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## PORTRAYAL OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN BRITISH PRINT MEDIA: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF HINDU COMMUNITY

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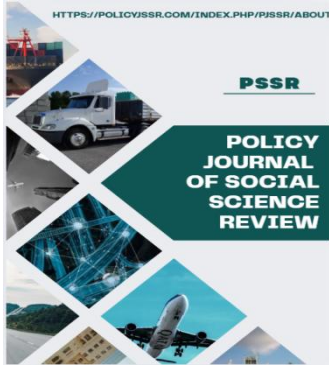
### ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore the portrayal of religious minority particularly Hindu in the British news media (*The Guardian and The Telegraph*) within the period of five years i.e. 2020-2024 through the Fairclough method of Critical Discourse Analysis. It analyzed 17 news articles with the purposive sampling technique. The selected news article reflects the neutral to positive image of the Hindu community. It has been observed the nationalist ideology under the Modi govt also highlight their geopolitical shift.

**Keywords-** Portrayal, Religious Minorities In British Print Media, Critical Discourse Analysis Of Hindu Community

### Introduction:

Print media particularly newspapers are a source of information with a variety of topics for many people. often journalists focused on sensational news in diverse areas including religion. The way newspapers construct or report about religion or religious issue it considered the reflection of the society, but it observed the representation of religion in media frequently detached from the reality and experiences of the religious minorities (Poole &Weng,2021). Representation of religion into print media developed after 9/11 attacks and noticed a menace of Islamophobia in the western society on its peak. On the contrary of Muslims, the other religious minorities Hindus and Sikhs also faces this experience but to some extent in comparison of Muslims it was different due to their social, political and cultural environment. Several incidents of killing, tortured and marginalization of minorities inspected in US, France, Holland, New Zealand and UK as well and media is accountable to damaging the perception of religious communities through its biased lenses of coverage. (Ali & Jalal,2010). Hence the focus of this research article through the Critical discourse analysis is the portrayal of religious minorities particularly Hindus and Sikhs in the two Mainstream newspapers of the UK (The Guardian and The Telegraph).



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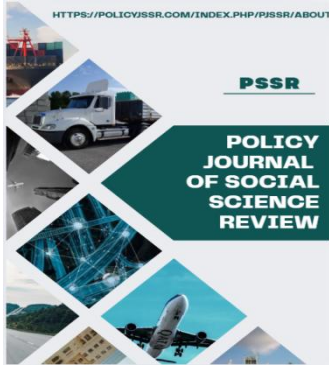
The pinpoint of this research article to understanding the social, political and cultural concern of religious minority groups to determine the expression of racism. (Modood ,1997) Identically the South Asians are viewed and illustrated as ‘un - British by the western print media’. As detecting one of the former study finalized that brown minority groups in UK were embodied as un- British. (Gilroy ,1992).

Hindu community in British media often observed through the lenses of cultural difference but due the recent changes in the national ideology western media frame Hindus as activist and it reveals their complex relationships. The term “Hindutva” translated as Hinduness or a Hindu nation that linked with the ideology of RSS that explained the dominance of Hindus. “Hindutva alike the Christian “Fundamentalism” and reflected to vilify Islam and construct Muslims as enemy of the nation (Elex, 2015). According to Salim India and Pakistan shared historical framework but disturbing relations over decades that resulted in wars and creating many conflicts. Further no one can ignore the role of media creating and building bad perceptions in the mind of the people (Salim, Dsouza & Isuza,2006).

Literature Review:

Similarly, Van Dijk,1990 highlight the point, minority groups were often connected to the religion & ethnicity, sophisticatedly express that the media discourse is prone to construct the minority status through the cultural & social differences. This is especially related towards the overall coverage of religious minorities, who are continuously under wide category of ethnicity and presented in a way that reinforce deviance from the assess norms. Furthermore, the study revealed that the majority groups were politically progressive whereas minority groups in the most of the part, marginalized by religion, race and ethnicity that clearly framing their stance towards the discourse of national politics. Likewise, such distinguishing practices align with the existing criticism that mass media fortify dominant social norms and further disparage non-conforming identities (Curran, 1991; Van Dijk, 1990).

Long (Long et al., 2009) critically examines a decade worth of research on Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) participation in sports and physical recreation, unveiling how matters of race, identity, and culture overlap with the larger social and institutional relationships. The review foregrounds that racial barriers, whether overt or covert, continuously shape BAME experiences in the sports industry – institutions lack efforts of proper inclusion. Countless policies have only managed to imply surface-level commitment, failing to convert into decent representation or influence at the basic level. As such, this study emphasizes the importance of interconnection, signifying that religious identity, along with class, race, gender, etc., demonstrates the extent to which individuals feel included or excluded in recreational environments. More importantly, steps taken toward BME inclusion often refinement, hence lowering diverse



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communities to rigid categories and failing to cater to the specific religious or cultural needs of various groups (Long et al., 2009).

These findings suggest a critical relation to how religious minorities are portrayed in the UK, as the constant emphasis on conformity to the status quo, particularly within sports and recreational settings, reflects larger trends like how Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus are presented in public discourse – as inflexible to integration and culturally discordant. The study further criticizes this assimilationist attitude, which deems religious/cultural uniqueness as troublesome rather than valued. Furthermore, there is argument that depictions in UK media coverage tend to dismiss structural exclusions and instead highlight the perceived community inadequacies (Long et al., 2009).

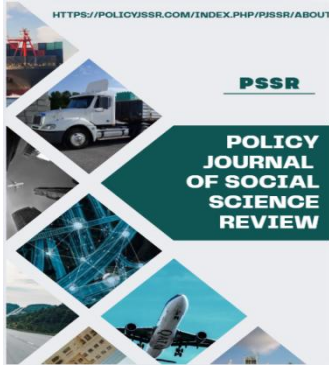
At large, these findings suggest a clear picture of parallels for context with regards to the UK: media depictions that highlight minority contributions to social development – through various shared cultural practices, strong economic cooperation, and profound institutional protections – can neutralize marginalized portrayals of religious communities.

Grizzle & Ortiz (2019) present a study focusing on discerning communication and cultural barriers. It demonstrates that Islam and Christianity dominate the mainstream media coverage, but with a negative tone in the case of Islam, which rarely sees positive connotations. Likewise, the study notes that other religions, including Confucianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, are ones to get little to no coverage. Consequently, this matter of selective visibility conveys the askew nature of media systems when it comes to cultural and institutional dynamics in depth as dominant religious narratives are incessantly fortified whereas minority religions are either relatively ignored or simply marginalized entirely. Ultimately, such trends imply that media presents biases keenly framed by historical, cultural, and political forces, which consequently influence which religion is considerably apt for public knowledge and discourse (Grizzle & Chibas Ortiz, 2019).

**Research Methodology:**

In order to explore the phenomena of portrayal of the religious minorities in the selected mainstream newspapers of UK, researcher employed the method of critical discourse analysis. The news stories appeared in the Guardian, and the Telegraph, related to the religious minorities of Hindus and Sikhs over a period of five years i.e. 2020-2024 has been analyzed.

The qualitative approach of Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough used that enables the researcher to understand the relationship between the power of the language and ideology of Fairclough. This particular method deals with the three different aspects of texts and explores their relationship, first is based on Text analysis second is a discursive or process analysis and third is a social analysis. Linguistic analysis is based on the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and the structure of the text on the



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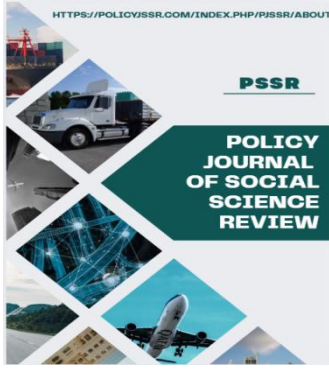
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different level of the sentence. (Fairclough, 1989). According to wodak,2001 Discourse analysis considered analysis of vast range of textual factors. Furthermore, CDA explores how issues are constructed and analysis of historical aspects of the context. (Potter & Wetherell,1987).

This study has been designed to explore the answer of the following questions:  
How Hindus are portrayed by the selected newspapers regarding different sphere of discourse including social, political, and cultural?

Whether the misrepresentation of South Asians particularly Hindus associated towards racism?

S.NO	Vocabulary	Grammar	Text analysis Cohesion	Text Structure	Discursive Analysis	Social Analysis
4.1	Use of negative words	Effective grammar construction of passive and active voice	Cohesive and	Good structure	Victimization of Muslims in India discussed during pandemic	Marginalization of Muslims under the discourse of Islamophobia and othering
4.2	Use of negative words	Effective grammar use of direct quotes and passive voice	with direct and Cohesive	Good structure	Marginalization of Hindus explored and discourse of secularism observed	Intolerance in Society and discourse of Prejudice and observed
4.3	Use of negative words	Effective grammar use of	Cohesive	Good structure	Marginalization of Hindus and discrimination of religious minorities	Local issues and linked as global problem with the discourse of deviant

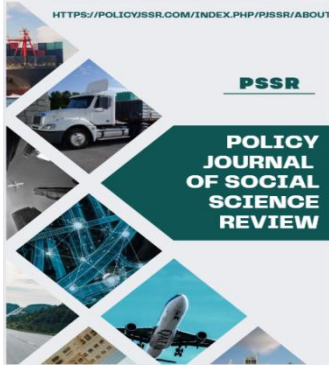


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4.4	Neutral words used in the text	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Policy debate about religious minorities	Reflection of the discourse of Hegemony
4.5	Use of negative words	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Tension and unrest between Hindu - Muslims	Discourse of Hindutva and Islamophobia explored
4.6	Use of negative words	Effective grammar particularly use of active voice	Cohesive	Good structure	Pro -Israel stance by India to justify their control on Kashmir	Discourse of clash of civilization and Islam as threat
4.7	Use of words around suppress and regress	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Framing of Muslims in India as suppressed	Discourse of Hindutva explored
4.8	Use of negative words	Effective grammar with use of active and passive voice	Cohesive	Good structure	India & US alliance due to the changing geopolitical situation	Discourse of Hegemony explored
4.9	Use of positive words	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Narrative of India -US alliance due to geopolitical situation	Discourse of Hegemony reinforced discussed
4.10	Use of words simple and ideological	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Framing of well-organized apparatus used by BJP during election that reveals their power	Discourse of Hindutva exposed

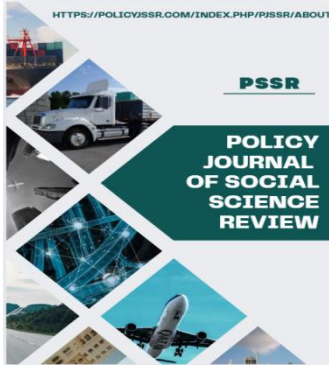


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4.11	Use of negative words	Effective grammar with use of active and passive voice	Cohesive	Good structure	Deterioration of the democratic structure of India regarding marginalization of Muslims	Discourse of Hindutva observed
4.12	Use of negative and emotive words	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Intolerance suppression Indian's regarding Christians	&Discourse of Hindutva offound
4.13	Use of negative and emotional words	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Marginalization victimization Muslims in India	&Discourse of Hindutva ofexplored minorities
4.14	Use of extreme negative words	Effective grammar with use of active and passive voice	Cohesive	Good structure	Marginalization of Muslim minorities in India	Discourse of Hindutva and highlighted Muslims as "deviant"
4.15	Use of Positive words	Effective Grammar, use of declarative and passive sentences	Cohesive	Good Structure	Reveal racial harmony in British society	Discourse of Power and hegemony that highlighted diversity in society
4.16	Use of negative words	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	Marginalization of Muslims in India	Discourse of Hindutva highlighted
4.17	Use of negative words	Effective grammar	Cohesive	Good structure	India present as Sectarian war for minorities particularly Muslims	Discourse of Hindutva zonediscussed for religious



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Coronavirus conspiracy theories targeting Muslims spread in India; Attacks and boycotts escalate amid false claims that Muslim group to blame for epidemic Coronavirus - latest updates  
See all our coronavirus coverage

(The Guardian 13 April 2020)

Text Analysis:

The text of this news article related to the violence against Muslims in India. The vocabulary used in this article reinforce the imbalance of power and also exposed the slogan of secular state like the words used here are “corona jihad” and frame the Muslims as they are intentional spreader of corona disease that dehumanize the community. Grammatically the use of active and passive voice makes the article interesting for the readers. Text is cohesive as its creates the beautiful contrast using the devices like though, but and contest between facts and beliefs. Structure of the text reveals the power dynamics and anti-Muslim rhetoric while discussing the role of the state.

Discursive Analysis:

The discursive analysis of this article reveals the hidden meaning of this text and it has been explored that the Anti-Muslim narrative during covid-19 in India. Circulation of these narratives describes the power dynamics of the society that linked with the social media propaganda. Article discussed the Muslims attendance in their religious jamaat frame the discourse as they are bioterrorist or “human bomb” it also highlights the BJP anti-Muslim agenda where the sentiments against Muslims used as weapon through the fear of pandemic.

Social Analysis:

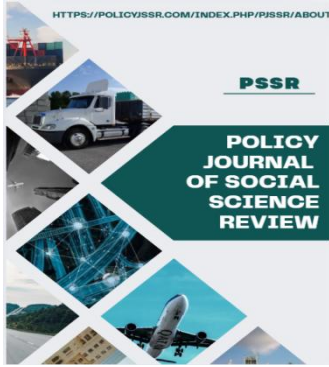
Social analysis explores the crisis of portrayal where Muslims are taken as viral threat that blends them into a pandemic terminology with the construct reality of “jihad” that put them into a category of criminality. The fear of the marginalized group can have explored in this article and illustrate how the powerful hierarchy works and control the minority rights. Further the text accelerated the discourse of othering where public health becomes majoritarian anxiety.

Mob attacks and sets fire to Hindu temple in Pakistan

(The Guardian, 30 December 2020)

Text Analysis:

The text in this article explored the evaluating language to shape the incident. The words used here such as “shame” “extremist” and “condemn” place the attack as disreputable. The human rights minster use the phrase strongly condemn the incident that reveals the political stance of the state regarding incident. Grammatically the text used in this article were constructed as passive however direct quotes were used when the officials reinforce their authority. It has been also observed the conditional phrases



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used such as “you can’t run federation unless the rights of minorities are protected” The text is cohesive as it provides historical context that reinforce religious intolerance. The structure of the text explains the violent act and the accountable reaction of political leaders with the context of minority rights as Mazari tweet we are responsible as a govt and have responsibility towards minorities.

Discursive Analysis:

Discursive analysis in this news article according to the method of fairclough explores the discourse of systematic failure regarding attack on temple in Pakistan. The text shapes the public perception that blends with the media reports and official statements. The text reveals the power struggle between the religious extremists. Further it has been observed that the state reinforces their hegemonic narrative where they appear as responsible rather to discriminate systematically lastly it has been observed that the discourse of secularism also under threat

Social Analysis:

Social analysis reveals the attack on the temple in Pakistan and construct a discourse of power structure with the contradiction of systematic discrimination of the religious minorities. Institutional responses and socio cultural realities marginalized the communities. Attack also reflect the prejudice against Hindus in Muslim society and frame the identity of Hindus as threat for them. Furthermore, it has been observed in the text the minority rights are negotiable in Pakistan that reinforce their number two status in a country.

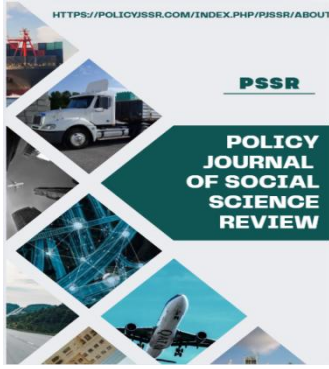
Islamic activists halt construction of first Hindu temple in Islamabad; Petitions filed in court to block work on first Hindu temple in capital since Pakistan's creation

(The Guardian 8 July 2020)

Text Analysis:

The text elaborated in this article about the construction of Hindu Temple in Islamabad and study used the strategic lexical choices to set up a narrative of discrimination that creates clash between the society and state. The use of the terms like “Islamic Activist and “severe reaction construct the dispute as clash between minority vs religious extremists on the other side use of words like “proper place to worship” creates sympathy for the marginalized group. Passive construction of sentences explored such as granted approval that reflect the fragmented opinion in a society. Text in the article is cohesive as it is maintained a cause and effect relation like demands of the Hindus approved by state that creates backlash from opposition party. The structure of the text reveals the institutional discrimination that culminates the criticism of amnesty international regarding the violation of human rights. In this article the binary frame of tolerant state vs intolerant society has also been observed.

Discursive Analysis:



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Discursive analysis set up a discourse of minority marginalization through the use of language. The text also represents the passive agents' vs Islamic opposition that establish a binary between minority and majority. Further it is important to understand the interesting blend of political and religious discourse at the level of practice while excluding the pro temple voices that highlights the power knowledge.

Social Analysis:

Social analysis reveals the social tension that exposing the minority rights and the role of political power. Article discussed the social reality with perspective of strong yet marginalized community in Pakistan. The conflict arises between the state commitment to religious freedom with the Islamic orthodox who threatening the state and claim religious institution will maintain social control through rambling power.it a test case for the Pakistan to prove international world whether they can balance human rights or they failed in front of societal pressure.

Coalition's religious discrimination bill: are protections for minorities being sacrificed for faith?

(The Guardian, 24 November 2021)

Text Analysis:

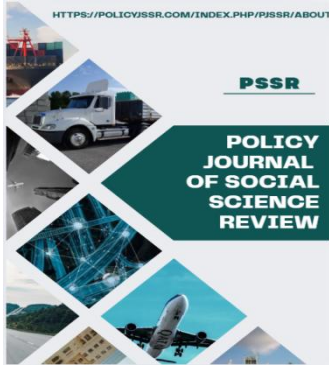
The text analysis revolves around the discrimination bill that is framed to protect discrimination that based on direct or indirect religious beliefs. The words used here such as "reasonable consideration" "prohibits" set up a neutral policy of the bill. Grammatically the text imposed the passive and legalistic terms to make the sentences depoliticize. The cohesiveness of the text is logically impressive. The whole text creates a discourse of religious freedom without competing the rights of minority groups. The structure of the text explains the protection of the minorities are not being sacrificed for the religious interests.

Discursive Analysis:

According to the discursive analysis that reveals the meaning of the text. This article explores framing of religious institutions as mediators. The protection bill focuses on the phrases and terms that could potentially harm people with disabilities or beliefs and reframe those phrases to ensure protection. The text privileges the religious beliefs as naturalize the faith based relief. Dominant groups in a society reshapes the law that reflect their world view.

Social Analysis:

Social analysis constructs the social power structure.in this text it has been explored the moral responsibility of the state to provide conformity even when there is a conflict with norms. The most contentious clause of the bill that been discussed is providing a shield from anti-discrimination claims like punishment of harmful speech under religious expression where the dominant faith dictates public norms to the minorities that always tolerate.



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'It feels like people want to fight': how communal unrest flared in Leicester  
(The Guardian, 23 September 2022)

Text Analysis:

In this study the text analysis deals with vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and the structure of the text. It involves a sentence with inverted commas "Hindus and Muslims" which basically a stance instead of being a sentence. It stresses on the preexisting tension between the two communities. Words like assault, violence, car smashed emphasizes aggression and leads towards the breakdown of order. Text is simple so there is no need to further breakdown to understand its meaning. According to grammatical structure blame attribution used in the text. There has been observed weaker emotions on the both communities. The use of abstract make the conflict depersonalize it seems this particular human action happened due to the result of some force. The text is cohesive because of the lexical repetition that makes the themes of conflict and reconciliation.

Discursive Analysis:

Discursive analysis deals the intertextuality which involves the meaning of the text. This particular text frame the situation of the unrest as a sudden breakdown rather to frame concept of Hindutva and Islamist group. It has been observed the moderate narrative adopted by the mainstream media. It was a solution oriented. The text start with the nostalgic feeling that ignores their previous long history of tension. The sentence represents "Muslims and Hindus lived side by side as friends" it shows their historic harmony that shift into sudden breakdown. Although the text sensationalizes the conflict but neutralize reader absorbs the rhetoric of power imbalance of both sides.

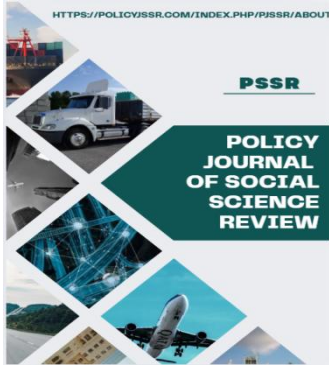
Social Analysis:

Social Analysis is all about the word phenomenon in a particular society. Narrative of majority minority victimization has been used here. It creates impact on the mind of the readers the Muslim men are aggressors that, s islamophobia narrative of the mainstream media that fuels the discourse of victimization. It also reflects the liberal multicultural approach on the both Hindu and Muslim communities. It suggest that peace building based on self-regulation rather to addressing issues like policing biases, political radicalization and economic inequality.

India takes strong pro-Israel stance under Modi in a departure from the past  
(The Guardian, 31 October 2023)

Text Analysis:

In this study the text analysis moves around vocabulary, grammar, text structure and cohesion. In this particular text Intensive kinds of words are used like "Islamic terror, terrorist attack and radical jihadist that creates the binary frame between India and Israel as they are victim and on the opposite side Muslims or Palestinians are as aggressors. It reinforces civilization conflict. The grammar clearly elaborates the active voice Palestinian organization " Hamas launched" and Indian prime minister "Modi



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condemned”.it describes the terrorist attacks as abstract violence from the political context. Cohesion maintained through the use of repetition of words like invade, terror, victim and its compare with Kashmir to Jerusalem that creates a discourse of common victimhood. The text explains the political discourse with the help of media discourse and elaborates the stance of Modi govt linked to the existential rather to geopolitical. This text also produces a discourse of securitization that legitimize the policies against Indian Muslims and aligned it with Israel.

Discursive Analysis:

Discursive analysis revolves around the meaning behind the text. This particular text constructs a civilizational discourse that linked with the security. The text establishes a relationship of Israel –Palestine and India –Kashmir situation in a geopolitical context which is linked with lexical choices of Islamic Jihadist, or terrorist and invaded by Muslims. The text demonstrates the blending of political discourse into expert opinion by Indian leader that generates an illusion of consensus. In this context they try to justify their strict policies against Indian Muslims and naming it as self-defense. Furthermore, they align themselves with global anti Islamist network. According to analysis it is observed India align with anti Islamist network and support Israel by framing counterterrorism as civilizational duty. This text elaborating how elite operates to construct national identity and create international alliance.

Social Analysis:

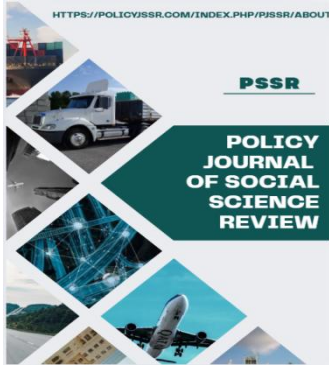
Social Analysis of text deals with the power relation of the society. This particular text reflects the socio political transformation in India. The role Modi and its party observed significant in this transformation. Media frame Israel and India as joint victim of the violence and align with Islamic terror. This discourse of manufacturing consent for both alliances focus on three level. First it revises the historical memory that rule of Muslims in Palestine and similarly Muslims rule in Kashmir that construct narrative of victimhood both sides about mosques disputes and exclusion of citizenships. Secondly media Rhetoric and state collaborate each other. They try to naturalize the concept of islamophobia as a doctrine of national security. Lastly Indian identity with global hierarchy. Text elaborates Today’s India part of civilizational block that opposed Islam that readers seek to understand the Hindu supremacy while linking with Anti Muslim politics. It normalizes the violence in Kashmir and justifies as self-defense and explains about the Indian foreign policy is ideological rather interest based. The text elaborates how India transforming its role in global power structure.

“ Indian court halts airing of documentary on Muslim minority”

(The Guardian, 20 July 2023)

Text Analysis:

In this study the text deals with the strategic language that build a narrative of democratic regress in India. The text highlight the court position as reactive rather to



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impartial that frames the decisions taken by court a systematic deterioration of rights. Grammatically text of this story reveals the power dynamics like the use of modal verbs “should” and on the contrary side “can only” create conflict between authority and constitutional limits. Text is cohesive as it reflects cause and effect relation. Text incorporate the direct quotes from the both sides. Structure of the text moves towards facts from critical reporting that emphasis on the social practice discourse.it also been observed the institutional control of Muslim narrative.

Discursive Analysis:

At the discursive level the text of the story explains the judicial activism and the discourse of the media. Framing of minorities in the documentary of Al Jazeera expose the hate crimes by the Hindu majority groups that has been challenge in the court against the ban on screening. The article reveals court only reliance the unverified reports that highlights the institutional hegemony to justify censorship.

Social Analysis:

At the level of social analysis, the ban on the screening of the documentary by Al Jazeera highlights the hegemonic stature of Modi government. The tactics been used to oppress the public interest in a mask of national integrity. The judiciary plays a silent role safeguarding the minority narrative. Ultimately it has been observed the discourses of power legitimization the narrative of protection by state vs the focus on the minorities constitutional rights. Text reveals the authoritarian control under the name of legal rationality.

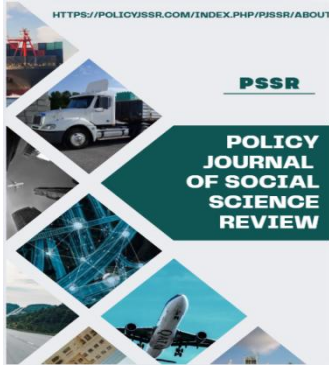
Modi’s US visit prompts condemnation and protest from Muslim leaders  
(The Guardian, 22 June 2023)

Text Analysis:

The text reveals the discourse of political controversy through framing the Modi, s visits in US. The vocabulary used here such as “notorious”, “shameful” linked with the allegations to target Muslims in India and construct an anti Modi narrative. Grammatically it’s a beautifully structured with active and passive voice and cohesion of the text based on cause and effect relationship. The structure of the text moves from the announcement of the protest that generates problematic frame. It has been observed an ideological divide between human rights struggle and the real politics. The repetition of the word “we” construct the collective identity.

Discursive Analysis:

Discursive analysis of this text reveals the hegemonic power structure, in which the alliance of India and US suppress the human rights and focus on the celebration trade deals while ignoring protest. The boycotts techniques of the protestors challenge the hegemonic structure show the resistance from the marginalized groups in dominant society.it has been observed the quotes from US lawmakers and Muslim leaders reflect



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the India as distorted democracy while their geopolitical situation frame the Modi, s position as a strong ally of Americans.

Social Analysis:

Social analysis reveals the narrative of geopolitical and clash of ideologies, Text explains the framing of Modi, s govt as oppressor to deals with the minorities particularly Muslims. The visit means to reduce reliance on Russians and establish closer relation with Americans that highlights their political intentions. According to fairclough method the power of the language exposed the override human interest with comparison of strategic interests that legitimize their alliance and violence against minorities considered their domestic issue.

‘India is now a linchpin’: US looks to Narendra Modi’s visit to counter China”

(The Guardian,21 June 2023)

Text Analysis:

The text reveals the India’s geopolitical significance and strategic narrative of US. It also observed through the words like deterred and contained the reflect the china as their threat. The use of the election centric terms explains the blending of foreign policy with nationalism. The passive construction and direct quotations of the sentences are used here. Text cohesive and establish a problem solution relationship such as china as threat leads towards India’s role and Payoff to Modi in elections. The structure of the text reveals the soft projection of power through the masking of hard power agenda.

Discursive Analysis:

Discursive analysis reveals the position of the India and frame the China as direct threat to US. In this article through the text it has been observed the US think tank construct an idealized image to forgetting the India and Russia’s ties and highlight the narrative of Linchpin that reinforce their geopolitical perspective.

Social Analysis:

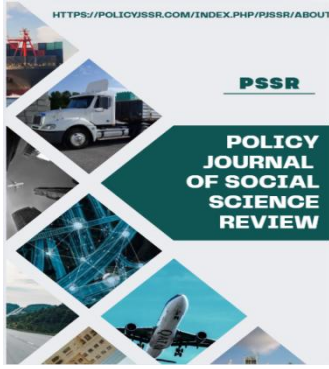
Social analysis reveals the interesting structure of power that discussed the India China and US relations. It frames the role of the India as geopolitical and as junior partner of this dominant project further the text highlights the India oldest and largest democracy while use of metaphor such as linchpin creates a close relationship with US for the national identity and strategic interests.

Six weeks, 969 million voters, 2,600 parties: India’s mammoth election explained

(The Guardian, 25 April 2024)

Text Analysis:

This discourse analysis moves around vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. This particular text revolves around the Indian election and political dominance of Modi as prime minister. Vocabulary in the text is loaded with ideological positions that uncover the power relations. Messaging of dominant part is framed as “Modi Ki Guarantee” that reinforce the authority of Modi.religious and national rhetoric has



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been adopted. The whole text reinforces dominance of Modi with the use of different phrases like “Modi ka parivar” etc. The text is strongly cohesive and maintained cause and effect relationship. The humble background of Modi shows a contrast between powerful elite that reinforce his popularity. The text structure frames the political ideas of Modi with the warning of a fear of more authoritarianism in his government. The text in this news article incorporate Modi, s Hegemony while marginalizing opposition opinion.

Discursive Analysis:

The discursive analysis involves the intertextuality that depicts the hidden meanings of the text. The text establishes a powerful relation of Modi in this article and it has been explored through the personal tactics Modi reinforces his political hegemony. Framing of BJP as well organized and efficient been observed in the text and the propaganda apparatus of the dominant party is expensive and acknowledged. In the other side the distress of the opposition about unemployment and inflation are explored as grievances rather than criticism.

Social Analysis:

Social analysis of the text involves the power relations of the society. Fairclough method defines how language formulate consent. The whole text elaborating the dominance of BJP who creating the inequalities in the society. The main focus of the BJP is on nationalism and religion; with the promises of development they construct the idea of loyalty among the Hindu majority. They construct a discourse of social justice to ensure the rights of LGBTQ in congress manifesto but on the other way they put into a marginalized group in a mainstream politics. The dominance of Modi not only continue as politically but it can also reflect as a social and ideological norm.

Lawyers in Delhi claim police terrorized them to drop cases

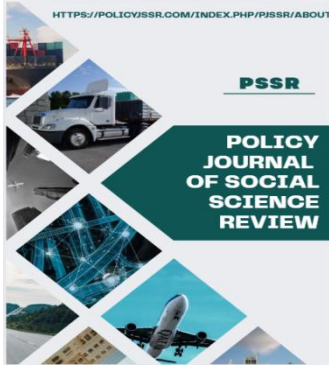
(The Telegraph ,14 March 2020)

Text analysis:

In this article it has been observed the state violence normalized through language. The text in the article reveals the loaded term such as campaign of terror and fabricated charges that set up a narrative of oppression while the Phrase such as Hindu nationalist and innocent Muslim reflect a clear binary of victim and oppressor. Passive and active verbs used in the text that makes the text more factual. Cohesion achieved through cause and effect relationship. Textually the structure moves specific to general that connect with the incident of Iqbal case and broadly linked with the institutional hegemonic narrative. It basically challenges the state power regarding human rights.

Discursive analysis:

Discursive analysis reveals the power relations of the state and institutional treatment with minorities. The text demands accountability of the institutions that deteriorating the democratic structure of state. The human rights commission positions the India as



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failing state regarding the minority rights and linked the conduct of police with the govt policies. The narrative focused on the Muslim victimhood and highlights the Hindu nationalist agenda.

Social analysis:

Social analysis reveals the power struggle between the Religious minorities and the institutions in India. It also exposed the institution that how the state weaponized them against minorities to maintain their national and political identity. The text clearly reveals the state minority relationship that explains the democratic vision of state.

Text analysis:

India investigates Mother Teresa charity for 'forceful conversions'"

(The Telegraph, 15 December 2021)

Text revolves around the intolerant behavior of Indian states towards minorities particularly Christians. The emotionally charged vocabulary used here in this text. Such as "forceful conversion" "oppression" "mob" that frame the religious minorities vulnerable in a Hindu majority state. Grammar reflect systematic suppression through passive construction of sentences like "girls had been forced". Cohesion achieved through repetition of Hindus Christian conversion and build a narrative of escalation. The structure of the text builds up a narrative of religious intolerance.

Discursive analysis:

Discursive analysis explains the religious intolerance in India particularly targeting the Christian community that reflects the Hindu nationalist ideology of the state under the rule of Modi. The analysis reveals the missionary charities not discussed as isolated cases but it criminalized with emotional tone. Crying and shivering create an impact of societal violence and marginalization. Text also reflect the nationalist ideology of the Govt that marginalized religious diversity in society.

Social Analysis:

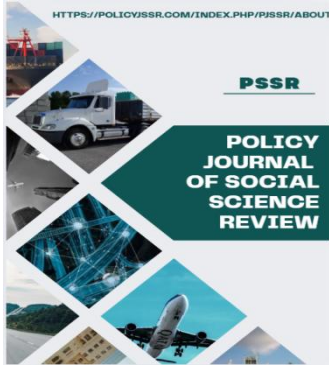
Social analysis explores the power and ideological differences that creates tension among religious minorities. The article reveals the ideology of the Modi as a fundamentalist Hindu national positioned the religious minorities as threat for them furthermore govt directly responsible for this victimization of minorities. The text claims the inequalities and strategic exclusion through the legitimized practices of the states towards minorities.

Indian police flog Muslims objecting to Hindu festival"

(The Telegraph, 6 October 2022)

Text Analysis:

The text revolves around the report of Public flogging of Muslims by the Indian police that set up a narrative of state oppression towards minorities. Emotionally charged vocabulary are used here such as brutal beating, tied with pole that creates a violent picture of physical abuse. Cohesion maintained through the secular sequencing. The



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text reveals the imbalance of power and explores the institutional authority linked with the violence. It also builds a strong criticism on the socio-political environment of India.

Discursive analysis:

The text reveals the communal tension between the ideological structure of India. It explores the state representative involved as active agents in communal violence to enforce dominant religious norms. It also narrates the Hindu ideology as an accepted norm particularly under the Modi government's rule. The Muslims in India are not only a victim but also a subject of blame. Analysis shows that the state violence is linked with identity politics.

Social analysis:

Social analysis of this article describes the power structure and inequalities of the Indian society particularly under the BJP. It shows that the state institution reflects the Hindu majority ideology and normalizes the state violence that demonstrates the marginalization of minorities. Violence against minorities, especially Muslims, is socially and politically acceptable that reflects their institutional policy. It clearly points out the crisis and democratic failure of the state regarding the protection of citizen rights. Quotation of Asifa describes the huge disappointment towards minority rights and criticizes the marginalized policies of the Modi government. The discourse reflects the challenges, ideological clash, and power imbalance in Indian society.

India ban on hijab in class triggers nationwide unrest; Muslim homes stoned after murder of Hindu activist as other states threaten to introduce rule

(The Telegraph, 23 February 2022)

Text Analysis:

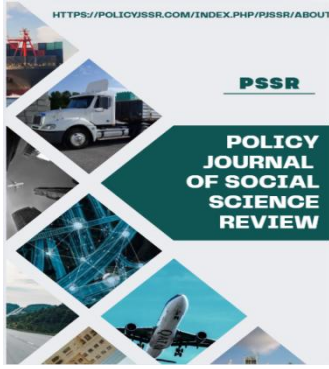
In this article, the social reality that raises religious tension has been explored and framed as the narrative of Hindutva by the Modi government. The polarized vocabulary used in the sentences creates a binary such as oppression and resistance. Passive construction of the text makes the situation more vulnerable. The structure of the text reveals the policies of the state and positions the judiciary as contested and establishes a narrative of injustice in a power structure and demands intervention on humanitarian grounds.

Discursive Analysis:

At the level of discursive analysis, it has been observed that the ban on hijab uncovers the ideological and political construction of discourse in India regarding minority rights. The justification of the state regarding the ban on hijab contrasts the verdict of the marginalized group and shows the hegemonic structure where religious expression is explored as a criminal act. It is also linked with the Hindu ideology where they want to marginalize Muslims. Judiciary and media roles are also challenged to maintain justice in a society.

Social Analysis:

Social analysis reveals that social inequalities reinforce the discourse of power and target the Muslims' religious symbol as a threat to maintain social order. The article shows the



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ideology of Hindutva that suppress the minority rights and practice of the religious symbols would have considered as anti-national that reflects the assault on gender autonomy and religious freedom. It has been also observed the extremist behavior of Hindus presented as normal and the Muslim identity marked as deviant. The article explores that it was the difficult decision for a Muslim woman to choose education over religion. These structural inequalities and Hindu supremacy badly affecting Muslim women who depends on public education for their economic betterment yet the resistance of Muslim women challenge the hegemonic structure.

Rishi in No 10 is progress, but Britain is not yet the perfect melting pot; Sunak's elevation shows we are two nations: one at ease with racial diversity, another still badly divided”

(The Telegraph, 31 October 2022)

Text Analysis:

The text of this article reveals the racial progress through comparative framing. The neutral and positive words explores in the text that claims the politics of UK is different from the politics of US and the other European countries. Grammar highlights the contrast sentences like Britain with US and shows the progressive structure of the British society as the assimilation of the religious minorities. Cohesion maintained through the chain of virtue words like fairly rewarded, take pride so on. The structure of the Text explains the success of Sonak as a progress proof of UK while warn the potential threats of culture.

Discursive analysis:

The article constructs a discourse of multiculturalism and explains the assimilation of the other minorities in the UK political system that elaborated the bifurcation of the society as progressive to problematic where haters can also grow and no one can stop them. The success of the Sonak is a proof that the Britain dismiss the Americans race theory. Britain's political system celebrating the symbolic diversity and rejects the challenges of systematic inequality.

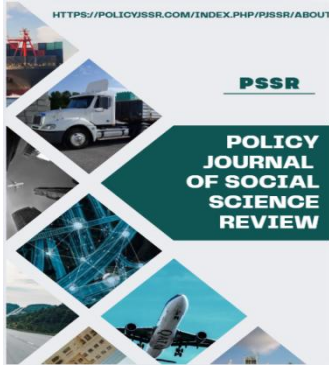
Social analysis:

Social analysis through the lenses of Fairclough method explains the accepted hierarchy of diversity. Sonak case is a success of elite immigrants that also create a paradox between model minorities and others as problematic. Sonic face is symbolic representation of the racial hierarchy and generate a binary between reasonable (Sonak) and dangerous (Culture war). the text depoliticizes the racism and celebrate a discourse of diversity.

Teacher orders pupils to slap Muslim child in Indian school

(The Telegraph ,29 August 2023)

Text Analysis:



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The article reveals the discourse of religious discrimination and emphasize on the victimization of Muslim child. The words used in the text are emotional such as hate crimes and demonizing Muslims that create an impression of power that embedded in language. The construction of passive voice maintains the narrative of systematic injustice. The text also reveals the way Modi govt fostering the anti- Muslim sentiments in a society that make the survival of Muslim minorities difficult and dangerous. Cohesion maintained through cause and effect relationship that start with incident then move towards police and family statements that finally linked with the broader political perception. The text maintains its credibility with the emotional appeal such as “child in tears” that reinforce the narrative of communal violence.

Discursive Analysis:

At discursive level it has been observed that the remarks of the teacher reinforce the Islamophobia discourse that basically positions the Muslims as inferior.it also reveals the representation of societal power in which police and social department reports narrate the same mindset as structured by the BJP govt for the oppression of religious minorities. Mr. Chaudhry claims these incidents that linked with the Muslim humiliation are broadly connected with state narrative of Islamophobia.

Social Analysis:

At the level of social analysis process, it highlights the religious hierarchy of the hegemonic ideology. The institution of states reveals the dominance of majority culture. According to CDA this incident is not an issue of bullying but it largely reflects the discourse of Islamophobia and the power relation and conservativeness of the society How Modi's India became a sectarian warzone; Deadly mobs, corrupt police, religious paramilitaries - though this study isn't perfect, its picture of a once-proud nation is shocking

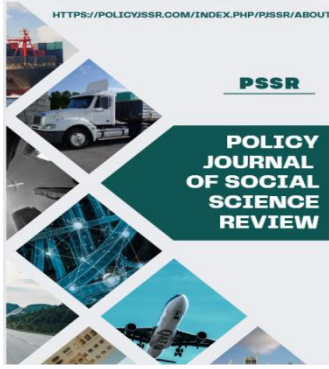
(The Telegraph, 10 august 2024)

Text Analysis:

This text constructs the narrative of democratic decline of India under the nationalist party. The words used here are loaded with perspective of majoritarian such as Hindu Majority, sectarian zone etc. The phrases used here like kill the mullahs and mob set up a discourse of Muslim victimization. Declarative and passive statements used in this text that make it interesting for the readers. Cohesion is maintained through cause and effect relationship. The structure of the text leads towards micro level like Nisar, s story to the macro level that reflects the national structure.

Discursive analysis:

The discursive analysis reflects through this text the Modi, s India as a sectarian warzone that not safe for the minorities. Nisar, s personal trauma linked with the claim of Islamophobia. The statistical data reveals the victimization of the Muslim minorities in India that also highlight the democratic failure of the state.



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## Social Analysis:

The analysis reflects the symbolic power that linked with the narrative of western media about the framing of Muslim as Islamist or threat for society so under that narrative a new political discourse maintained and defined in a society. It also reinforces the global hierarchies and maintained a discourse of Hindu nationalism as political ideology.

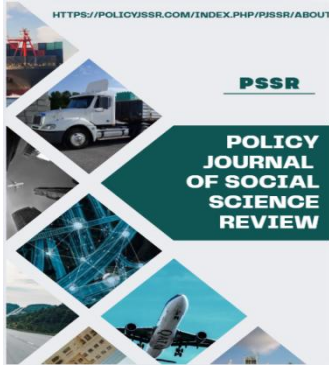
## Conclusion:

After 9/11 attacks it has been observed the mainstream media portray the world through the lenses of the dichotomy of west and the rest particularly the representation of Islam and the Muslims was shown negatively. This contemporary research focused on the critical discourse analysis of the religious minority of Hindu through the lenses of racism, religious phobia like Islamophobia, cultural imperialism, media hegemony and paradox of west and the rest within a period of five years from 2020-2024 through the mainstream newspapers of the UK (The Guardian and The Telegraph). Fairclough method of Critical Discourse Analysis used at three level text analysis, discursive analysis and social analysis to draw the analysis in this study.

The coverage related Hindus in the both newspapers economically positive or favorable but politically negative. The tension between the Hindu, Muslims community internationally highlighted through the news articles and criticized their nationalist ideology under the Modi govt. Analysis reveal the shift from secularism to nationalist India basically damaging the democratic perception of India and the empowerment of the Hindu extremist changing the political dynamics as well, even in today's India there is no tolerance for any other religious community except Hindu like the article published in the Guardian 20th July 2023 highlight the intolerance of Hindu community towards Muslims.

The construction of Hindus at social political and cultural aspect revolves around the shifting dynamics of their political ideology. The coverage in the both newspapers about Hindus were politically objectionable but economically positive. The articles highlight their tone of violence as symbolic violence whereas criticize their ideology of Hindutva that undermining the rights of minorities. The Telegraph also highlights in its article of 31st October 2022 the British political system different from US or other European countries and celebrate their multiculturalism policies as through the symbolic representation of the Rishi Sonak. It's a success case that also represent how the British media present western society in front of global world through the practices of diversity. Finally, it is concluding that the south Asians misrepresented through the lenses of the media but in fact the stereotypes or discourse construct by media is not only issue of the media this is the global structure of the power that creates these disparities of racism among communities.

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