



Report

2016

MANCHESTER
1824

The University of Manchester

The contents of this report are the intellectual property of the authors. No part of this report may be circulated or reproduced without explicit permission from the authors, or from the School of Arts, Languages and Cultures at the University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL, United Kingdom.

A comparison between language attitudes in Manchester, Leicester and Durham

Holly Cruddace

Lydia Grantham

Molly Petray

Rebekah Scott

1 Introduction

This study focuses on the language attitudes of residents in the cities of Manchester, Leicester and Durham, comparing three locations with different levels of immigration and multilingualism. By using a variety of research methods including interviews, surveys and broadsheet analysis, we were able to examine how each city collectively views multilingualism and languages other than English, and were able to compare the results for Manchester with those of a city to the north and a city to the south. Each city has vastly different levels of immigration (with Leicester being in the top five cities for non-English speaking residents (Kirk & Bingham, 2015)) and this is somewhat reflected in our results. By looking at national publications and by asking residents where they would place themselves on the political spectrum, we were also able to gauge the extent to which the media affected local opinions. Although this data was simply used to back up the questionnaire data, as there are many external factors in play when looking at national broadsheets, such as: readership, social class and age. Therefore, correlation with political stance does not necessarily imply causation when discussing language attitudes. We looked to the study conducted by Schieffelin (2007) to predict our results, which posited that during periods of contact with other cultures, speakers negotiate their language attitudes and reflect on their own language use. Taking this and the levels of immigration of each city into account, as higher immigration levels presents more opportunities for cultural contact to occur, we predicted that Leicester and Manchester residents would provide us with more considered and positive responses than Durham residents towards multilingualism. Our results mostly confirmed our predictions, and those which didn't can be explained to some extent by external factors, as shown in the following report.

2 Methodology

Our methods for gathering the appropriate data took into account the following factors: the amount of data we wanted to obtain, the ease of obtaining the data, the time constraints for gathering the data and the benefits of quantitative versus qualitative data. We decided to use a range of methods in order to obtain the most reliable data possible while still bearing these factors in mind. Regarding the amount of data we wanted to collect, it was decided that online questionnaires would be distributed on social media outlets. This enabled us to gather large amounts of data in a short amount of time, and allowed subjects from different social backgrounds and age groups to participate. By using the online website Survey Gizmo to host our questionnaires, it was easy to create and advertise the survey. This was changed from the original plan to use SurveyMonkey as the software was more ergonomic and user friendly. The questionnaire used closed questions with some responses using the Likert scale (Likert, 1932), and this method of scoring allowed us to collect quantitative data and to visualise the responses with graphs and percentages, making the results clearer and easier to interpret. We asked only for people who had lived in the cities for ten or more years to complete the survey, as being raised or living in a community for an extended period of time allows one to take the values of the community on board (Cook & Hardin, 2001). We gathered data from 78 participants who completed our online survey, ten of whom were from Manchester, 36 of whom were from Durham and 32 of whom were from Leicester.

Furthermore, in order to collect more detailed and qualitative data, we each conducted a small amount of interviews with members of the public from each of the three locations we studied. Due to time constraints and ease of collecting this data, we conducted three interviews. This data is used alongside the responses gathered from the questionnaires and has been used to compliment the results rather than provide insight into community attitudes to multilingualism alone, as N=3 is too small a sample size to be used exclusively and reliably. To take external factors into account, we each interviewed one

young female (between the ages of 18 and 30). We maintained that each interviewee remained anonymous in adherence to the British Psychological Society's ethical guidelines (2009).

Pertaining to the effect of national publications on language attitudes, we analysed two stories in four newspapers, presenting them as evidence to back up Rupert Murdoch's head editors quote in *The Sun* (1992) which stated, "It was The Sun wot won it," (see appendix 1) which has become a phrase in common political parlance to express the belief that the media has a great influence on their readership's political allegiances. We decided to use four different broadsheet papers, which spanned the political spectrum, with the *Guardian* on the left, the *Independent* on the centre-left, and the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* on the right. We placed the *Independent* on the centre left as the readership is majorly comprised of Liberal Democrat and Labour voters (Wring & Ward, 2010) (see appendix 2), with the Labour element tipping the newspaper towards the UK left despite the dispute on where the Lib-Dems fall on the spectrum (Dahlgreen, 2014). We considered the same news stories as presented in each publication in order to make the results fair and comparable. To make our data quantitative, we scored each article on terms of 'negativity' towards multilingualism using the following criteria:

1. The article posits that speaking English is an essential part of being British
2. The article links poor-English skills with unemployment rates negatively
3. A lack of English is linked to negative cultural connotations
4. Parents speaking English and aspiration are presented as correlates
5. The journalist themselves mentions multilingualism in a negative context
6. The article does not report conflicting opinions from the opposition
7. The article does not actively criticise the negative language attitudes portrayed

This allowed us to score each article out of five and create a mean of the results for each publication, thus allowing us to visualise the attitudes towards multilingualism of each broadsheet. We chose the criteria based on the factors mentioned most often in each article, which displayed positive or negative values, as this enabled us to score each article consistently. Taking the ease of gathering the data into account, we only looked at online archives of each newspaper as this allowed us to search for relevant articles quickly and easily with no expenditure. Once again, we cross tabulated these results with the results of the survey, namely the question concerning the participants political stance, in order to get a clearer picture of the effect of the articles on local language attitudes. This also enabled us to see the extent to which personal political stance and the media's political stance correlated, displaying how far political rhetoric ties in with attitudes to multilingualism.

3 Results

3.1 Questionnaires and Interviews

Overall, we had the most responses from Durham (N=36), the second most from Leicester (N=32) and the least from Manchester (N=10). Only 24.4% of our participants could speak more than one language. 61.4% of our participants were in the 19-30 age group, with the 18 or under group being the second largest demographic, making up 20.5%. The remaining age groups, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60 and 60+, made up 5.1%, 1.3%, 5.1% and 3.8% respectively. Pertaining to gender, most of the respondents were female (61.5%), 37.2% were male and one participant (1.3%) defined themselves as 'other'. For the full survey and the overall results, see appendix 3.

Our results for the questionnaire were as follows:

For all of the following graphs, the table of Ns is:

	Manchester	Leicester	Durham
N	10	32	36

Figure 1

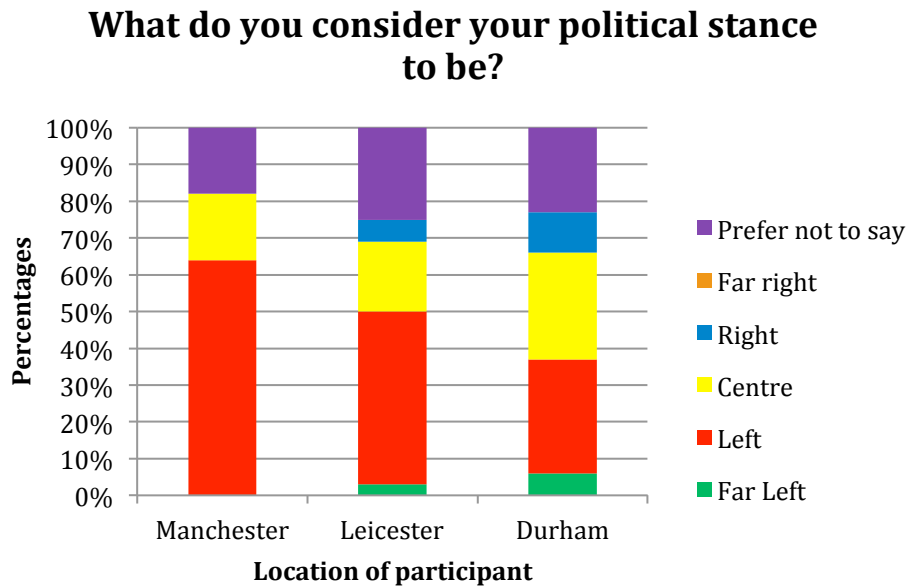


Figure 2

The graph displays the political stance of each of the communities. These results were expected, as they are in line with the parliamentary constituency majority for each of the three cities (Manchester City Centre, Leicester South and City of Durham all had a labour majority in the 2015 general election). Since each location falls to the left-of-centre on the political spectrum, we can surmise that any differences in the rest of our results are not contingent on political stance.

I consider speaking English a fundamental part of being British

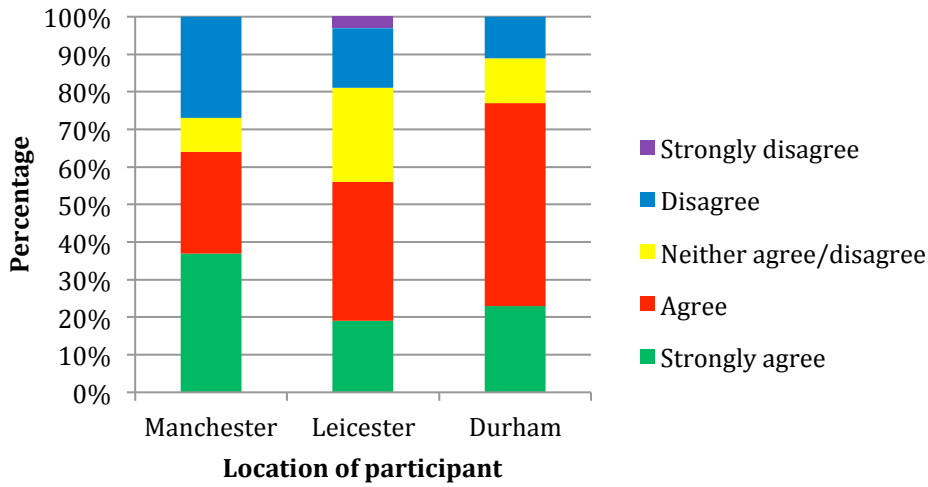


Figure 3

Here, it is displayed that Durham participants agree the most with the statement that speaking English is a fundamental part of being British (with 77% either agreeing or strongly agreeing). Leicester disagrees the most strongly with this statement, which is in line with our predictions; however, Leicester participants also selected 'neither agree nor disagree' at a higher rate than either of the other two cities (with 25% selecting this option). A chi square test ($df = 8, N = 78$) found that the geographical location of the participant does not have a significant effect on their agreement with this statement ($X^2 = 12.53, p=0.1291$).

My community should provide more resources for people that speak a language other than English

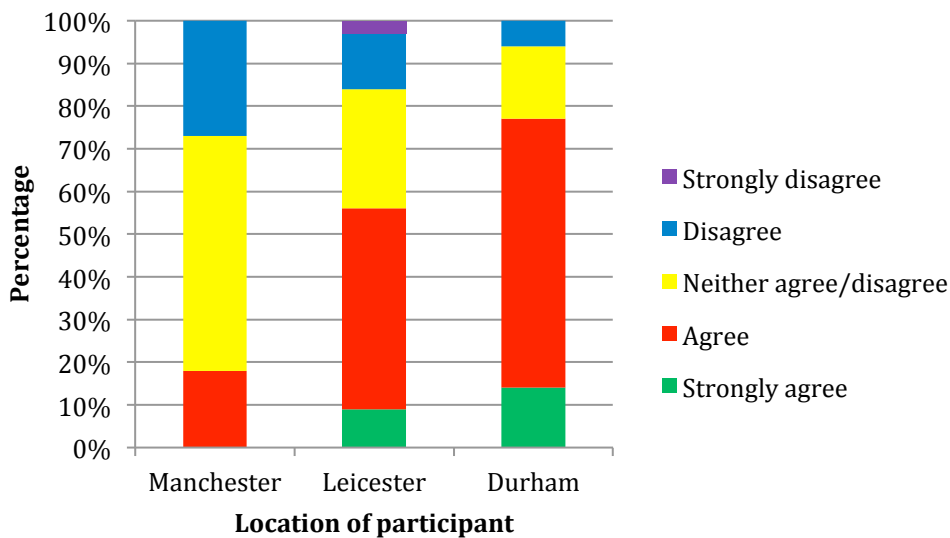


Figure 4

These results display that Durham participants agree the most that their community should provide more resources for people who speak other languages, with 77% of the respondents selecting either

agree or strongly agree. The results for Manchester were largely ambivalent, with over half of the participants neither agreeing nor disagreeing with the statement. These results go against our predictions, but may be explained by external factors such as language policy and immigration levels in the communities.

What would you say the general attitude towards multilingualism is in your community?

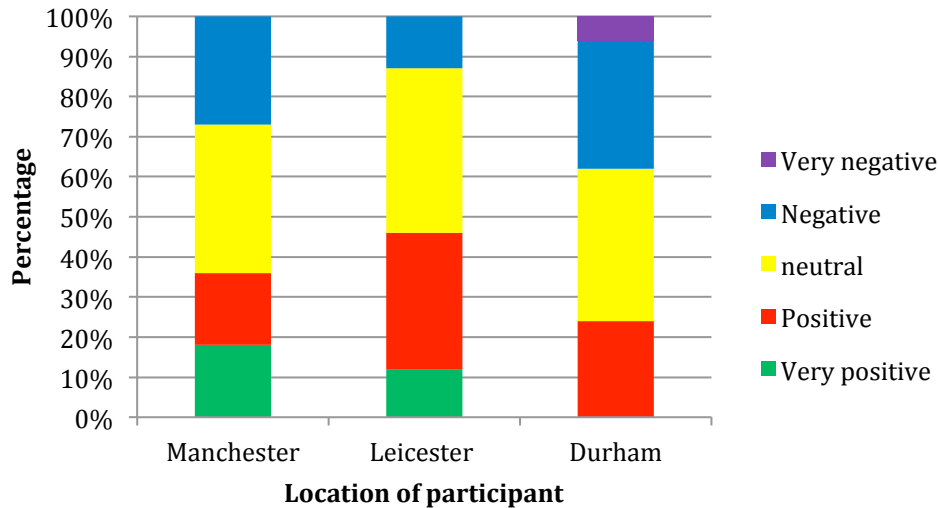


Figure 5

These results support our predictions, as Manchester and Leicester, the cities with the greatest diversity of the three, are also the cities for which some of the participants asserted that the attitudes towards multilingualism in their communities were ‘very positive’. Durham had the greatest percentage of participants responding that attitudes were negative (38%). This supports our hypothesis that cities with lower immigration levels will have a less positive attitude towards multilingualism, at least when reflected on by members of the community. A chi square test ($df = 8, N = 78$) found that the geographical location of the participant does not have a significant effect on their agreement with this statement ($X^2 = 12.86, p=0.1168$).

How does multilingualism affect your community?

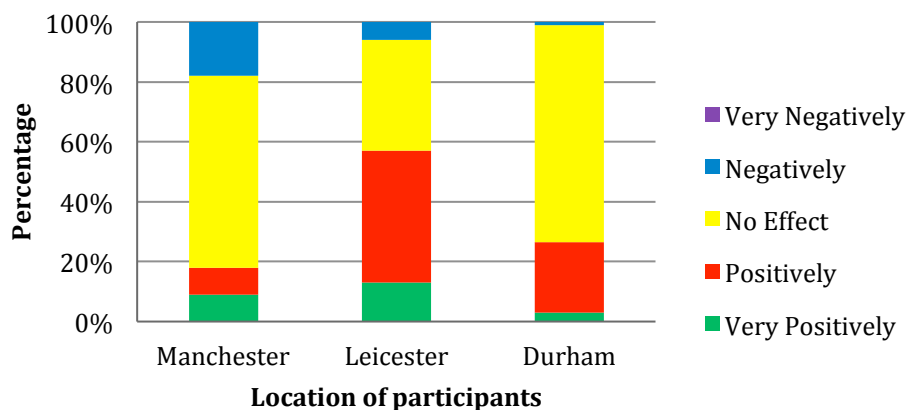


Figure 6

When asked how multilingualism affects their community, Leicester participants responded most positively, with 57% of the responses being positive or very positive. This supports our predictions. Participants from Manchester responded most negatively, with 18% selecting this option, which is against our predictions that Durham would respond in this manner. However, Durham participants had the highest rate of ‘no effect’ responses (71%), and this could explain the discrepancy as the responses could be contingent on the levels of immigration, and thus multilingualism, in each city. A chi square test ($df = 8, N = 78$) found that the geographical location of the participant does not have a significant effect on the participant’s response to this question ($X^2 = 12.93, p = 0.1143$).

Pertaining to the interviews we conducted, our Leicester participant (henceforth referred to as participant 1) is a 20 year-old, female, currently studying at the University of Durham. She was born and raised in Leicester and describes her political stance as, “Socialist [as fuck]. Trotskyist. [Fire emoji] [Fist emoji] [Fire emoji].” Our Manchester participant (participant 2) is a 28 year-old qualified Primary school teacher, female, and was born and raised in Manchester. She describes herself as a, “Labour supporter.” Our Durham participant (participant 3) is a 19-year-old female, currently studying Psychology at Northumbria University. She was born and raised in Durham and describes herself as, “Left wing.” For transcripts of each interview, see appendix 4.

Salient points made by our participants that our questionnaire could not have picked up on are listed here. Participant 1 has been involved with sixth form educational support in Leicester and has felt the pressures of recent educational cuts. In answer to the question:

David Cameron made comments about giving English lessons to Muslim women specifically, which was really criticised by left wing newspapers. If speaking English is an intrinsic part of being British, should we criticise him for saying that?

Figure 7

The participant acknowledged that Cameron was trying to appease the Conservative Party’s backbenchers, but continued on to say:

[He] didn’t acknowledge that actually there isn’t any funding for English lessons for women from other cultural backgrounds even if they wanted them. When I was canvassing for the general election and other council elections in Leicester lots of women [who] answered the door couldn’t talk to us and had to get their children to come and translate.

Figure 8

Participant 2 from Manchester believed that speaking English is, “fundamental for being British,” however, she acknowledged that: “Oh erm do you know er, I think, well it’s tricky because there are many reasons why people don’t speak English in England.”

Our participant from Durham (participant 3) focussed on the lack of diversity and multilingualism in Durham. When asked which other languages she had heard in her community, she replied: “Um yeah. I’ve heard Polish but not sure of the name of the other, like from an Asian descent country? There was a Polish lad at school.”

3.2 Broadsheets

We scored each article based on seven criteria (see above), with each article being given a score of one or zero for each criterion. This enabled us to give each paper an overall score out of fourteen (as we scored two articles from each paper out of seven) based on the way they reported two stories: David Cameron’s (2016) statements that Muslim women should learn more English (story one), and Nigel Farage’s (2014) comments that there are areas in England in which the residents speak no English (story two). The results were as follows:

Story one:

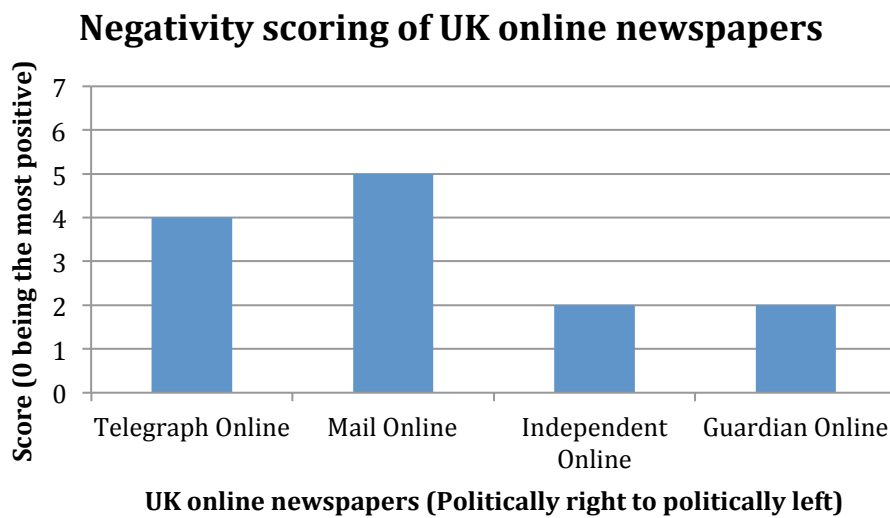


Figure 9

These results were expected as the newspaper with the furthest politically right stance had the highest negativity rating towards a lack of English, as we predicted. This is in line with our predictions.

Story two:

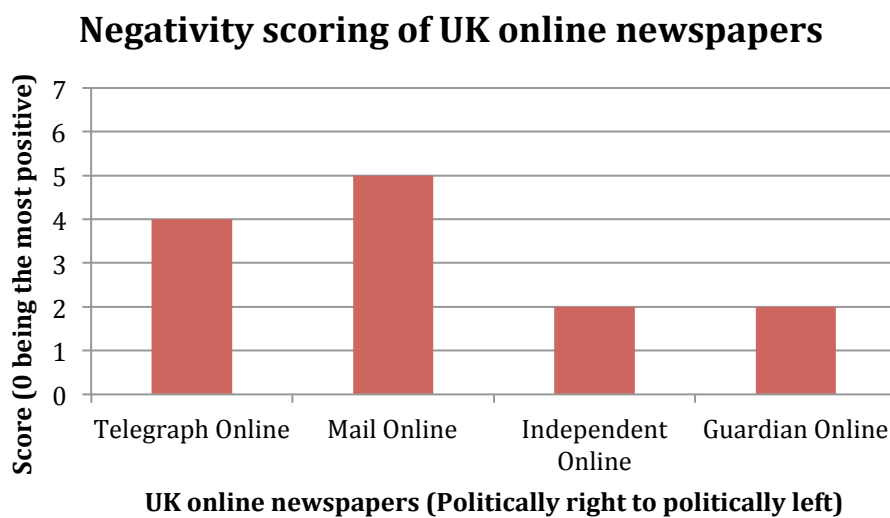


Figure 10

These results, although still in line with our prediction that the newspapers which lie on the left of the political spectrum would have a more positive attitude towards multilingualism, are not quite as

supportive as story one's results. This is because the *Mail*, which is slightly less right wing than the *Telegraph*, scores higher on the negativity scale. Furthermore, the *Guardian* and the *Independent* are equal with two points each, despite us categorising them as 'centre-left' and 'left' respectively. This is also against our prediction that the further left the newspaper, the more positive the attitude towards multilingualism, although the left/ right distinction with respect to language attitudes still holds.

David Cameron's policy to teach Muslim women English to 'tackle segregation' is necessary

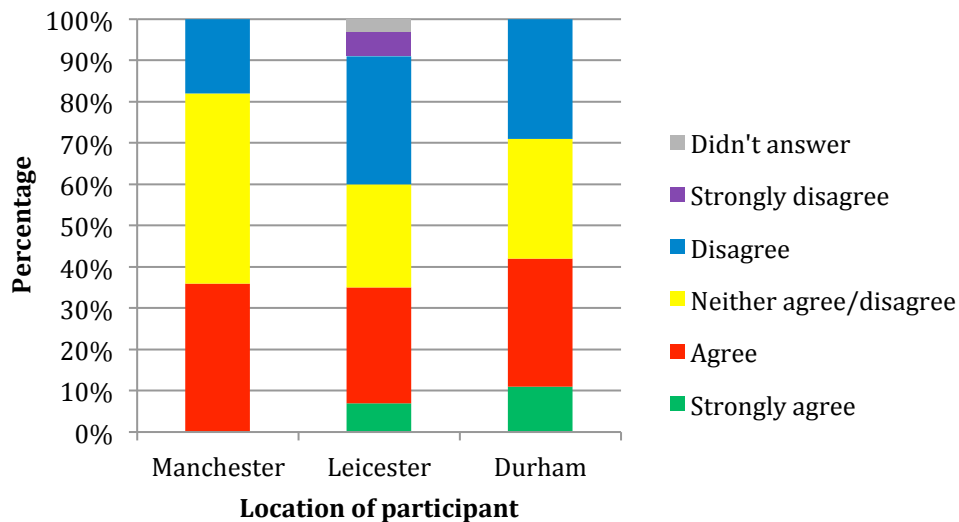


Figure 11

Here, our results from the questionnaire agree with our predictions. Durham agrees with the statement that David Cameron's policy to teach Muslim women English is necessary more than Manchester and Leicester (with 42% agreeing or strongly agreeing). Leicester, which we predicted would be the most positive towards multilingualism due to the high levels of immigrants in the city, disagrees more than the other two cities with the statement (with 37% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing). A chi square test ($df = 8, N = 78$) found that the geographical location of the participant does not have a significant effect on their agreement with this statement ($X^2 = 6.28, p=0.6159$).

Nigel Farage is right in saying that you no longer hear English being spoken in many parts of England

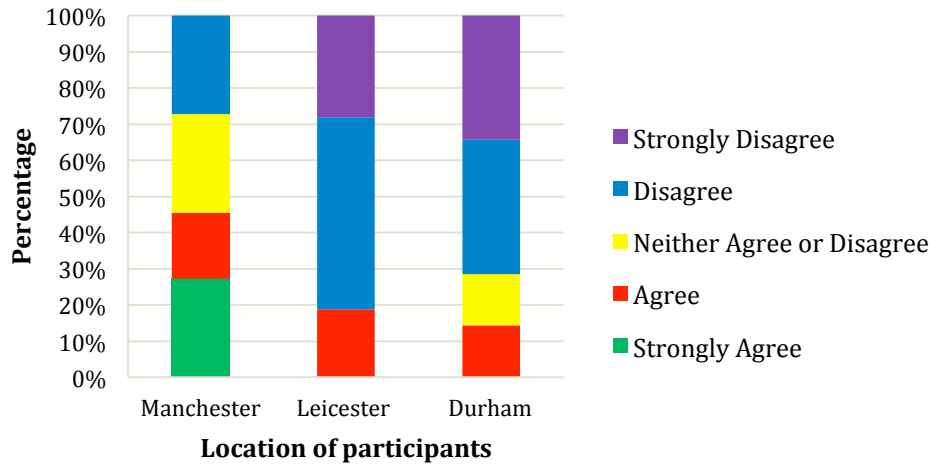


Figure 12

This graph shows the extent to which the participants agree with Nigel Farage’s claim that there are communities in England who do not speak English. In general, Leicester and Durham participants disagree with the statement the most (91% and 71% disagree or strongly disagree respectively), whereas Manchester participants tend to agree with it the most (with 45% agreeing or strongly agreeing). This is against our predictions, although once again the trend may be explained due to external factors. A chi square test ($df = 8, N = 78$) found that the geographical location of the participant does have a significant effect on their agreement with Farage’s statement ($X^2 = 1.46, p=0.0002$).

4 Discussion

4.1 Questionnaires and Interviews

In accordance with our hypothesis, Durham was the city that upheld the least positive attitudes towards multilingualism in compliance with Schieffelin’s (2007) findings. Durham was the city that associated speaking English with ‘Britishness’ the most, with 77% ‘strongly agreeing’ and ‘agreeing’ with this statement (Figure 3). This could be due to the lack of exposure to different languages within their community. It implies that Durham residents perceive language selection as an important part of one’s identity, and if one identified as British then one must primarily speak English. It is important to remember, however, that although our Durham participants tended to agree with this viewpoint, it is unknown whether the population of Durham value this as the most important aspect of ‘Britishness’, as correlation may not imply causation.

Manchester followed Durham, with 64% believing that speaking English is an aspect of British identity, and Leicester followed Manchester with 56%. Our interview participant from Manchester expressed her belief that understanding English was fundamental to being British, but she recognised that there are many reasons as to why an individual may not be able to do so. If other Manchester participants hold similar viewpoints, it would explain the results of this question. We attribute Leicester’s 56% to being the most multicultural out of our three cities. The greater multicultural contact within Leicester could influence the participants’ different values regarding ‘Britishness’,

allowing language choice to be viewed as means of personal preference without impacting on national identity.

When looking at the potential correlate between David Cameron's claim that Muslim women should learn English and attitudes towards multilingualism in society, it appears that the greater the participant disagreement with David Cameron's suggestion, the more positive the general attitudes to multilingualism there are in that community (as perceived by our participants) (Figure 11). Leicester participants display fairly negative attitudes towards Cameron's statements, and are the most positive in terms of how multilingualism affects the community (Figure 5). Despite this, the correlation does not always hold, as displayed by participant one who was able to see the motivation behind the PM's statements, saying:

I think he said it to appease certain right-wingers... I think he had a nationalist intention behind it, and then didn't acknowledge that actually there isn't any funding for English lessons for women from other cultural backgrounds even if they wanted them.

This is interesting as participant one describes herself as a campaigning member of the Trade Union and Socialist Coalition, yet still appreciates where the PM is coming from in terms of appeasing his Conservative backbenchers and the UKIP defecting pull (see appendix 4). Furthermore, the correlation between positive attitudes to multilingualism and negativity towards Cameron's statements may not hold, as correlation does not necessarily imply causation.

Regarding resources for those who speak languages other than English, Durham was the most supportive of the statement (with 77% of the participants selecting 'agree' or 'strongly agree') (Figure 4). Although this is in apparent disagreement with our predictions, external factors may go some way to resolve this discrepancy. The disagreement displayed by Manchester and Leicester (27% and 16% respectively) may be attributable not to the participants believing that language resources are unnecessary, but rather that there are already enough provisions within the community for those for whom English is not a first language. While we could not find any material suggesting that Durham County Council provides language support for immigrants (the lack of which may explain why our participants from Durham believed that more needed to be done), it is evident that Leicester City Council does have language policies implemented to support social cohesion (Leicester City Council, 2016). As such, the participants are aware that members of the community who speak a language other than English are being provided for, and are safe in the knowledge that additional services are not necessary in their community, explaining our results.

It needs to be noted that our sample sizes were not large enough to be truly representative of the whole populace. We assume this to be primarily due to the lack of incentive to participate in online linguistic surveys. The questionnaire was circulated on social media platforms and the responses were largely from the age range of 19-30. We recognise that our circulation methods limited the responses from older generations, a fact that is reflected in our raw numbers (Figure 1). We expected this to a certain degree but not to the extent that there was only one response for the 60+ age category. If a further study was conducted, it would be worth providing and circulating hard copies of the questionnaire to ensure that the data provided is truly representative of the members of the population living in the communities who do not use or have access to social media. Additionally, we received several questions from under 18 participants who did not understand some of the questions in our survey regarding politics; specifically, Cameron and Farage's comments and not understanding the terms 'left wing' and 'right wing'. The results for the under 18s in Leicester were especially affected by this, in that these results were marked as 'prefer not to say'.

4.2 Broadsheet analysis

“It’s the Sun wot won it,” is an infamous newspaper headline published by *The Sun* in 1992 after the Conservative win in the general election. The election result was surprising and was coined, “The greatest political upset since 1945,” (Heath et al., 1994). *The Sun*’s headline has since become a frequently cited catch phrase by politicians to highlight the media’s influence on public opinion. It was during Levinson’s inquiry (Dowell, 2012) that Murdoch was asked if the headline was representative of what many feel is the media’s anti-democratic influence. He replied, “Anti-democratic is too strong a word. It was tasteless and wrong for us. We don’t have that sort of power.” During the inquiry, Murdoch repeatedly denied newspaper influence on political opinion, despite *The Sun*’s switching between Labour and Conservative support since 1979 (Worrall, 2015), with their support always matching the overall majority in general elections, with the exception of the 2010 hung parliament. It is still debatable as to whether the *Sun* could just be following political trends rather than dictating their readership’s ballot box choice. We believe that readers actively choose newspapers that reflect their own political standpoint, however, being part of the readership of a given broadsheet may strengthen the reader’s already present ideologies. Although not entirely agreeing with the “It’s the Sun wot won it,” maxim, we believe that it is true that newspapers spin stories to suit their own agenda, as shown in the following examples.

In early 2016, David Cameron spoke on the need for Muslim women to learn English in order to counter Islamic extremism and to integrate Muslim mothers into the British community. His statements sparked much controversy in the media, especially between outlets that were already in political disharmony. Right wing outlets, such as the *Mail Online*, reported only the facts and presented no opposing arguments when avoidable (Owen, 2016). *The Telegraph* also presented a rigorously factual report (Hughes, 2016), although the Labour Party’s opposition to the story is mentioned in a corresponding opinion-piece on the broadsheet’s website (Bennet & Dodds, 2016). The emphasis for both the *Mail* and the *Telegraph* is heavily placed on the fiscal elements of the move, and less on the social implications of the statements made. The *Independent Online* presents an account of the story interspersed with images portraying ‘things that immigration has done for Britain’, and the article heavily includes opposition opinions from both MPs and the public, using images from *Twitter* to display the controversy of the move. This emphasis on conflicting opinions displays the centre-left stance of the outlet, along with the use of quotative verbs such as ‘attacked’, which convey the extent of the opposition’s disdain for the statements (Payton, 2016). *The Guardian*, the readership of which is mostly comprised of Labour supporters (Wring & Ward, 2010), unsurprisingly conveys the greatest contempt for Mr. Cameron’s statements (Mason & Sherwood, 2016). More than half of the article is spent outlining opposing opinions from the MPs of several political parties, including the Liberal-Democrat leader Tim Farron, and this is used to build an argument against the PM with respect to the social and fiscal implications of the move. A subsequent opinion-piece describes his narrative as ‘scaremongering’ (Bates, 2016), and the outlet’s negative reaction to the idea that Muslim woman should learn English to integrate into British society and to tackle extremism is strongly evident. The reactions of each broadsheet to the story are in line with our predictions, namely that the political left has a more positive approach to immigration and multilingualism, and our results reflect this.

Additionally, we looked at Nigel Farage’s statements that were made in 2014 as part of his European Election campaign. Farage suggested that, “Parts of England [had] become unrecognisable,” (Guardian, 2014) and suggested that there were areas of cities which didn’t speak any English. Although the *Mail* describes Farage as being ‘embarrassed’ (Cohen, 2016), the account is very factual and presents nothing to suggest that the broadsheet opposes Farage’s assumptions. The article then

proceeds to discuss Farage's election campaign, rather than focussing on his controversial views. *The Telegraph*, although also portraying a diligently factual account, uses the word 'attacked' to describe Farage's statements on immigration, potentially suggesting that they disagree with his statement by using a negatively connoted word (Hope, 2014). Despite this, the article does not present any opposing arguments. *The Independent* portrayed Farage's remarks as 'provocative' in its own words (Morris, 2014), and as such we tentatively suggest that this reflects the broadsheets political stance and shows that the article disagrees with Farage's comments. Additionally, the article headline describes Farage as 'patriotic' in ersatz quotes, potentially displaying the newspaper's underlying contempt for his comments. *The Guardian* only dedicates a small portion of the report to Farage's comments pertaining to language, focussing instead on the UKIP political campaign (Sparrow, 2014). As such, it does not actively condemn his comments, going against our predictions that *The Guardian* would naturally express opposition to his ideologies. This is reflected in our results.

5 References

5.1 Online articles

Bates, L. (2016). David Cameron will support Muslim women – but only when it supports his scaremongering narrative. *Guardian Online*. Retrieved May 02, 2016, from <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/jan/21/davids-cameron-will-support-muslim-women-but-only-when-it-suits-his-scaremongering-narrative>

Bennet, A., & Dodds, L. (2016). Are David Cameron's English lessons for Muslim women simply reversing his own cuts? *Telegraph Online*. Retrieved May 02, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/12105369/Are-David-Camersons-English-lessons-for-Muslim-women-simply-reversing-his-own-cuts.html>

Cohen, T. (2014). UKIP leader Nigel Farage says he feels awkward when he doesn't hear English on the train. *Mail Online*. Retrieved May 10, 2016, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2570198/Nigel-Farage-launches-patriotic-push-Euro-election-victory-Ukips-new-Love-Britain-slogan-used-BNP.html>

Dahlgreen, W. (2014). Britain's changing political spectrum. *YouGov*. Retrieved May 14, 2016, from <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/07/23/britains-changing-political-spectrum/>

Dowel, B. (2012). Rupert Murdoch: 'Sun wot won it' headline was tasteless and wrong. *Guardian Online*. Retrieved May 20, 2016, from <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/apr/25/rupert-murdoch-sun-wot-won-it-tasteless>

Heath, A., et al. (1994). Exclusive: How did Labour lose in '92?: The most authoritative study of the last general election is published tomorrow. Here, its authors present their conclusions and explode the myths about the greatest upset since 1945. *Independent*, archived on *Independent Online*. Retrieved, May 20, 2016, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/exclusive-how-did-labour-lose-in-92-the-most-authoritative-study-of-the-last-general-election-is-1439286.html>

Hope, C. (2014). Mass immigration has left Britain 'unrecognisable', says Nigel Farage. *Telegraph Online*. Retrieved May 10, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/ukip/10668996/Mass-immigration-has-left-Britain-unrecognisable-says-Nigel-Farage.html>

- Hughs, L. (2016). David Cameron: More Muslim women should 'learn English' to help tackle extremism. *Telegraph Online*. Retrieved May 02, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/12104556/David-Cameron-More-Muslim-women-should-learn-English-to-help-tackle-extremism.html>
- Leicester City Council. (2016). Language and translation services. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <https://www.leicester.gov.uk/your-community/community-support-and-funding/language-and-translation-services/>
- Mason, R., & Sherwood, H. (2016). Cameron 'stigmatising Muslim women' with English language policy. *Guardian Online*. Retrieved May 02, 2016, from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jan/18/david-cameron-stigmatising-muslim-women-learn-english-language-policy>
- Morris, N. (2014). 'Patriotic' Nigel Farage slams 'irresponsible' immigration policy ahead of European elections. *Independent Online*. Retrieved May 10, 2016, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/patriotic-nigel-farage-slams-irresponsible-immigration-policy-ahead-of-european-elections-9160487.html>
- Owen, G. (2016). Cameron's call to Muslim mothers to learn English to help beat fanatics as 700 Britons are now believed to have travelled to Syria to join jihadis. *Mail Online*. Retrieved May 02, 2016, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3403179/PM-Muslim-mums-learn-English-beat-fanatics-700-Britons-believed-travelled-Syria-join-jihadis.html>
- Payton, M. (2016). David Cameron prompts backlash by announcing plans to teach Muslim women English. *Independent Online*. Retrieved May 02, 2016, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/backlash-as-david-cameron-announced-plans-to-teach-muslim-women-english-a6818496.html>
- Sparrow, A. (2014). Nigel Farage: parts of Britain are 'like a foreign land'. *Guardian Online*. Retrieved May 10, 2016, from <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/feb/28/nigel-farage-ukip-immigration-speech>
- Worrall, P. (2015). FactCheck: does the Sun win elections? *Channel 4 Blog*. Retrieved May 20, 2016, from <http://blogs.channel4.com/factcheck/factcheck-sun-win-elections/20827>

5.2 All other references

- Cook, K., & Hardin, R. (2001). Norms of cooperativeness and networks of trust. *Social Norms*, 327-357. Retrieved March 24, 2016, from <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2001-00827-011>
- Ethics Committee of the British Psychological Society. (2009). Code of ethics and conduct. Retrieved March 23, 2016, from http://www.bps.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/code_of_ethics_and_conduct.pdf
- Kirk, A., & Bingham, J. (2015). Revealed: The areas of England and Wales where people don't speak English. *Telegraph Online*. Retrieved March 24, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11728549/Revealed-The-areas-of-England-and-Wales-where-people-dont-speak-English.html>
- Likert, R. (1932). *A technique for the measurement of attitudes*. New York: The Science Press.

MacKenzie, K. (1992). It was the Sun wot won it. *Sun*. pp. 1-2.

Schieffelin, B. (2007). *Consequences of contact: language ideologies and sociocultural transformations in Pacific societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wring, D., & Ward, S. (2010). *The media and 2010 campaign: the television election?* In: Geddes, A., & Tonge, J. (eds). *Britain Voters 2010*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 217-232

6 Appendices

6.1 Appendix 1

Front page of *The Sun* (11th April 1992):



6.2 Appendix 2

Table 3.1f: Party choice by newspaper readership, 2005 and 2010

	Labour		Conservatives		Liberal Democrats		Swing (Lab- Con)
	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005-10
Result	35	29	32	36	22	23	5
The Guardian	43	46	7	9	41	37	*3.5
The Independent	34	32	13	14	44	44	1.5
The Times	27	22	38	49	26	24	8
The Telegraph	13	7	65	70	17	18	5.5
The Star	54	35	22	21	15	20	10
The Daily Express	28	19	48	53	18	18	7
The Daily Mail	22	16	57	59	14	16	4
The Sun	45	28	33	43	12	18	13.5
The Mirror	67	59	11	16	17	17	

Note: * swing among Guardian voters was from Liberal Democrat to Labour.

Source: [Wring and Ward \(2010, p. 808\)](#)

6.3 Appendix 3

Multilingualism Questionnaire

1. How old are you?

- 18 or under
- 19-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61 +

2. How would you describe your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other

3. Where are you from?

- Manchester
- Durham
- Leicester

Other - Write In (Required)

4. If you selected 'Other', please tell us which area you have lived in for the previous decade.

- Manchester
- Durham
- Leicester

5. How many languages do you speak fluently?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6 +

6. If you selected two or more, please tell us which languages you speak other than English

7. What do you consider your political stance to be?

- Far left
- Left
- Center
- Right
- Far right
- Prefer not to say

8. I consider speaking English as a fundamental part of being British

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree or Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

9. A multilingual person is more likely to get a better job than a monolingual person

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree or Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

10. David Cameron's policy to teach Muslim women English to "tackle segregation" is necessary

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree or Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

11. Nigel Farage is correct in saying that you no longer hear English spoken in many parts of England

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree or Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

12. How does multilingualism affect your community?

- Very Negatively
- Negatively
- No Effect
- Positively
- Very Positively

13. I don't like it when I hear people speak a language other than English in public

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree or Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

14. I am aware of the language policies in my community

- Disagree
- Neither Agree or Disagree
- Agree

15. I _____ see signs/advertisements in my community that are in a language other than English

- Never
- Rarely
- Occasionally
- Very Often

16. My community should provide more resources for people that speak a language other than English

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neither Agree or Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

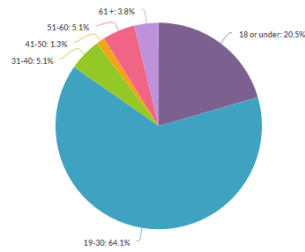
17. What would you say the general attitude towards multilingualism is in your community?

- Very Negative
- Negative
- Neutral
- Positive
- Very Positive

18. Any Comments?

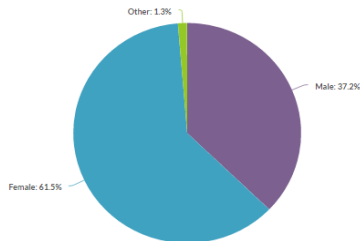
Overall results of each question:

1. How old are you?



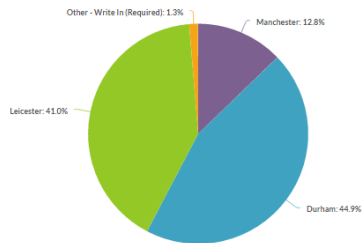
Value	Percent	Count
18 or under	20.5%	16
19-30	64.1%	50
31-40	5.1%	4
41-50	1.3%	1
51-60	5.1%	4
61+	3.8%	3

2. How would you describe your gender?



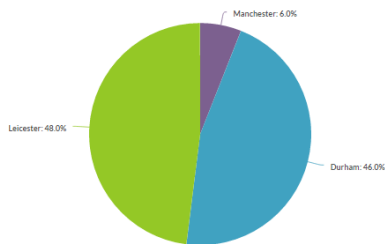
Value	Percent	Count
Male	37.2%	29
Female	61.5%	48
Other	1.3%	1

3. Where are you from?



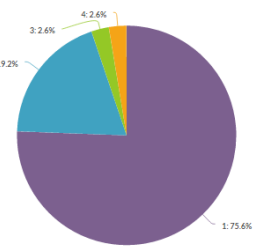
Value	Percent	Count
Manchester	12.8%	10
Durham	44.9%	35
Leicester	41.0%	32
Other - Write In (Required) (click to view)	1.3%	1

4. If you selected 'Other', please tell us which area you have lived in for the previous decade.



Value	Percent	Count
Manchester	6.0%	3
Durham	46.0%	23
Leicester	48.0%	24

5. How many languages do you speak fluently?

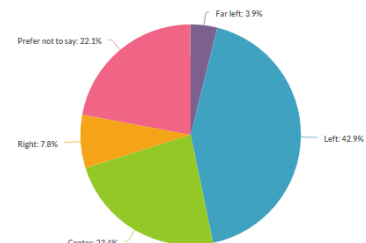


Value	Percent	Count
1	75.6%	59
2	19.2%	15
3	2.6%	2
4	2.6%	2

6. If you selected two or more, please tell us which languages you speak other than English

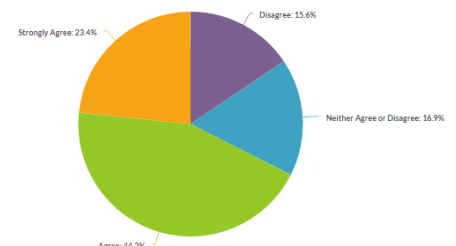
Count	Response
4	French
2	N/A
2	None
2	Spanish
1	0
1	Cantonese
1	Chinese
1	English, Hindi, Gujarati and shawlli
1	German
1	Gujarati
1	Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu
1	Gujarati, panjabi
1	Gujrati
1	Gujrati, Hindi
1	Punjabi
1	Urdu
1	gujarati

7. What do you consider your political stance to be?



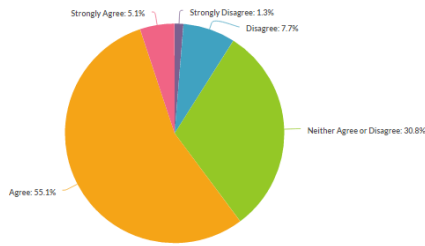
Value	Percent	Count
Far left	3.9%	3
Left	42.9%	33
Center	23.4%	18
Right	7.8%	6
Prefer not to say	22.1%	17

8. I consider speaking English as a fundamental part of being British



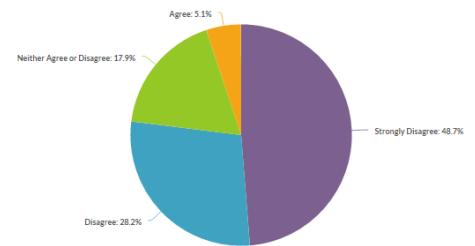
Value	Percent	Count
Disagree	15.6%	12
Neither Agree or Disagree	16.9%	13
Agree	44.2%	34
Strongly Agree	23.4%	18

9. A multilingual person is more likely to get a better job than a monolingual person



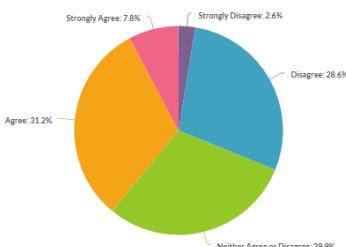
Value	Percent	Count
Strongly Disagree	1.3%	1
Disagree	7.7%	6
Neither Agree or Disagree	30.8%	24
Agree	55.1%	43
Strongly Agree	5.1%	4

13. I don't like it when I hear people speak a language other than English in public



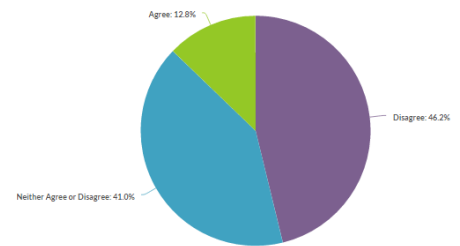
Value	Percent	Count
Strongly Disagree	48.7%	38
Disagree	28.2%	22
Neither Agree or Disagree	17.9%	14
Agree	5.1%	4

10. David Cameron's policy to teach Muslim women English to "tackle segregation" is necessary



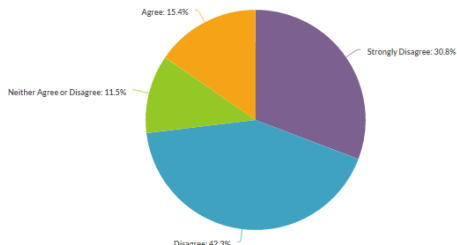
Value	Percent	Count
Strongly Disagree	2.6%	2
Disagree	28.6%	22
Neither Agree or Disagree	29.9%	23
Agree	31.2%	24
Strongly Agree	7.8%	6

14. I am aware of the language policies in my community



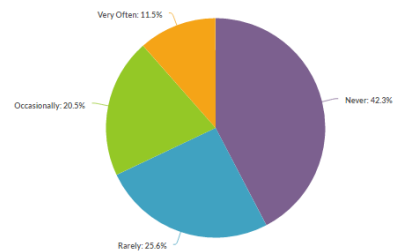
Value	Percent	Count
Disagree	46.2%	36
Neither Agree or Disagree	41.0%	32
Agree	12.8%	10

11. Nigel Farage is correct in saying that you no longer hear English spoken in many parts of England



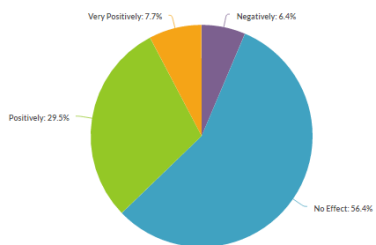
Value	Percent	Count
Strongly Disagree	30.8%	24
Disagree	42.3%	33
Neither Agree or Disagree	11.5%	9
Agree	15.4%	12

15. I _____ see signs/advertisements in my community that are in a language other than English



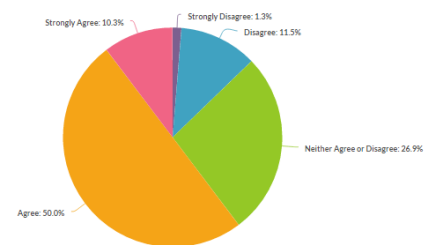
Value	Percent	Count
Never	42.3%	33
Rarely	25.6%	20
Occasionally	20.5%	16
Very Often	11.5%	9

12. How does multilingualism affect your community?



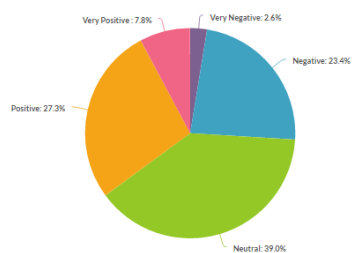
Value	Percent	Count
Negatively	6.4%	5
No Effect	56.4%	44
Positively	29.5%	23
Very Positively	7.7%	6

16. My community should provide more resources for people that speak a language other than English



Value	Percent	Count
Strongly Disagree	1.3%	1
Disagree	11.5%	9
Neither Agree or Disagree	26.9%	21
Agree	50.0%	39
Strongly Agree	10.3%	8

17. What would you say the general attitude towards multilingualism is in your community?



Value	Percent	Count
Very Negative	2.6%	2
Negative	23.4%	18
Neutral	39.0%	30
Positive	27.3%	21
Very Positive	7.8%	6

18. Any Comments?

Count	Response
2	No
1	
1	A lot of the older generation who came to England as immigrants knew and learnt enough English to 'get by'. To generalise a community, race or gender is extremely ignorant as picking up a language depends entirely on the person, their commitment and effort. I am very sure that the phrase being 'British' does not even have a meaning considering the fact that a lot of produce and material is imported to Britain so therein lies a contradiction.
1	Every community must be allowed to speak and learn which ever languages they want to learn or speak.
1	Good thought provoking survey. Well done.
1	I feel more effort should be made in schools to teach other languages to a fluent level.
1	Living in Britain I feel those who do not speak English should make ever effort to learn the basics. Like anybody would if they were to move to a country where English was not the primary language. I feel we as Brits live in a fear if we were to challenge we are being prejudiced/racist. Being Indian myself I wouldn't expect England to change for me. I should integrate with England.
1	N/A
1	Nah
1	We should be a tolerant society. We're no longer living in 1960's monochrome Britain, rather than talk of integration(assimilation), we should strive to take strengths from our mosaic of people of different cultures, languages, ethnicities and religions.
1	didn't understand some of the questions.

6.4 Appendix 4

Interviews:

Participant 1 (Leicester):

I: Would you say you have a Leicester accent?

P: No, I don't think I do

I: Has anyone ever commented on your accent?

P: Ya, people say I sound East Midlands when I'm drunk, and I think that just means "not posh."

I: Have you noticed a difference between comments on your accent between people in Leicester and people here at Uni?

P: Yes, in Leicester, people said I had a posh accent. Here, people say I speak in a not posh accent. Because I say "path" and "bath" and that kind of thing.

I: Would you consider speaking English as being a fundamental part of being British?

P: Yes, I think so. Because it's the common language, and it's how we speak to each other. It doesn't have to be your first language, obviously. You don't have to be white, English, or Scottish or whatever to be British, but it's how we communicate. So if you want to be part of the society, you have to speak the language I suppose.

I: Would you say that being in a multilingual society is a positive thing or negative thing?

P: Ya, I think it's a positive thing. Especially since I've come to Durham, I've noticed I can tell the difference between Gujarati and Hindi and that kind of thing just from being from Leicester and people from other really white areas can't. It's more interesting I suppose, more variety.

I: David Cameron made comments about giving English lessons to Muslim women specifically, which is really criticized by left wing newspapers. If speaking English is an intrinsic part of being British, should we criticise him for saying that?

P: Ya, I think it's a hypocritical comment, because he's cutting all education, and then I think he said it to appease certain right-wingers. Maybe if there was adult education for everyone. Yes, I think we should criticise him because he didn't have the same intention behind it. I think he had a nationalist intention behind it, and then didn't acknowledge that actually there isn't any funding for English lessons for women from other cultural backgrounds even if they wanted them. Also, I don't know, I noticed that in Leicester, a lot of women that have immigrated seem to be trapped in the house because they can't speak the language, and they rely a lot on their children or their husband to do stuff for them. So if there was the opportunity for language lessons, that could be good because it would give disadvantaged women more opportunities and more independence.

I: Do you speak any other language?

P: I speak some German

I: Are there different contexts that you'd use your different language?

P: Ya, I reckon I'd use German because I have a lot of friends here that speak German. And in Germany. And [my sister's] boyfriend speaks German.

I: Coming from Leicester, have you ever noticed other language being spoken in Leicester? Would you say it's an everyday thing?

P: Ya, like in town

I: Would you perceive that as a negative or a positive thing?

P: Umm...positive I suppose. Leicester is very diverse, one of the most diverse in Europe I think. I think it's good, it's interesting.

I: Moving to Durham, have you noticed the same thing, or a lot less languages?

P: A lot less. I noticed someone speaking Polish last week, and that was the first time I think I heard someone speaking another language.

I: So you moved there just last September, and that was the first time you heard someone speaking another language?

P: In the community, ya. But obviously there are international students, and the language department, but that's in class. Ah, I hear Chinese all the time. What am I on about? The Chinese students will all speak Chinese, and the Japanese students all speak Japanese.

I: Could someone who doesn't speak English in the UK get a 'good' job?

P: No, I don't think so. It's already hard to get a job, and with that barrier you might not be able to write a good CV. With grammatical errors on a CV an employer may not notice you. And there's like racism anyway. When you have a foreign name on a CV you may get passed up even if you can speak English. So not speaking English would just be another thing that would stop you from getting a job, when there aren't many jobs left anyway.

I: Do you think English is a 'better' language than others?

P: No, not at all. It annoys me when I go abroad and I try to speak German to someone, and they're like "Oh no, I speak English!" It's like, everyone speaks English because that's the language people learn. It's not better; we just have the most colonies I suppose. So it's just the most common, one of the most common. I suppose it's about being seen as superior. Like invaded places, like South Africa, English might be seen as the superior language because it's the language the "rulers" speak. I mean historically, obviously I'm interested in colonialism because that's what I study.

Participant 2 (Manchester):

I: So firstly I just want to know a bit about your own personal experience. Would you say you have an accent?

P: Yeah urm kind of I guess. I mean it isn't rell- well it is quite neutral I think

I: Okay so when you say neutral what do you mean? Has anyone ever commented on it being like neutral or anything like that?

P: People don't really mention it. I have kind of been called posh like, but I have a quite northern...but people say and some people from other places on holiday and that say I have a Manchester accent but I don't really see it myself

I: Okay, that is quite interesting. Do you holiday a lot?

P: I guess. I have been to a few places in Europe, Greece and Germany and Switzerland, places like that

I: Do you speak English when you go on holiday?

P: Well I know quite a lot of German and Swiss German so when I go there I try and speak as much German as I can. But I speak English anywhere else

I: Do you know any other languages apart from Swiss German and high German?

P: No, well only these two I lived in Switzerland for a year so I know it enough to be confident

I: Do you ever use German in any environment in the UK?

P: Well I used it when teaching German children I looked after but not in general, I only really kind of use English

I: Even though you don't use another language in this country, when you are out in town do you hear people speaking in other languages?

P: Thinking about it I hear a lot of people in town speaking other languages. I don't know which ones though

I: Is it only in town where you hear other languages being spoken?

P: No I hear it quite a lot on the train to and from town too

I: Okay good. So would you consider the multilingualism as benefitting society?

P: Yeah definitely, I think it is nice to hear such diversity and I think it also makes younger people curious, like they want to speak a different language too because it makes you feel cool and different

I: Do you see difference as a good thing?

P: Yes of course it would be boring if we were all the same

I: Do you think speaking English is a fundamental part of being British?

P: I think erm it's tricky because there are many reasons why people don't speak English in England, but yeah I think to speak English is fundamental to being British

I: Do you think it is important to to get a good job to be able to speak more than one language?

P: To be fair, if the job is involved in overseas business well then yes, but in many cases if it isn't a required skill then no. I think either an English speaker or a person who can speak loads of languages can get equally good jobs regardless

Participant 3 (Durham):

I: Would you say you have an accent?

P: Yes

I: Has anyone commented on your accent?

P: Um. I don't know. No. Not unless I've asked if I have an accent.

I: Would you consider speaking English as a fundamental part of being British?

P: No

I: Have you heard any other language spoken in your home town other than English?

P: Um yeah. I've heard Polish but not sure of the name of the other, like from an asian decent country? There was a Polish lad at school.

I: Would you consider multilingualism as benefitting society?

P: Um, yeah I guess so. It gives people the opportunities to learn other languages that can benefit society.

I: Do you speaker any other languages other than English?

P: I do not.