

granten zeigen konnte, gibt es keinen empirischen Hinweis darauf, dass Migranten, die bevorzugt türkische TV-Programme gucken, integrationsfeindlich seien¹⁹. Ich nenne dieses Prinzip auch vernünftig und Wissenschaft ist die vernunftgeleitete Suche nach Wissenszuwachs und Erkenntnis. Und so gilt für diesen Vortrag das,

was mit einigen Suren des Koran für die Wissenschaft insgesamt gilt: «Lade ein zum Weg deines Herren mit Weisheit und schöner Ermahnung; und streite» – das heisst diskutiere – «mit ihnen in bester Weise» (16:126). «Und er lässt seinen Zorn auf jene herab, die ihre Vernunft nicht gebrauchen wollen» (10:100).

1 Generell vgl. die hervorragende Arbeit von Schiffer, Sabine: Die Darstellung des Islams in der Presse. Sprache, Bilder, Suggestionen. Eine Auswahl von Techniken und Beispielen, Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag 2005; für die USA vgl. Karim, Karim H.: Islamic Peril. Media and Global Violence, Montréal und New York: Black Rose Books 2000 und Qureshi, Emran und Sells, Michael A. (Hrsg.): The New Crusades. Constructing the Muslim Enemy, New York: Columbia University Press 2004.

2 Vgl. dazu Kresta, Edith und Seidel, Eberhard: Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst? Ein Ruck geht durch das Land. Viele sagen es nun laut: Muslime sind ätzend, in: Die Tageszeitung, 23. Dezember 2002, S. 16-17.

Auf der Seite links-liberaler Intellektueller und Publizisten haben sich in Deutschland in den letzten Jahren besonders die folgenden Autorinnen und Autoren mit islamfeindlichen Publikationen hervorgetan: Henryk Broder, Claudia Dantschke (Aypa-TV), Dan Diner (Leipzig), Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Ralph Giordano (Köln), Wolfgang Huber (EKD), Johannes Kandel (Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung), Matthias Küntzel, Alice Schwarzer (Emma), Eberhard Seidel (taz), und Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Bielefeld). Den Arbeiten dieser Autorinnen und Autoren mangelt es zumeist an einfachsten religionssoziologischen Kenntnissen, oft sind sie in ihrer Argumentation einem Schwarz-Weiß-Bild verhaftet, meist arbeiten sie auf der Basis von Misstrauen und mit (latenten) Unterstellungen, meist kennen ihre Texte eher apodiktisch formulierte Ergebnisse als offene Fragen, meistens arbeiten sie nicht auf der Basis von Originalquellen, oft neigen sie zu Verschwörungstheorien und schließlich basieren ihre grundlegenden gesellschaftlichen Annahmen häufig auf sehr simplen Zivilisations- und Modernisierungstheorien.

3 Bahamas-Redaktion: Hinter dem Ruf nach Frieden verschanzen sich die Mörder!, in: Bahamas, Herbst 2001, S. 31.

4 Berkéwicz, Ulla: Du bist getötet worden, weil Du getötet hast, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 11. Mai 2002, S. 47.

5 Vgl. Niewöhner, Friedrich: Vernunft als innigste Ergebnisheit in Gott. Lessing und der Islam, in: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 10.-11. November 2001, S. 83 und Schimmel, Annemarie: Rumi. Ich bin Wind und Du bist Feuer. Leben und Werk des großen Mystikers, München: Diederichs 1995.

6 Als Einstieg in eine Debatte über das Verhältnis von Islam zu Aufklärung vgl. die folgenden Werke: Burleigh, Michael: The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe from the French Revolution to the Great War, New York: Harper & Collins 2006; Caflar, Gazi: Staat und Zivilgesellschaft in der Türkei und im osmanischen Reich, Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag 2000; Islamic Enlightenment in the 18th Century, Schwerpunkttheft der Zeitschrift «Die Welt des Islams», Bd. 36, Heft 3/1996, Leiden: Brill Verlag; Meddeb, Abdelwahab: Islam und Aufklärung. Theologen und Philosophen im Widerstreit um Tradition und Moderne, in: Lettre International, Sommer 2006, S. 17-20.

Dass Papst Benedikt XVI. in seiner berühmten Regensburger Rede vom 12. September 2006 den Gegensatz Vernunft – Glaube (<http://www.br-online.de/papst-besuch/teaser-re-li/benedikt-vorlesung-uni-regensburg.xml?sessionid=T0FXWNYXV0CIWCS->

BUKSSM4Q) vor der Folie Christentum – Islam diskutiert, entspricht dem seit Edward Said diskreditierten Orientalismus insofern, als dort wie selbstverständlich das Christentum für Vernunft und der Islam für Unvernunft (d. h. Gewalt) steht. Schon Lessing hatte diesen Platonismus von Vernunft und Glaube bei Benedikt XVI. dadurch überwunden, dass er in seiner Ringparabel die Vernunft als innigste Ergebnisheit in Gott verstand. Mit seinem orientalistischen Dualismus von christlicher Vernunft versus islamischem Glauben fällt Benedikt XVI. weit hinter den christlich-islamischen Dialog seines Vorgängers Johannes Paul II. in Assisi 1986 zurück.

7 Vgl. kritisch zu diesem Begriff Durand, Stefan: Grober Keil. Seit einigen Jahren kursiert in den Medien das Etikett Islamo-Faschismus, in: Le Monde Diplomatique (dt. Ausgabe), November 2006, S. 3.

8 Vgl. Deutsch, Karl W.: The Trend of European Nationalism - the Language Aspect, in: Fishman, Joshua A. (Hg.): Readings in the Sociology of Language, Den Haag: Mouton 1968, S. 98-606.

9 Vgl. Schiffauer, Werner: Verborgene Gemeinsamkeiten von Ost und West. Die Medienrevolution hat auch die geistige Landschaft in der islamischen Welt gravierend verändert, in: Frankfurter Rundschau, 18. Juni 2002.

10 Vgl. Evera, Stephen van: Primordialism Lives!, in: Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association. Jg. 12, Nr. 1/2001, S. 20-22; Alonso, Sonia: Dauerhaft erfolgreich. Ethnisch-nationalistische Parteien in westlichen Demokratien, in: WZB-Mitteilungen, Dezember 2005, S. 31-33.

11 Zitiert nach Bennhold, Katrin: French minister urges collecting minority data, in: International Herald Tribune, 16. Dezember 2005, S. 3.

12 Zitiert nach Becker, Jörg: Türkische Hip-Hop-Musik in Deutschland, in: Mut. Forum für Kultur, Politik und Geschichte, Nr. 41/2002, S. 48.

13 Vgl. dazu methodisch wie inhaltlich vorbildhaft den Aufsatz von Battenberg, J. Friedrich: Zwischen Integration und Segregation. Zu den Bedingungen jüdischen Lebens in der vormodernen christlichen Gesellschaft, in: Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden. Jg. 6, Heft 2/1996, S. 421-454.

14 Zitiert nach Gidal, Nachum T.: Die Juden in Deutschland. Von der Römerzeit bis zur Weimarer Republik, Köln: Könenmann Verlag 1997, S. 199.

15 Toury, Jacob: Emanzipation und Assimilation, in: Neues Lexikon des Judentums, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Verlag 1992.

16 Buber, Martin: Das dialogische Prinzip. 4. Aufl., Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider 1979, S. 283f.

17 Vgl. Taylor, Charles: Multikulturalismus und die Politik der Anerkennung, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1993.

18 Vgl. Schiffauer, Werner: Migration und kulturelle Differenz, Berlin: Büro der Ausländerbeauftragten des Senats von Berlin 2002.

19 Vgl. Becker, Jörg und Calagan, Nesrin: Türkische Fernsehnutzung in Herne, in: Meier-Braun, Karl-Heinz und Kilgus, Martin A. (Hrsg.): Integration durch Politik und Medien?, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag 2002, S. 75-102.

Elizabeth Poole British Newspaper Coverage after September 11th and the War in Iraq

This paper examines coverage of British Muslims in two British broadsheet newspapers from 2003. The aim is to compare these outputs to previous coverage (from 1994 onwards) to determine whether the 'framework of reporting' altered in any considerable way following September 11th and the war in Iraq. Using a quantitative method of content analysis I will draw on my own previous research (Poole, 2002) to measure the attention and importance given to particular activities involving British Muslims.

This approach can reveal when and how British Muslims are newsworthy, providing a useful cultural indicator at a particular historical moment.

The newspapers examined were the Guardian, The Times and their sister Sunday papers, The Observer and The Sunday Times, chosen for their differing political/ideological stances, the Guardian being left of centre and The Times conservative. The Times is owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International and has a current daily circulation of just over 600,000 whilst the Guardian is controlled by The Scott Trust, a non-profit making organization, and sells about 350,000 copies daily (Alden, 2004).

All articles from 2003, in these papers, that explicitly referred to Muslims or Islam were selected for analysis. The aim was to identify the type of stories in which Muslims are categorized, revealing assumptions made in relation to these groups of people. Previous research, examining the representation of Muslims from around the world in the British press (Richardson, 2004), has

found a framework of reporting which centres on conflict and violence. The focus on British Muslims allows us to examine whether the local context (i.e. Britain) allows for more variety in representation. However, I also included an analysis of the representation of non-British Muslims and their activities in Britain to allow for an examination of difference nuances based on 'foreign' signifiers.

To summarise, the aim was to identify the sort of material and patterns of coverage from 1994 to 2003 and in particular to determine whether September 11th and the war in Iraq had had any impact on the reporting of Muslims in Britain.

Global coverage

Firstly I will provide data of coverage of global Islam over this period in order to contextualize the British situation. The data illustrates that the main significance and focus on Islam is and continues to be global. The extensive coverage of global events will be most significant in the public's awareness of Muslims. There was a huge increase in coverage of both global and British Muslims in 2003¹. Coverage of international events almost doubled and of home events more than doubled. The war in Iraq, of salience to the British press, has clearly had an impact here. It is significant, however, that this has also had an effect on the percentage of articles about British Muslims. This rose from 12 per cent in 1994-6 to 20 per cent in 1999 to 25 per cent in 2003, a quarter of the total coverage of Islam in

1 Global refers to total coverage of Islam and Muslims in these papers.

these papers. Whilst this is a continuation of a pattern that has been developing in the last ten years, there now seems to be a clear correlation between the reporting of world events involving Muslims and British Muslim communities. This is further demonstrated by the increase in coverage in March (when war broke out in Iraq) of both global and home events. This month records the highest number of articles on Muslims in 2003, both at home and abroad, in both papers.

Equally significant and a further continuing trend is that The Times has now overtaken the Guardian in terms of the amount of coverage. I have previously argued that the Guardian's more extensive coverage of Islam has been based on a more accommodating and tolerant approach to the Other which allows space for alternative voices and interests, whilst the more traditional, establishment news values of The Times means it is less likely to take an interest in items with less cultural proximity (Islam) unless they have extreme news value. I would now argue that the events of September 11th and the war in Iraq have given Islam that kudos to the conservative press. As we shall see, these events have allowed for the construction of Muslims within a more limited and negative framework which is more likely to be reinforced in the conservative press.

Domestic News

This section explores press coverage of British Islam. The table shows a breakdown of articles from 2003.

I will focus, in this section, on the prominent topics of news items about British Muslims. This focus allows for an identification of the type of material presented to the public on Islam and, therefore, the likely concerns and agenda of the prevailing majority (ethnic) groups. Topics are selected on the basis of their news value and carried for a given time depending on considered importance. The pressures of the market and limited space mean some issues are marginalized or excluded from debate whilst others are always approached in the same way. Increased coverage then, implies that an issue has some salience or

Table 1: Coverage of British Islam, 2003

| Newspaper | No of Articles | % of total articles |
|------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| The Guardian | 314 | 33% |
| The Times | 388 | 41% |
| The Sunday Times | 90 | 9.4% |
| The Observer | 83 | 8.7% |
| Total | 875 | 100 |

Table 2: Significant topics in 2003 *The Times*

| Topic | Total number of articles |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Terrorism | 110 |
| Politics | 47 |
| War in Iraq (reaction to) | 45 |
| Education | 41 |
| Discrimination | 34 |
| Race Relations | 23 |
| Media | 16 |
| Relationships | 12 |
| Crime | 11 |
| Asylum | 11 |
| Total | 350 |
| % of total articles in 2003 | 75 |

Table 3: Significant topics in 2003 *Guardian*

| Topic | Total number of articles |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Terrorism | 147 |
| War in Iraq (reaction to) | 43 |
| Politics | 39 |
| Education | 30 |
| Finance | 18 |
| Crime | 17 |
| Relations to Christianity | 17 |
| Rituals | 14 |
| Relationships | 13 |
| Belief | 13 |
| Total | 364 |
| % of total articles in 2003 | 74.8 |

importance to the interests of powerful groups in a particular social context. Islam's ability to be newsworthy relies on established notions of who Muslims are and what they represent to (interpretations of) British culture.

The data presented here reveals a continuation of the narrow framework of reporting and the close correspondence in the types of issues covered between papers, indicating the assumptions (cultural consensus) being made about what constitutes news in relation to Islam. This restrictive representation is demonstrated by the fact that differentiated groups of people can now be defined in terms of 35 specific topics (only articles 19 falling in the Other category). Whilst this is a reduction from the 41 topics present in 1994-1996, it appears to be an improvement from 1997 and 1999 when the number of categories of news involving Muslims fell substantially. However, as we shall see, through an examination of the ten most frequently occurring topics from the years 1994-6, 1997, 1999 and 2003, although there may have been an increase in the variety of topics occurring, there is an increase in the percentage of articles occurring in the top ten topics, which, in 2003 amounted to 75 per cent of coverage. There continues, therefore, to be a strong clustering around a few specific subjects which we will now examine more closely.

It is clear from these tables that there is a consistency in the coverage of British Muslims over the whole period analyzed. Whilst the frequency of coverage may alter slightly from year to year five topics dominate. These are politics, relationships, education, crime and extremism (termed fundamentalism 1994-2000, terrorism in 2003 due to the shift in emphasis in coverage). I will now examine the most significant changes in the treatment of these topics in 2003 from previous coverage.

Terrorism

The most obvious and significant finding is not only the appearance of the category 'terrorism' but the amount of space given to it. I used the term fundamentalism previously to denote ex-

Table 4: Significant topics in 1999

| Topic | Guardian | Times | Total |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Fundamentalism | 55 | 42 | 97 |
| Politics | 12 | 19 | 31 |
| Relations to Christianity | 13 | 11 | 24 |
| Relationships | 10 | 12 | 22 |
| Crime | 6 | 14 | 20 |
| Education | 15 | 6 | 21 |
| Immigration | 11 | 8 | 19 |
| Racism | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| Nation of Islam | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| Belief | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Freedom of Speech | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Rushdie | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Discrimination | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Royalty | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 153 | 135 | 288 |
| Percentage of total articles in 1999 | 69.8 | 70.6 | 70.2 |
| Total articles in 1999 | 219 | 191 | 410 |

tremism, a term which was once used by the press but has been notably replaced by the more explicit categorization since September 11th. This shift occurred immediately following September 11th when coverage converged dramatically around three major topics: terrorism, counter terrorism measures and discrimination against Muslims (Poole, 2002). We can see in the time that has passed since then that the association of Muslims with terrorism has concretized. Whilst this was clearly the prevailing image of global Islam previous to September 11th, my own research found that, in particular, British Muslims were not attributed this label so blatantly. Rather it was Muslims in Britain, exiles, who were categorized as extremists. Suggestions of covert activities such as raising funds for political groups abroad were made, as were links to the wider Muslim community but the physical threat remained at a distance. There has now been a significant shift in the definition of British Muslims as terrorists.

Accounting for 24 per cent of coverage in the Guardian and 30 per cent of coverage in The Times, this also corresponds with my argument that

coverage in The Times has risen since the framework of representation fits more neatly with established perceptions of Muslims. This is also evident if we break this category down further. Table 7 shows how The Times focuses more on extremism, the jailed cleric Abu Hamza and terrorism in general whilst the Guardian has less coverage of these subjects and more on counter terrorism and articles relating to September 11th. These articles were more supportive towards Muslims as well as most focused on the plight of British Muslims held in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The articles questioned the legality of holding the prisoners without trial and featured interviews with the captives (on release) and their families.

The number of articles featuring cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri, who has now been detained for conspiring with terrorists, is also significant. Just becoming apparent in the press in 1997, he is now the most prominently featured UK Muslim in the British press. He is regularly a feature of the tabloids' front pages and his demonization parallels that of the media's global Islamic monster, Osama Bin Laden. This works to make the attri-

butes associated with him easier to digest. Given that these center on his appearance (freak), expressions of hatred and violence, and radicalism, this has significant implications for the way British Muslims are perceived.

Of course defining activities as 'terrorist' promotes a different kind of solution to responses to other crimes. It allows for the detention of people without trial. Asians in Britain have experienced the largest increase in on the spot searches by police from 744 in 2001-2 to 2989 in 2003-3 (The Independent, 3rd July 2004). This type of coverage also creates the conditions necessary for more repressive legislation apparent in acts such as the British Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Bill (November 2001).

War in Iraq

This was also a new category in 2003, referring to articles that covered the reaction of British Muslims to events in Iraq. Many of these articles feature the protests, campaigns and marches against the war and so construct Muslims positively and negatively. Positive articles sympathize

Table 5: Significant topics in 1997

| Topic | The Times | | The Guardian | | Total Frequency |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | Frequency | % | Frequency | % | |
| Politics | 52 | 27.5 | 34 | 17 | 86 |
| Criminality | 27 | 14.2 | 40 | 20 | 67 |
| Relationships | 17 | 8.9 | 24 | 12 | 41 |
| Education | 20 | 10.5 | 11 | 5.5 | 31 |
| Fundamentalism | 9 | 4.7 | 19 | 9.5 | 28 |
| Royalty | 15 | 7.9 | 7 | 3.5 | 22 |
| Censorsh./Rushdie | 14 | 7.4 | 14 | 7 | 28 |
| Multiculturalism | 6 | 3.1 | 12 | 6 | 18 |
| Christianity | 12 | 6.3 | 5 | 2.5 | 17 |
| Conversion | 10 | 5.2 | 2 | 1 | 12 |
| Discrimination | 4 | 2.1 | 5 | 2.5 | 9 |
| Total | 186 | 98.4 | 173 | 87.3 | 359 |
| Total articles on British Islam 1997 | 189 | 100 | 198 | 100 | 387 |

Table 6: Significant topics in 1994-6

| Topic | Total | % |
|-----------------------|------------|-------------|
| Education | 128 | 15.2 |
| Relationships | 60 | 7.1 |
| Fundamentalism | 57 | 6.8 |
| Politics | 54 | 6.4 |
| Crime | 43 | 5.1 |
| Prince Charles | 41 | 4.8 |
| Media | 41 | 4.8 |
| Belief | 33 | 3.9 |
| Freed. of Speech | 28 | 3.3 |
| Immigration | 25 | 2.9 |
| Discrimination | 21 | 2.5 |
| Total | 531 | 63.4 |
| Total articles 1994-6 | 837 | |

with Muslims perspectives and have a certain political expediency as they are used to criticize Government policy (mainly in the Guardian). However, coverage tends to assume one Muslim perspective as both interested and opposed to the war (the group categorization homogenizing a diversity of people and their opinions). These articles, therefore, place Muslims in a conflictual framework and, as with terrorism, associate Muslims with the more dominant global image. Representing them at odds with Government policy also raises questions of loyalty a feature of coverage in the last Gulf war (Werbner, 1994). In fact, the strong ideological rhetorical approach to the war on terror, 'you are with us or with them' of the coalition's leadership functions to locate any opposition as verging on the criminal.

Previous analysis of coverage shows the tendency to link British Muslims to world affairs, in fact coverage often results in response to an international event as seen here (Poole, 2002). It could be argued then that this is a way of offering space to Muslim voices whilst still representing them as troublemakers. It also has the effect of homogenizing Muslims, linking hostilities abroad to Muslims in Britain and again raising questions regarding the enemy within. Foreign values and practices are seen to be transferred to British society through migration whilst Muslims from outside the UK dictate the agenda of those within it.

Examples of the positive/negative binary in coverage resulting from both the war in Iraq and September 11th includes in the Guardian: 'Muslims voices: We must continue protesting' (3rd April, p. 23). This article features the responses of a variety of different Muslims to the war in Iraq, firmly positioning them as British Muslims (with their allegiances to Britain) whilst also opposing the policy. This approach is accompanied by providing space for Muslim writers. However some of these articles, by highlighting issues affecting the community, also reinforce dominant ideas about Muslims in Britain: 'Young, British and ready to fight: New laws and the war have pushed our Islamist radicals underground' (Fuad Nahdi 1st April, p. 24). This more stable image is

Table 7: Coverage of terrorism 2003

| | Times | Guardian | Total | % |
|----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Terrorism | | | | |
| (general) | 85 | 45 | 130 | 47.8 |
| Directly related to | | | | |
| September 11th | 14 | 32 | 46 | 16.9 |
| Counter terrorism | | | | |
| Measures | 5 | 9 | 14 | 5.1 |
| Cleric Abu | | | | |
| Hamza | 27 | 13 | 40 | 14.7 |
| Other extremists | 7 | 3 | 10 | 3.7 |
| Raids on terrorists | 4 | 16 | 20 | 7.3 |
| Terrorism | | | | |
| in mosques | 5 | - | 5 | 1.8 |
| Richard Reid, | | | | |
| Shoe-bomber | 5 | 2 | 7 | 2.6 |
| Total | 152 | 120 | 272 | 100 |

more likely to find a place in the coverage of The Times; 'The new enemy within' (6 December, p. 19) warns 'They were born in Britain, work hard, stay out of trouble and don't stand out in the crowd. And one of them may be the next suicide bomber' advancing the notion of 'home-grown sleepers' in the UK. Muslims are warned that they should be 'intolerant of intolerance' and welcome the greater surveillance of their communities (3 December, p. 21) hence providing a justification for this whilst appearing supportive. This article also gives the appearance of making the distinction between the vast majority of Muslims and the few extremists whilst negating it in the same breath.

Politics

Politics, as with the categories above, has a high news value for the press in general terms so it is inevitable that coverage of this topic will be high whatever the subject under investigation. Previously reporting on Muslims' attempts to get selected for political parties and the substantial coverage, in 1997, of the fraud charges and trial of Muslim MP Mohammed Sarwar, these stories do still have a presence. However, most of these stories are about the loss of support for the Go-

vernment from the Muslim community following the war in Iraq. They, therefore, operate as a way of undermining the government and its policies towards Iraq for the Guardian and more generally for The Times.

Education

Both politics and education are key areas of struggle for minorities wishing to be accepted within a wider conceptualization of Britishness. Hence they are sites of contestation over what this means. I have illustrated previously how, for The Times, this has meant preserving a more traditional Christian ethos within education whilst the Guardian has adopted a more pluralistic approach which can negativise Islam in its criticism of religion resulting in an exclusive liberalism.

This has been played out through three prominent topics, the nature and role of religious education in schools (1994), the activities of Islamic groups (often constructed negatively) in Higher Education (1996) and the funding of Muslims schools (1997). All these stories continue to be featured in equal measure in 2003. This illustrates the continuing perception of the importance of education in the transmission of values (and the struggle over what 'British' values are) to all groups involved. Previously presented within a limited and comparative (ethnocentric) framework, the attention given by The Times in 2003 to Christianity, rituals and belief shows a continuing framework of representation whilst the space allocated to discrimination by the Guardian suggests a more supportive approach.

Relationships and Crime

I am analyzing these two categories together because, in line with previous findings, the two continue to be closely related in coverage of British Muslims. Analysis of reporting 1994-7 showed that the relationships of Muslims were mainly featured when a non-Muslim converted as a result of this. This may feature a non-Bri-

tish Muslim with a British subject who then converted to Islam or an illicit union between a British Muslim and non-Muslim without parental approval. They therefore focus on cultural difference. Increasingly from 1997 the focus shifted to arranged marriages and with this, the predominant story of 2003, honour killings where the relationship of usually a female Muslim and non-Muslim brings the family into disrepute and results in their murder.

Whilst these incidences are rare the huge focus on honour killings in the press suggests to a reading public that Muslim families are dysfunctional, that misogyny is rife in Islam and that pride is more important than familial relations. This fits with a (mis)perception of Islamic cultural practices which are restrictive and abhorrent to a modern liberal society. Islamic law that governs relationships lead to illegal activities which are deemed cultural atrocities. Muslim values are represented at odds with 'British' values, which questions Muslims ability to fit in.

This locates the problem as emanating from within the community. These are dominant themes throughout coverage and are reinforced through a variety of topics. Coverage of crime is higher in The Times than the Guardian. Crime, like politics, has a high news value but its association with deviance means it has frequently been linked to different ethnic minority groups in British news coverage (Hartmann et al, 1974; Troyna, 1981, van Dijk, 1991). Its news value ensures that Muslims who are involved in crime will more likely make the news than other activities, promoting the idea of a criminal culture. It also makes stories such as relationships, with less news value, more salient. However, it is the particular types of criminal activity in which Muslims are involved that makes them newsworthy. This usually stems from an orientalist perspective (sexual deviance, domestic abuse etc).

Coverage of crime is down on previous years but, of course, the focus on terrorism outweighs this change. It should be noted, however, that some of the articles on crime feature crimes against Muslims, the desecration of Muslim graves for example.

Discrimination

I have included discrimination (against Muslims) in the analysis (see Tables 2-6), even if coverage has been low, to allow for a comparison with the reporting of other topics. What is most significant here is that a topic which has been relatively marginal before is now a topic of significance in the Guardian as is its attention to race relations in the UK (when discussing Muslims in Britain). This is a positive development in representation given that previously the Guardian, whilst showing sympathy towards ethnic minorities in general, has often indirectly negativised and/or excluded Muslims from discussions of racism due to the specific religious identification of Muslims (resulting from its secular, liberal stance). It now more regularly debates issues relating to national identity and inclusivity. It should also be noted that The Times' coverage is also higher on this topic to previous years (10 articles on discrimination, 12 on race relations). The term Islamophobia, however, is barely visible in 2003, with only one article on this topic in this year (there were 40 from 1994-6).

Further analysis of coverage

We have seen that coverage in the Guardian in 2003 appears more supportive, with 149 articles (29 percent) reported within a positive framework (war in Iraq, discrimination, race relations). Articles about the media in the Guardian (Table 2), in the main, review the way the war in Iraq has been reported. The Times continues to focus more on faith, relating the beliefs and rituals of Islam to Christianity (Table 3). Articles on rituals, in this year, focused on government plans to ban ritual slaughter. A faith perspective sometimes favours the Muslim community, if the belief is in line with that of the paper. For example in 1999/2000 the Muslim community was represented positively, in allegiance with other faith groups, in the conservative press in their challenge to government plans to withdraw Clause 28 forbidding the promotion of homosexuality in schools. In 2003, as representatives spoke out in

favour of gay rights, this was represented favourably by the Guardian. However, previous research has shown how (Muslim) belief is used as a key to understanding all Muslim behaviour. This is seen to be the root cause of conflict and the difficulty of Muslims in adapting to majority culture. Hence the minority group's beliefs are problematized whilst dominant values remain unquestioned.

Which topics have shown a decrease in coverage? The most substantial decrease, a topic which has been declining since 1999, is that of Rushdie and freedom of speech. Rushdie is no longer as topical especially since the fatwa was lifted in September 1998. Freedom of speech was barely covered despite legislation on religious discrimination being passed in 2003. The two have been strongly debated together throughout the nineties. I would argue that the pressures of space mean that if the themes that are often debated within one topic can be debated under a more topical event then this will be marginalized. In this case terrorism has overshadowed other coverage and issues of loyalty, democracy, threat and conformity can be raised (elsewhere) within the parameters of counter terrorism measures.

For example, these themes can also be discussed from the different positions of the papers in the debate about ID (identity) cards which emerged after September 11th. Royalty, which mainly focused on Prince Charles' support for Islam and where coverage was used to deride both him and his beliefs, also barely appears. This is again due to topicality but also relates to his greater credibility and management of his image since the death of Princess Diana in 1997.

Conclusion

So what conclusions can we draw from this analysis? It is clear that there is a continuation in the framework of reporting of British Muslims since 1994. The newsworthiness of Islam is consistent with previous frameworks of understanding and demonstrates how stories will only be selected if they fit with an idea of who Muslims are. Not only is there a consensus of news values but

newspapers provide a particular interpretative framework for defining events. Unfortunately this means a continuation in the themes associated with the topics coverage. These being:

1) That Muslims are a threat to security in the UK due to their involvement in deviant activities.

2) That Muslims are a threat to British 'mainstream' values and thus provoke integrative concerns.

3) That there are inherent cultural differences between Muslims and the host community which create tensions in interpersonal relations.

4) That Muslims are increasingly making their presence felt in the public sphere (demonstrated through the topics of politics, education and discrimination). (Poole, 2002: 84).

The continuation of this framework represents the unresolved anxieties around these topics and the continuing struggle of all groups to establish hegemony.

Whilst the variety of coverage of British Muslims has to some extent been maintained – and there have been positive developments in the Guardian, with its attention to the increased discrimination Muslims experience due to September 11th – this oppositional interpretation has been

marginalized by the dominance of the conservative interpretative framework. The huge shift to focus on terrorism now unifies coverage within the orientalist global construction of Islam. One image dominates, that of 'Islamic terrorism'. It would appear then that whilst Western/US driven policy is now under question for various reasons, these powerful groups have been successful in maintaining a hegemony of ideas of Islam, sustaining 'the myth of confrontation' (Esposito, 1992). For example, policy in Iraq has been under fire from various social/political groups and yet media coverage continues to offer us images of an anti-modern, politically unstable, undemocratic, often barbaric and chaotic existence consistent with the now widely-established new foreign framework (Dahlgren and Chakrapani, 1982).

The representations of Muslims in the UK are now closer to the undifferentiated global aggressor which theory postulates. The more persistent the framework, the more indicative it is of an essential Muslimness and is in danger of becoming fixed. These events then define for the public what it means to be a Muslim and then Muslims worldwide can be managed through social and aggressive policies.

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Stéphane Lathion

Islam et musulmans en Europe – les défis de la coexistence

Destins liés

La réalité de la présence musulmane sur le continent européen ne se limite pas à l'Espagne médiévale. Elle existe aussi au IX^e siècle dans ce qui forme la Hongrie actuelle, en Sicile ou encore en Macédoine et en Bosnie depuis le début du X^e siècle. Ces faits sont généralement oubliés. Les immigrants du dernier demi-siècle, originaires de pays musulmans, interrogent désormais directement les sociétés d'Europe. Le phénomène n'est plus marginal. Il s'accroît. On estime qu'il y a quinze millions de musulmans en Europe occidentale, dont plus de 5 millions en France, plus de 3 millions en Allemagne, plus de 2 millions au Royaume-Uni notamment¹.

Cette présence doit être prise en compte dans toute élaboration de l'avenir de l'Europe, afin d'obliger les autorités à repenser leurs relations avec l'islam. Edgar Pisani écrit avec raison que nous ne pouvons «... (ni) rejeter l'Islam, ni prétendre le réduire, ni jouer avec lui. Nous devons nous efforcer de trouver avec lui une règle du jeu commune»². L'histoire de l'Europe est faite de rencontres, de passages, d'héritages croisés. Elle se confond souvent avec celle de la Méditerranée, cette mer toujours mobile, vivant du va-et-vient constant entre ses deux rives. L'identité de l'Europe est une superposition de fragmentations et d'unité. Cette diversité est l'essence de son espace social. Il faut peut-être privilégier ce qui est commun dans la diversité, afin qu'émerge une identité et une citoyenneté européennes. Il y a des musulmans en Europe, il y a des Européens musulmans : l'islam est devenu incontournable dans la construction européenne. Les musulmans ont leur rôle à jouer. Ils doivent faire l'effort de connaître et de comprendre l'évolution de l'Occident,

et de voir les aspects positifs qu'elle garantit à l'islam et aux musulmans, à commencer par la possibilité de pratiquer leur foi sans entraves et dans un climat serein. Ils doivent prendre conscience, ensuite, des acquis indéniables dont ils bénéficient en Europe pour ce qui concerne le respect de certains droits fondamentaux, et les utiliser pour faire entendre leur voix. Ils doivent enfin expliquer leur religion et définir un projet en vue d'agir sur leur quotidien de citoyens.

Les Européens, pour leur part, doivent oublier leur sentiment de supériorité et reconnaître la variété des cultures qui composent l'Europe d'aujourd'hui. Prise de conscience rendue difficile par les obstacles auxquels elle se heurte : une crise socio-économique qui facilite les sentiments xénophobes et encourage l'idée que la coexistence avec l'autre n'apporte que des effets négatifs. Si beaucoup restent convaincus de la possibilité d'un enrichissement mutuel au contact de l'autre, il faudra du temps et un effort concerté pour convaincre les sceptiques des bénéfices possibles d'une société multiculturelle. Un autre facteur important de la peur de l'islam en Occident est l'attitude des médias et de quelques hommes politiques qui, loin de dédramatiser la situation, l'enveniment quotidiennement. Dans la mesure où ils préfèrent le sensationnel à l'explication et à l'analyse, les médias faillissent à leur mission, qui est de rechercher la vérité au moyen d'informations objectives et honnêtes.

Les écueils pour une rencontre

Toutes les constitutions européennes garantissent la liberté de croyance et de pratique. Ce faisant,