Further research might explore the concepts of imagology and representation analyzing other dimensions of Othering, by exploring the representation of a clearly identified in-group, instead of an out-group. This could for example be done by analyzing the representation of



white, male politicians, who form an in-group within politics, in national U.S. newspapers. Another suggestion for further research is to further analyze the local or regional perspective by analyzing the representation of an individual or group, for example Donald Trump, in news media of each American state.

This current study analyzed the news coverage from four newspapers in the first ten days after the release of the executive order. However, national U.S. polling found that after this time period less Americans supported the travel ban. Further research might therefore explore how Muslims were represented after the first ten days, and compare the findings to the findings of this study. Furthermore, it stood out in this study that Libyans were not individually mentioned once by the four newspapers. Further research could look into whether U.S. newspapers more often mention and represent citizens from areas with direct news value, instead of citizens from areas where there is no direct, daily news value, even when also those citizens are part of a news topic.

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## Appendix A: Migration in the Four States

In Illinois, the American Immigration Council (2020a) measured fourteen percent of the population to be foreign-born in 2018. Another fourteen percent of the residents had at least one immigration parent. The main countries of origin for immigrants were Mexico, India, Poland, the Philippines and China (American Immigration Council, 2020). According to the Los Angeles Times (Husain & Marx, 2017), more than 40 percent of the 30,000 refugees in Chicago are from the seven countries from Trump's travel ban. Additionally, Illinois is home to one of the largest populations of Arab Americans in the U.S. (Arab America, 2016).

In the State of Ohio, five percent of the population was immigrant in 2018, while another five percent had at least one immigrant parent. Most immigrants in Ohio originated from India, Mexico, China, the Philippines and Canada (American Immigration Council, 2020b). According to news site Middle East Eye (Hatuqa, 2018), Columbus, Ohio has resettled more than 17,000 Muslim immigrants since the 1980s from for example Iraq, Syria and Somalia. Nowadays, Ohio is home to more than 500,000 immigrants, of which many are traumatized and at risk of drugs, gangs and violence. Resultingly, many anti-Muslim bias incidents have been happening (Hatuqa, 2018).

In 2018, nine percent of the population in Utah was immigrant, from which the top countries of origins were Mexico, India, Venezuela, Peru and Canada. In the same year, another nine percent of the population in Utah had at least one immigrant parent (American Immigration Council, 2020c). Additionally, a growing number of Muslim immigrants have been settling in Utah (Deseret News, 2015). According to this news site, Utah has created many opportunities for Muslim refugees, which resulted in the state creating a space where multicultural discourse is an everyday reality. According to the Salt Lake Tribune (2018), Utah is the only American state where Republican officials do not discriminate Muslims. This was reflected in 2016, when Trump announced his plans of the travel ban for the upcoming elections, when a group of lawyers from Utah voluntarily helped refugees that could be a victim of the travel ban (AP News, 2016).

The State of Washington relies heavily on their immigrant population (American Immigration Council, 2020d). Fifteen percent of the state's population in 2018 was foreign-born, with another fifteen percent being native-born American with at least one immigrant parent. Most immigrants in Washington originated from Mexico, India, China, the Philippines and Vietnam (American Immigration Council, 2020). Washington State is also home to one of the largest Somali population in the U.S., and many other Muslim immigrants from, for

example, Iraq and Iran (Siddiqi & Auffray, 2020). According to them, the Muslim community in Washington faces police brutality, racial inequity and exclusion based on race. Meanwhile, Washington was the first state to file a lawsuit against Trump's travel ban (Chappell, 2017).