

Introduction

Inspired by the apparent overtly negative coverage of Islam and Muslims by the mainstream press, by the increase in Islamophobia among non-Muslims in Europe, and by recent violent attacks on Muslims by non-Muslims, this book addresses how the news informs non-Muslims about Muslims and Islam. As the media plays an essential role in society, the analysis of its influences on a person's ideas and conceptualisations of people of another religious persuasion is an important social issue. News reports about Islam and Muslims commonly relate stories that discuss terrorism, violence, other unwelcome or irrational behaviour, or the lack of integration and compatibility of Muslims and Islam with Western values and society. This is increasingly seen as underpinning Islamophobia, and as a cause for the increasing violence perpetrated against Muslims. Yet there is little empirical research on how non-Muslims engage with, and are affected by, media reports about Islam and Muslims. This book addresses the gap in this knowledge by using data that looks at how news stories elicit participants' verbal narratives or thoughts and actions, as discussed in focus groups.

The data reveal personal stories that point towards the normativity of news stories and their negotiated reception patterns. Individual orientations towards the media as a primary information source proved to be a significant factor behind the importance of news reports, with individually negotiated personal encounters with Muslims or Islam further affecting the meaning-making process. Participants negotiated media reports to fit their existing outlook on Islam and Muslims. This existing outlook was constructed through, and simultaneously supported by, news reports about Muslims and Islam. The findings suggest a co-dependency and co-productivity between news reports about Islam and Muslims, and participant responses. This is evidenced by how the presence of 'others' in the media is used as a marker that gauges the nature of British society. Despite ethnic and religious differences and varieties in social status, the

presence of others has, to some, raised doubts about Britain's value system and aroused the suspicion that what is truly British is also somehow contained in these "others." One avenue for exploring and discussing this is in the media, and Edward Said has suggested that in order to understand the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in a society such as Britain, the discourse of orientalism needs to be accounted for.¹

Michel Foucault described discourse as several statements formed into a system, consisting of objects, types of statements, concepts, and themes. A structure is brought to this system through the ordering of the statements according to the correlations and functionings of these statements.² In turn, these statements constitute an object, and can transform it, based on the corpus of knowledge that underpins the way of looking at this object in accordance with the presupposed system of knowledge.³ Edward Said implements this as follows:

I have found it useful here to employ Michel Foucault's notion of discourse ... to identify Orientalism. My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.⁴

Muslims in Britain can be analysed in the same manner. The media is one method for managing and producing the image of Muslims, in a political, sociological, ideological, and imaginative manner. Because of the heterogeneity of discourse, "what may appear to be the unifying categories of a discursive field – categories such as 'madness' or 'biology',"⁵ or, in this study 'religion' – receive divergent interpretations and thus determine "spaces of dissension."⁶ From this perspective, "no unifying schema or field synoptically captures divergent discourses."⁷ Therefore, using this conception of discourse, the way that Muslims and Islam are discussed in the news is through a collection of statements formed by a system, through the ordering of those statements, per the rules that categorise those statements. The discourse of Muslims in the British press is the result of political, sociological, military, ideological, scientific, and imaginative orientations. In turn, these are produced by the dominant group(s) in British society. As a consequence, these statements constitute how Muslims and Islam are perceived and can transform society's understanding based upon the way of looking at Muslims and Islam in accordance with the presupposed system of knowledge. L.R. Tucker defines and notes the importance of the analysis of media frames because, "through the analysis of media frames, researchers can gain a better understanding of how media discourse, as a set of organisational voices, works to promote specific interests that support the dominance of particular groups and

ideas in society.”⁸ However, one has to bear in mind that there exists a plurality of voices and groups that are dominant, each with its own agenda and strategic interests, and therefore a plurality of dominant discourses. As a consequence, public discussions of Muslims in Britain are often superficial, at best, because many are unable to grasp the complexity of the issue in an open and critical manner. The predictable narrative of moderates versus conservatives reinforces a narrow (orientalist) framework for discussing Islam and Muslims in Britain. The notion that more government intervention can solve the “problem” is deficient because it reduces Muslims to subjects of government suspicion and control, and in need of management.

The demand for a change in the “moral behaviour” of Muslims – especially poor, disenfranchised men, who, the government says, are either radicalised or in danger of being radicalised – highlights the actions of a few, while ignoring possible government responsibility in creating the conditions for radicalisation in the first place. This closely resembles what William Cavanaugh describes in *The Myth of Religious Violence*:

The myth of religious violence serves on the domestic scene to marginalize discourses and practices labelled religious. The myth helps to reinforce adherence to a secular social order and the nation state that guarantees it. In foreign affairs, the myth of religious violence contributes to the presentation of non-western and non-secular social orders as inherently irrational and prone to violence. In doing so, it helps to create a blind spot in Western thinking about Westerners’ own complicity with violence. The myth of religious violence is also useful, therefore, for justifying secular violence against religious actors; their irrational violence must be met with rational violence.⁹

By and large, the presentation of Muslims and the Islamic faith in the news adheres to Cavanaugh’s description. However, the foreign origins of Islam has meant that his comment about foreign affairs describes actions that are implemented domestically against Muslims in Britain. For example, in 2001 there were violent riots in Oldham, Bradford, Leeds, and Burnley. The riots were short but intense and were the worst ethnically motivated riots in Britain since 1985. They were apparently a culmination of ethnic tensions between South Asian-Muslim communities and a variety of other local community groups. According to Kundnani the consequences of the riots were that:

[there] was a declaration of the end of multiculturalism and an assertion that Asians, Muslims in particular, would have to develop “a greater acceptance of the principal national institutions” and assimilate to “core British values” ... [Government had also] mistakenly presented this fragmentation as the result of an over-tolerance of diversity which allowed non-white communities to “self-segregate.”¹⁰

Public discussions of Muslims in Britain are often engaging with, if not asserting, the notion that Asians, Muslims in particular, need to develop “a greater acceptance of the principal national institutions” and assimilate to “core British values.” The above quote also highlights the demand for further regulation and surveillance of Muslims in order to manage non-white communities. Within this paradigm, Muslims are seen as a “problem,” rather than as fellow inhabitants of Britain with problems. Discussions about Muslim minorities or Islam in Britain is relegated to the “problems” posed for the majority of people rather than what the treatment of Muslims says about Britain as a whole and about how Muslims are affected by these dynamics. This framework encourages support for government initiatives directed at dealing with “problems.” This paradigm simultaneously denies Muslims the freedom to fail and blames the “problems” on Islam or Muslims themselves. In this way, public discussion of the social injustices Muslims may be subject to is avoided. Muslims are to be “integrated” into “our” society and culture; they are to behave like “us.” This fails to recognise, however, that the presence, trials and tribulations of Muslims are constitutive elements of British society.

Talal Asad argues that “Muslims are included within and excluded from Europe at one and the same time in a special way, and that this has less to do with the ‘absolutist Faith’ of Muslims living in a secular environment and more with European notions of ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’ and ‘the secular state,’ ‘majority,’ and ‘minority’.”¹¹ In order to engage in a serious discussion of Muslims in Britain, we must begin not with the problems of Muslims, but with the problems of Muslims and the problems of British society. What is considered problematic is a direct result of these particular notions and definitions. These problems are also located in flaws which are rooted in historic inequalities such as imperialism, and have produced longstanding stereotypes. Media discourse sets up the parameters and terms for discussing Muslims and Islam; it shapes the perceptions and the responses to the issues presented as associated with them. Within this framework, the burden falls on the “other” to do all the work necessary for integration.

The emergence of Islamist sentiments among young Muslims can be seen as a resistance against complying with this vision of what British society should be. An example of such sentiments can be found in what Innes Bowen describes as follows: “British-trained [Deobandi¹²] seminary graduates returning to their community were at least as conservative and anti-integration as their foreign educated predecessors: ‘Many of them advocate a 100% Deobandi lifestyle’.”¹³ Resistance identities emerge based on values and ideas that are different or even opposed to the dominant discourse(s).¹⁴ Other examples of subversions of compliance with dominant discourses by Muslims in Britain are highlighted by a variety of research

works. Some examples of such research look at Muslim identity formation in children,¹⁵ young adults,¹⁶ and adults.¹⁷

In the British context, the media should be considered a disseminator and facilitator of public discussion, but the images and narratives they broadcast “incarnate the ideal of a large part of society.”¹⁸ Yet until public and media discourse fully accept the equality of Muslims, Islamist movements will probably continue to exist. Islamism, understood as a contemporary incarnation of Muslim nationalism or solidarity, is perhaps an attempt to define a Muslim identity in a society perceived to be hostile. The presence of Muslims in Britain challenges the existing paradigm of what British society is, and their demands for recognition and equality challenges the hegemony of the dominant group(s). However, as long as the perception that Islam is embattled by outside forces is prevalent among Islamic communities, it provides credibility to radical movements and organisations,¹⁹ further entrenching paradigms of cultural conflict and incompatible values.

In this context, what is the role of the media? How do non-Muslims understand and interpret news reports about Muslims and Islam and how does that underpin their actions and conceptualisations?

This book addresses two themes. Firstly, it examines how media constructions and their reception continue to shape assumptions about the nature of Islam, and perhaps guide public attitudes towards (British) Muslims. Secondly, it addresses the under-researched empirical study of non-Muslims’ engagement with media reports about Islam and Muslims. The book draws upon empirical data to highlight how meaning and social practices come together in this particular area of investigation. In turn, the research will make a significant contribution to the field of media, religion, and culture; like John R. Bowen, “my focus is on the field of debate and discussion in which participants construct discursive linkages to texts, phrases, and ideas held to be part of the universal tradition of Islam.”²⁰

As a signifier and source of information for an increasing percentage of the population, the manner by which Muslims and Islam are portrayed in the media affects the way they are perceived and understood by those receiving the media. This is because the media creates, reflects, and enforces social representations. David Voas and Rodney Ling describe the feelings towards Muslims in Britain as follows:

Firstly, some of the antipathy towards Muslims comes from people with a generalised dislike of anyone different. Secondly, a larger subset of the population – about a fifth – responds negatively only to Muslims. Finally, relatively few people feel unfavourable towards any other religious or ethnic group on its own ... conceivably there is a spill-over effect, so that people who are worried about Muslims come to feel negatively

about “others” in general. In any case, the adverse reaction to religion in Britain and the United States towards Muslims deserves to be the focus of policy on social cohesion, because no other group elicits so much disquiet.²¹

English newspapers and television news networks address Islam and Muslims in several ways. It is important to understand how Islam and Muslims are described and the effect this creates among the English public. The interpretation of reality in news stories occurs in light of the outlook held by people whose views and behaviour towards others are, to a large extent, informed by their perception and interpretation of reality. This is informed by media discourse. Therefore, by looking at the way people understand and construct meaning from media (reception study) we can begin to understand how people’s conceptualisation of Islam and Muslims is being shaped by the media.

I address this issue by asking the following questions: (1) What is the role of the (news) media in society and as an information source for participants? (2) What images, narratives, and representations of Muslims and Islam circulate, and what do participants find memorable and authoritative? (3) Why are these images, narratives, and representations of Muslims and Islam memorable and authoritative? (4) How are these images, narratives, and representations of Muslims and Islam utilised by audience members?

The aim is to discern how (news) media information is utilised in the interpretation and conceptualisation of Islam by the audience. Interpretation is not neutral. An agent is constantly re-appropriating certain pieces of information they receive. The information is interpreted according to the structures of (religious) values and thoughts held by them. It is here that the difference between my proposed research and possible alternatives is clearest. I am not cataloguing what people think of Islam and Muslims, but trying to ascertain how the beliefs of an agent (non-Muslim in England), coupled with their media consumption affect what they might think of Islam and Muslims. The study is not concerned with measuring people’s opinion, except insofar as it concerns the way in which people’s opinions, biases, and interpretations are formed and shaped by their own beliefs and media practices.

First, the essential step is to research the content and discourse in media reports before exploring their influences on an audience. From there the book clarifies the role that news reports have for individuals and how they generate meaning among their audience(s). It does this by examining the responses to media reports. The responses to narratives are often defined by media elites and voiced by spokespersons that fit within the dominant framework(s). By exploring these processes, we can develop suggestions for improving media coverage of Islam and Muslims

based on material that is situated within the larger historical narrative of Britain.

Second, we must focus our attention on the media, and how it functions in the public square, by examining the way in which news media disseminates national and global interests. This media discourse serves as a backdrop for the acts of local agents. The vitality of any public discourse ultimately depends on the quality of the debate. The absence of a debate with regards to British social structures, for example, is a result at least in part of the media's focus on policy announcement and sensationalism. This further emphasises the low priority on substantial improvements in society by government, as extensions of the demands placed on them by society through media. This will be discussed in chapter 1, as I offer an analysis of the implications of news media consumption and how the media interacts with its audience – namely, how its discussions of Islam and Muslims affect understanding and opinion in a (British) social context. The influence of the media on its audience is complex, as media inevitably contains a mix of commercial, ideological, and political implications. The aim of commercial institutions is to make money; this will not be jeopardised because it would go against the logic of the institution. Additionally, political implications are both direct and indirect. The staff working for media corporations have a personal political outlook, but there will be institutional guidelines, too. This may be the editorial lines of a newspaper, or the public political position of a television network. Not only is the position attributed by the public to the institution of importance, but also the position the institution itself takes is of relevance. With the analysis considering the influences of discourses received, special attention will be paid to the way the audience understands the codes and conventions it receives while negotiating the meaning disclosed in the media.

Scholars have been studying the influences of media. Some researchers suggest that media can be considered an agent of socialisation. Media has the ability to elicit a response and to shape and influence people's identities and identity formations. Because media is often the "gateway" to first witness what happens outside of our direct daily experience, it becomes the lens through which we view the world. Following this, scholars have studied the influences of media as well as the impact of the media framing on stories, news, and events.²² Framing is "the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributions for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed."²³

Most importantly for the case presented in this book is the news coverage of Islam in Britain. News media corporations rely on an increase in ratings and larger viewership following the airing and covering of what are considered shocking stories.²⁴ News media corporations play a vital role in the production of ideological frames. The foci of stories have the potential to scare people into acting and believing a crisis exists. The

viewers, in turn, demand action to end the crisis and to restore calm among the public. The interlocking scripts of violence and irrational or abnormal behaviour perpetuated by the media, coupled with fallacies about Islam and Muslims, further marginalise Muslim individuals in England.²⁵

To complete this book, I used news excerpts in focus groups²⁶ for an exploration of media consumption by non-Muslims with regards to stories and reports about Islam and Muslims. Scholarship that examines the reception and consumption practices surrounding news stories about Muslims and Islam has been limited. For example, according to W. Shadid, "The media adds both in a direct and indirect manner to the dissemination of negative imagery concerning allochthonous²⁷ people and might even play a role in their discrimination by society."²⁸ In scholarly works, this is thought because Islam has been examined in terms of integration,²⁹ multiculturalism,³⁰ and violence,³¹ to name but a few angles, but not so much in terms of how its media construction or portrayal shapes the way people actually think about it. This study is grounded in an approach to social theory that situates the results in their immediate historical and (economic) production contexts.³² Disproportionate amounts of television and newspaper news coverage are devoted to the Muslim community in general,³³ but the coverage also focuses on issues of clothing,³⁴ terrorism,³⁵ and immigration.³⁶ The aim of this book is to analyse the reception of the English news media's representations of Islam and the influence that media has on the conceptualisation of Islam among English people as a result. The findings will be discussed in chapter 3.

The significance of the present study is that it will offer an analysis of how the media affects the understanding and interpretation of Islam and Muslims by non-Muslim people of Britain. Within studies looking at content and media discourse about Muslims and Islam, there are very few studies that examine audience reception of religion or religious concepts. Related studies are often limited to a Christian audience of Christian topics.³⁷ Definitions, accounts, and analysis have lacked substantial depth, and the complexity necessary, to provide a clear picture of the influence of media representations of Islam on a non-Muslim audience. There are two reasons for this: first, because media effects studies and causation studies are widely contested, not only with regards to religion, but also as to whether violence in media will make you violent, for example; second, because to my knowledge, there has not been a study that has looked specifically at the reception of media reports about Muslims by a non-Muslim audience, other than part of the study conducted by Elizabeth Poole in 2002³⁸ and that by Al-Azami in 2016.³⁹

This study looks at the various forms of media coverage on Islam and Muslims that are utilised by the respondents in order to develop an opinion of Muslims and Islam. This approach offers a greater understanding of

the influence of media portrayals on society, and the construction of meaning and understanding of Islam in British society based on those portrayals. Yet it is not racism in the press I am commenting on.⁴⁰ I am far more concerned with how these portrayals of Muslims are received, and how the creative energies of individuals are reacting to the seemingly endless stream of media information. In this regard, Islam is apparently only engaged with when it concerns incendiary topics, in mostly defensive positions, against a pre-scripted narrative of Islamic terrorism, veiling and women's rights, Sharia law versus democracy, and other binaries that highlight and enforce perceived differences and incongruences. An example of such constructions can also be found in Francis Fukuyama's book *The End of History and The Last Man*.

At the end of history, there are no serious ideological competitors left to liberal democracy. In the past, people rejected liberal democracy because they believed that it was inferior to monarchy, aristocracy, theocracy, fascism, communist totalitarianism, or whatever ideology they happened to believe in. But now, outside the Islamic world, there appears to be a general consensus that accepts liberal democracy's claims to be the most rational form of government, that is, the state that realises most fully either rational desire or rational recognition.⁴¹

In this quote, Islam and democracy, Islam and rationality, and Islam and liberalism, are placed as opposites in binary constructions. This overlooks the power dynamics involved, not only in making this claim, but also in the governance of what can be described as Islamic countries. The hegemony of Islamic countries is pressed upon nations as diverse as Indonesia, Iran, and Morocco. As a consequence, such a quote reflects what Said suggested in "Orientalism," namely that Western political discourse: 'defines and locates' the political, sociological, ideological, scientific achievements, and development of oriental nations.⁴²

How the issues and news are presented is as important as *what* is presented when considering their influence on and interpretation by the audience.⁴³ It is necessary, therefore, that a content analysis of printed news and television news is performed in the data gathering phase. This will support the analysis of how the discussion takes place (content leads to discourse analysis). The methodology used in the research into media narratives is comparable in methodology to the research conducted by Baker, Gabrielatos, and McEnery,⁴⁴ and Knott, Poole, and Taira.⁴⁵ The focus group data is complemented by data collected and analysed from the television and printed news. This gives an insight into what people do with the media items they have been prompted with, and builds upon the initial findings reported by Knott, Poole, and Taira.⁴⁶ This will allow for the portrayal of Islam to be examined in the context of more general media representations of Islam and Muslims.

Conclusions drawn from studies based on media content and discourse imply that there is a connection, if not a causation, between audience viewership and acts and opinions expressed in the public domain.⁴⁷ Traditional studies examining what is done with mainstream media information by its recipients are problematic due to the difficulty of proving causation.⁴⁸ In this study, I attempt to overcome that weakness by having observed reception, and therefore describing and analysing what goes on before, during, and after reception. The media selected will be a combination of print and audio-visual media, restricted to that which is published and broadcast by media institutions. I will not be analysing the content put forth by individuals or groups on social networking sites, websites such as YouTube, blogs, and other ways the individual can produce and disseminate information. Yet this research does examine the link between a receiving subject's response to a media report and the passing on of that information to others. In this regard, new forms of social media can play a role but will not be viewed as part of the primary research focus. Since communication is a social activity, and a form of action, then the analysis of communication must be based, at least in part, on an analysis of that action.⁴⁹

In Poole's work, the aims were to see how far the focus groups shared the newspapers' discourse, and to gather an understanding of how audiences construct meaning from them. Two of her focus groups were set up with non-Muslims, one who had frequent contact with Muslims, and the other with little or no contact. Focus groups were selected by purposive sampling and comprised people with similar social characteristics who were from the same or similar social networks so that participants would feel comfortable disclosing opinions. The groups consisted of 16 to 18-year-olds from in and around Leicester in the East Midlands, an area which has a history of good relations between ethnic communities. There were also two other focus groups with Muslims. The articles used in the focus groups carried a dominant or preferred reading, which readers were intended to take from them. Poole found that Muslim participants offered alternative readings, often oppositional, while the non-contact group accepted the preferred reading. The contact group tended to be more negative about Islam than the non-contact group. They had greater knowledge, being aware of some of the stories and issues, but interpreted these using liberal ideas of fairness and equality, which led to concerns about restrictions in Islam on individual freedoms and negative perceptions of "backward" customs. Some participants who had greater knowledge were able to reject the negative representations.⁵⁰

My study builds on this work, by: 1) looking at areas which do not have a history of good ethnic community relations; 2) using participants belonging to different age groups in order to gauge the opinions from a larger range of people; 3) researching television media as well as print

media; and 4) using a random sample of participants in order to explore the interaction of people with different social characteristics and who inhabit different social contexts. Hermeneutics can be a useful way to study how media is received, and how certain views, or “media frames,” are transferred to the receiver. As Taylor has pointed out, there is a plurality of hermeneutical circles.⁵¹ There are even hermeneutical circles developing between two subjects although this will still form a subject–object relationship or dialectic, such as discussed by Sartre in *L'être et le néant*.⁵²

I do not think it is sufficient to simply look at a media report and what it represents (content and discourse analysis) without taking into account why it represents what it represents. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 1 and chapter 2. When doing so, one must also consider the possibility that a news report may represent many different things to many different people. Focus groups provide the possibility to analyse how people interact with media stories and outlets, and how some of the descriptions of their personal approaches illustrate the passage from opinion or perception into action. In the analysis put forth by both Gadamer⁵³ and Taylor,⁵⁴ the interaction of both inter-subjective and subject–object natures is pre-conditioned by the agents taking part. Their historicity, language, religion, upbringing, race, gender, and so on, all affect the interaction in a way personally constituted to the individuals in question. People are subject to a commonality of experiences, yet agents can offer a multitude of varying responses. That is not inconceivable considering the individuation of experiences as they are constituted in the receiving agent; even if the spectrum of possible responses itself might be considered infinite. We therefore need to be aware of how media influences people and the way they interact; this will be the subject covered in chapter 1. In doing so, there is a need for analysing media as one of the structures that affect our understanding and shapes our identity, both as individuals and in groups. This influences how an individual or group experiences reality.⁵⁵ In turn, these structures enable us to encounter and make judgements about the reality we experience.

The first chapter explores this by employing Foucault's understanding of discourse, to analyse how media in Britain as a system of knowledge engages with Islam. The British press is understood as one method for managing and producing Muslims, in a political, sociological, ideological, and imaginative manner. As a consequence, these statements constitute how Muslims and Islam are perceived and can transform their audience's understanding of Muslims and Islam in accordance with the presupposed system of knowledge. As Knott and Mitchell state: “The symbolic resources that film, television, and other media offer are often appropriated and recycled as people attempt to define their own identities, narrate their own life stories and understand the traditions and communities of interpretation to which they belong.”⁵⁶ This chapter starts by analysing

the workings of a media outlet. The second part of this section is a discussion of the relationship between media, ideology, and the political. This is followed by an analysis of the economic implications of media. Each of these spheres is key when considering the role of media in society today. In order to situate the discursive functions of media within a social context, we must look at how media reports are consumed. This will form a bridge between the theoretical and the practical. It will also form the basis for interpreting the participant data later in the book.

The second chapter covers the representations of Muslims and Islam, exploring the dominant ideas that contribute to the construction of Muslim identities in the press. It provides an in-depth insight into the context of such debates and themes and will offer an assessment of the symbols used in contemporary media. It reveals the manner in which discourses surrounding Muslims circulate, as well as broader issues of integration, conflict, multiculturalism, and accommodation debates and experiences. Exploring how the press discuss Muslims and Islam in detail provides a context for analysing how participants interpret and react to those discourses. This is the subject of the third chapter, in which the media practices of a media institution are related to the practices of individuals. By exploring the thoughts and actions of non-Muslims' media behaviour, it is possible to ascertain in what ways a mediocratic society informs and guides behaviour. This provides key insights into how chapters 1 and 2 relate to each other, as well as informing the reader as to how media as an institution relates to socio-political practices.

Chapter 4 explores how current media portrayals of Islam and Muslims influence society. It does so by putting research data gathered using focus groups and interviews with non-Muslim participants in dialogue with one another as well as earlier findings on media portrayals. This then leads to a discussion about how this affects socio-political engagement, with a particular reference to the spreading of ideologies, discourses, and political capital. This is explored by looking at how media communication and public debate affect community relations on the ground, through participant voices. This chapter makes a valuable contribution in giving participant voices a platform to speak, without being framed in an ideological manner. This is because not all opinions voiced by non-Muslims about Islam and Muslims are ideological statements, despite obvious ideological overtones and links. It is therefore important to recognise the individual and personal circumstances of participants that give meaning to the statements uttered as well as the context in which they are speaking.

The final chapter of the book analyses how the findings of the research relate to current topical issues. With an increase in Islamophobic attacks, public protests about the presence of Islam and Muslims, and increasing tension between Western countries and Iran, it is important to recognise how media discussions on such issues filter down to the everyday person.

The chapter examines the data in light of recent events, leading to a discussion on how socio-political events are informed by media discourse, and how those discourses continue to inform the thoughts and actions of non-Muslims on an everyday basis. This final chapter ties together the key insights from the previous chapters in order to summarise and emphasise the important points. In doing so it provides the starting point for further research as well as concisely explaining to the reader what they should take away from this book.

Notes

- 1 Said, E. W., *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 3.
- 2 Foucault, M., *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. Smith, A. M. S. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 41–43.
- 3 Ibid., 35–36.
- 4 Said, E. W., *Orientalism*, 3.
- 5 Foucault, M., *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 40–49.
- 6 Ibid., 152.
- 7 Bowen, J. R., *Muslims through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 10–11.
- 8 Tucker, L. R., “The Framing of Calvin Klein: A Frame Analysis of Media Discourse About the August 1995 Calvin Klein Jeans Advertising Campaign,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 15 (1998): 144.
- 9 Cavanaugh, W. T., *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 225–226.
- 10 Kundnani, A., *Spooked! How Not to Prevent Violent Extremism* (London: Institute of Race Relations, 2009), 23.
- 11 Asad, T., *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 159. Douglas Davies, in personal correspondence, has mentioned that this is not necessarily unlike non-Muslims living under certain interpretations of Sharia law. For a work on that issue see: Al-Aayed, S. H., *The Rights of Non-Muslims in the Islamic World* (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Dar Eshbelia, 2002).
- 12 The Deobandi movement is a revivalist movement within Hanafi Islam. It originated in 1867 in Deoband, India, where the Deobandi Dar Al-Uloom is situated. The movement was started by Shah Waliullah Dehlawi and was a reaction to British colonialism in India. For more information see: Reetz, D., “The Deoband Universe: What Makes a Transcultural and Transnational Educational Movement of Islam?,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27/1 (2007).
- 13 Bowen, I., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London: Hurst, 2014), 28.
- 14 Castells, M., *The Power of Identity. The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge, MA – Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 8.
- 15 Scourfield, J. et al., *Muslim Childhood: Religious Nurture in a European Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

- 16 Nilsson Dehanas, D., "Elastic Orthodoxy: The Tactics of Young Muslim Identity in the East End of London," and Otterbeck, J., "Experiencing Islam: Narratives About Faith by Young Adult Muslims in Malmö and Copenhagen," in *Everyday Lived Islam in Europe*, ed. Dessing, N. M. et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013).
- 17 Yasmeen, S. and Markovic, N., *Muslim Citizens in the West: Spaces and Agents of Inclusion and Exclusion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014).
- 18 Eliade, M., *Myth and Reality* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1998), 185.
- 19 Dehanas, D. N., *London Youth, Religion, and Politics: Engagement and Activism from Brixton to Brick Lane* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 193.
- 20 Bowen, J. R., *Muslims through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society*, 8.
- 21 Voas, D. and Ling, R., "Religion in Britain and the United States," in *British Social Attitudes: The 26th Report*, ed. Park, A. et al. (London and Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 2010), 80–81.
- 22 Entman, R., "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43 (1993).
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