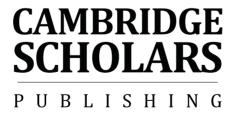# Socio-Cultural Construction of Recognition

Socio-Cultural Construction of Recognition: The Discursive Representation of Islam and Muslims in the British Christian News Media

By

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PUBLISHING

To Alexandra 'Maxela' Faimau, *ngwanake*,
who inspires me
to appreciate the beauty of life
and the dignity of diversity.

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PREFACE

In what ways are Islam and Muslims represented in the British Christian media? How do such representations contribute to the (mis)recognition of Islam and Muslims? This book responds to these questions by discursively exploring various discourses in the British Christian news media that lead to the representations of Islam and Muslim, from the perspective of the political theory of recognition. This is indicated by the amount of documents and also the qualitative representations that focus on the discourses of interfaith dialogue, Islamic terrorism, Christian persecution and British Muslims. These discourses suggest that the representations of Islam and Muslims take multiple forms. Such multiple forms indicate how complex cultural and religious encounter is, and how complex the British Christian news media representations of Islam and Muslims are.

Analysis presented in this book shows that the representations of Islam and Muslims follow three scenarios. Firstly, by appealing to the sameness, an equivalential identity is created by weakening internal differences, while articulating the equivalent elements in the relationships between Islam and Christianity. Secondly, by absolutising the boundaries, differences become non-negotiable boundary markings through which Islam and Muslims are represented as a 'total other'. Thirdly, the production of 'another other' occurs when the 'near other' is represented by narrowing the boundaries, following the argument that engaging in dialogue with Islam is a falsification of Christianity. Consequently, those who take the road of dialogue are represented as 'another other'.

Since my analysis is developed in the light of the political theory of recognition, I also argue that the political theory of recognition provides a more dialogical way in the study of socio-cultural representations than other post-colonial discourses, because it offers a frame within which to deal with both the 'similarities' and the 'differences'. Here, recognition opens the door for the repositioning and the expanding of boundaries, and misrecognition may provoke a move towards the absolutising of boundaries or the production of 'another other.' Employing this theory, however, one needs to further explore the difference between respect and recognition, the dynamics of dialogue and recognition, the place of socio-

cultural memory and the questions of risk and danger, trust and confidence.

The study presented in this book was part of my doctoral research project, conducted at the University of Bristol in the United Kingdom from 2007 to 2011. Some portions of chapters 3 and 5 of this book have appeared in my previous journal articles, particularly in *Journalism Studies* (2011) and *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (2013).

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the University of Bristol for awarding me an Overseas Research Scholarship (ORS) award that enabled me to conduct this study. My gratitude goes to the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) for sponsoring and financing my first year of the MPhil/PhD programme. I am greatly indebted to Professor Tariq Modood who oversaw my doctoral research and offered me invaluable advice, comments and suggestions. I am grateful to Professor Thomas Osborne, Professor Paul Statham, Professor Gavin D'Costa, Dr Kieran Flanagan and Dr John Fox for their intellectual support that shaped my initial ideas and arguments. My appreciation goes to Dr Elizabeth Poole and Dr Terese O'Toole for offering me helpful suggestions during my PhD viva in 2011. I would like to thank Professor Adam Seligman, the Director of the International Summer School on Religion and Public Life (ISSRPL), for introducing me to the practical pedagogy of living together differently. I also thank Dr Owen Nkobi Pansiri, Dr Jonatan Lassa, Dr Dominggus Elcid Lie, Dr David Montgomery and Dr Hanna Wei for the discussion I had with them. I am grateful for the support I received from my colleagues at the Department of Sociology, University of Botswana.

I wish to thank Marion Morgan for her careful reading of my drafts. She also shaped my arguments through our regular discussions on a great number of issues related to this book. I would like to thank my immediate superiors for their encouragement when I was still a member of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD), particularly Rev. Felix Kadek Sunartha SVD and Rev. Martin Anggut SVD. My appreciation also goes to my friends, particularly Nico Lobo Ratu, Rudy Montadas, Mike Egan, Jijimon Alakalam, Beny Mali, Frans De Sales Lake, Benignus Wego, Modesta Lingga and Emanuel Prasson Krova, who have made my time of studies easier through their friendship. Finally, I must thank Lynne Mosomane, Lesego Mentari Faimau, my mother, brothers and sisters whose vital support has been most encouraging. They have been a constant source of inspiration. Alexandra 'Maxela' Faimau has inspired me to appreciate the beauty of life and dignity of diversity. To her, I dedicate this piece of work.

FOREWORD

TARIQ MODOOD

Gabriel Faimau's study of the representation of Islam and Muslims in some of the Christian media in Britain comes up with a surprising conclusion. It finds that Muslims are more sympathetically and less negatively portrayed there than in the mainstream British newspapers (as revealed by various studies). One of the reasons this is surprising is that there is a general image that religious groups, such as Christians and Muslims, are hostile to each other, and it is the 'secularists' that maintain the peace. In a country like Britain, apparently the group that religious minorities have most to worry about are Christians, especially Anglicans, who want to continue to hold on to their privileges, while secularists, so the story goes, being more fair-minded and neutral between religions, are the main hope for Muslims if they do not wish to be dominated by Christians.

This image and the self-serving secularist arguments that feed off it are far from the truth. A feature of English society is the adversarial culture which characterises its politics, law courts, industrial relations, interrogative journalism, public intellectuals and even academia. Hence it is quite striking that an aspect of modern England/Britain is a sense that different religions, meaning in particular people of different religions should not be too critical or disdainful of each other, nor too self-promoting. Political activists may be as condemnatory of each other as they choose, and secularists should keep alive the health of our culture by being offensive to religious people. But religious people should treat each other with respect, certainly civility, and co-exist in harmony. A source of this is a memory of religious strife (religion having caused the only civil war and regicide in English history) but it has come to have a positive side too. Britain has a culture of Christian ecumenicism, which more recently has developed into inter-faith dialogue and cooperation, most of which is not on theological or metaphysical subtleties but on civic and political matters such as calming community tensions and campaigning for anti-discrimination legislation. This – in contrast to the alarm and fear that went viral on the social media – was displayed in the inter-religious civic

solidarity after the murder of the British soldier, Drummer Lee Rigby, in London in May, 2013. This fostering of inter-faith mutual awareness and harmony, however, goes beyond religious leadership or indeed people of faith, and is certainly not a private matter. Secular schools, often staffed by agnostics and atheists, who struggle to find staff willing to meet the statutory duty of providing daily Christian worship enthusiastically display art and stories from Islam or Hinduism, and celebrate Eid and Diwali as well as Christmas, as do some local governments. While there is considerable controversy around the niqab and the burka, the presumption is that religious people, with whatever signs of faith they feel obliged to display, have to be welcomed into all the institutions of society and state. The Jewish kippa, the Sikh turban and the Islamic hijab have been incorporated into the uniforms of the armed services, the police forces and the apparel of judges amongst others.

It will have been noticed that in describing certain sensibilities about religion in the last paragraph, I have gone beyond describing the attitudes of Anglicans or Christians or religious people but describe the broader culture. Indeed, this broad culture of toleration, good-will and mutual respect is not simply a product of religion and is not only not confined to religious people but is at least partly shaped by an English or British secularism.[1] By 'secularism' I do not mean anything to do with atheism or metaphysics but the political culture; nor do I mean a political ideology, rather, the *practice* of political secularism. This historical practice in which, explicitly or implicitly, organised religion is treated as a potential *public good* or *national resource* (not just a private benefit), which the state can in some circumstances assist to realise. This can take the form of an input into a legislative forum, such as the House of Lords, on moral and welfare issues; but also to being social partners to the state in the delivery of education, health and care services; building social capital; and churches belonging to 'the people'. So that even those who do not attend them, or even sign up to their doctrines, feel they have a right to use them for weddings and funerals.

Faced with an emergent multi-faith situation or where there is a political will to incorporate previously marginalised faiths and sects and challenge the privileged status of some religions, the context-sensitive and conservationist response may be to pluralise the state-religion link rather than sever it. This indeed is what is happening in Britain and elsewhere despite critics on both the Left and the Right, especially among the radical secularists and the Islamophobic populists. In relation to the British case one can see this pluralizing or multiculturalising in a number of incremental, ad hoc and experimental steps. For example, some years ago

Prince Charles, the heir to the throne and to the office of Supreme Governor of the Church of England, let it be known he would as a monarch prefer the title 'Defender of Faith' to the historic title 'Defender of *the* Faith'.[2] More recently, in 2004, the Queen used her Christmas television and radio broadcast (an important national occasion, especially for the older generation, on the most important Christian day of the year) to affirm the religious diversity of Britain. Her message was, in the words of Grace Davie: 'Religious diversity is something which enriches society; it should be seen as a strength, not a threat; the broadcast moreover was accompanied by shots of the Queen visiting a Sikh temple and a Muslim center. It is important to put these remarks in context. The affirmation of diversity as such is not a new idea in British society; what is new is the gradual recognition that religious differences should be foregrounded in such affirmations.'[3]

If such examples are regarded as merely symbolic then one should note how British governments have felt the need to create multi-faith consultative bodies. The Conservatives created an Inner Cities Religious Council in 1992, chaired by a junior minister, which was replaced by New Labour in 2006 with a body with a much broader remit: the Faith Communities Consultative Council. Moreover, the new Department of Communities and Local Government, which is represented in the Cabinet, has a division devoted to faith communities. The Coalition government that came to power in 2010 has maintained this. In fact, going further, Prime Minister Cameron, who has confessed to not being a steadfast believer, recently made a major speech arguing that Britons should not be shy of asserting that Britain is a Christian country.[4] While many secularists protested, the speech was welcomed by the chair of the Mosque and Community Affairs Committee of the Muslim Council of Britain, Sheikh Ibrahim Mogra.[5]

This idea that religion is beneficial both for indviduals and society, then, is not a view confined to government and is far from being a 'top-down' view. Indeed, the newly established minority religions, including Muslims, have an attitude of respect for religion in general and not just for their own faith and so contribute to the culture of religious toleration, mutual respect and public institutional accommodation. Reporting on a Gallup World Poll, Mogahed and Nyiri write of Muslims in Paris and London that their 'expectations of respect for Islam and its symbols extends to an expectation of respect for religion in general' and add that recently 'Shahid Malik, a British Muslim MP, even complained about what he called the "policy wonks" who wished to strip the public sphere of all Christian religious symbols'.[6] I think the presence of a 'weak'

Anglican establishment (not merely symbolic) that is willing to take its mission to serve the country seriously enough to want to incorporate new minority faith communities in its vision of the country and its sense of responsibilities is a potential resource for multiculturalism and the integration of Muslims in Britain. Faimau's study suggests that a positive view of Muslims is more likely to be found in Anglican and Christian media than it is in the mainstream print media and so an interfaith understanding may indeed be experienced by some as a Christian duty.

Notes

[1] T. Modood, *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*, Second Edition, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2013.

[2] D. Dimbley, *Prince of Wales: A Biography*, London, Little Brown, 1994, p. 528.

[3] G. Davie, 'Pluralism, tolerance and democracy: Theory and practice in Europe', in T. Banchoff, ed., *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 232-33.

[4] See http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/king-james-bible

[5] See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-16231223

[6] D. Mogahed and Z. Nyiri, 'Reinventing integration: Muslims in the West', *Harvard International Review*, volume 29, number 2, 2007, p. 2. http://www.harvardir.org/articles/1619/

INTRODUCTION

1. Theoretical and Empirical Challenge

Over the past few decades, media coverage has emerged as one of our primary sources of knowledge about Islam and Muslims (Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004, 2007). More than just being a medium for distributing knowledge about Islam and Muslims, media coverage carries a heavyweight influence in terms of framing and shaping our knowledge and, to a certain extent, discourses and attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. As early as 1981, Edward W. Said published his book, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, which captured public attention, particularly in academic and policy circles, concerning how Islam and Muslims are constructed and represented by the media (Abu-Laban, 2001; Brennan, 2001). In this work, Said conceded that media coverage has portrayed Islam negatively, and closely associated Muslims with militancy, danger and anti-Western sentiment. According to Said, media coverage "has given consumers of news the sense that they have understood Islam without at the same time intimating to them that a great deal in this energetic coverage is based on far from objective material" (Said, 1997[1981]: li). As a result, projection of Muslims as the new dangerous enemy and 'the subversive other' to the West is unavoidable. Islam then is perceived as "a trojan horse in the heart of Europe with a deadly cargo of 'fundamentalist' religiosity" (Lewis, 2002: 1). In 1997, the Runnymede Trust echoed a similar tendency of negativising Islam and stereotyping Muslims through the publication of *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All,* through which Islamophobia refers to "dread or hatred of Islam – and, therefore, to fear or dislike of all or most Muslims" (Runnymede Trust, 1997: 1).

The events of 11 September 2001 have accelerated the media portrayal of Islam and Muslims. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, there have been a growing number of studies and publications, particularly concerning the British media representations of Islam and Muslims, as seen in the works of John E. Richardson (2001, 2004, 2006, 2007), Elizabeth Poole (2002, 2004), Ameli et al. (2007), Amir Saeed (2007) and Moore et al. (2008). As far as a theoretical framework is concerned, these studies have relied

heavily on theories such as Orientalism, clash of civilisations, cultural racism and Islamophobia.

All these studies have focused on the Western media representations of Islam and Muslims. In contemporary Western societies, Muslims have been considered as a minority group. Though belonging to an ethnic minority group, many have argued that events such as the Rushdie Affair and the Honeyford Affair in the 1980s have pushed Islam onto the national stage and linked (British) Muslims to some negative associations. This condition leads to perceptions of Muslims as the 'Other' that is quite threatening to British society (Raza, 1991; Lewis, 1994; Poole, 2000, 2002). According to Poole, the idea of Muslims as a 'threat' to British society is framed in the following ways:

> "that Muslims are a threat to security in the UK due to their involvement in deviant activities; that Muslims are a threat to British mainstream values and thus provoke integrative concerns; that there are inherent cultural differences between Muslims and the host community which create tensions in interpersonal relations; that Muslims are increasingly making their presence felt in the public sphere" (Poole, 2000).

Being 'other', just like other ethnic minority groups, Muslims have faced many disadvantages, for example in employment, market choices and higher education (Modood et al., 1997; Modood and Acland (eds.), 1998; Poole, 2002).

Social and political theorists have argued that in the context of a multicultural society in our globalised world, recognition has been a struggle for minority groups (Taylor, 1994, 1995; Fraser, 2003; Honneth, 1995, 2003; Parekh, 2001; Modood, 2007a). Struggle for recognition has emerged as an important issue in the last three decades or so, based on questions of cultural identities and social status. As far as the public sphere is concerned, media discourse has played a key role in the negotiation, contestation and struggle for recognition of various minority cultures or groups, including the representations of Islam and Muslims in the media. While Britain has long been perceived as a Christian nation (Nicholls, 1967; Newbigin, 1998; Greenslade, 2005; Glover, 2009), many believe that British media coverage makes a considerable contribution to the perception of Islam as 'the Other' by constructing and circulating the perception of Islam as synonymous with religious hysteria, a fundamentalist threat, violent attacks and terrorism (Runnymede Trust, 1997; Richardson, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2007; Poole, 2002; Saeed, 2007; Moore et al., 2008).

Despite the growing attention paid to the representations of Islam in the media, two important issues have been relatively neglected in existing scholarly studies. Firstly, previous studies have focused on the mainstream (secular) media representations of Islam and Muslims. To my knowledge, there has been no significant research or attention devoted to the discursive construction of Islam and Muslims in the British Christian media. Secondly, as indicated above, the studies on the representations of Islam and Muslims in the media have arguably relied on the paradigms developed in various post-colonial social theories such as 'Orientalism', 'clash of civilisations', 'cultural racism', and 'Islamophobia'. These theoretical approaches indeed provide useful insights and critical tools for analysing the social condition we live in. However, these theories have clearly been developed upon the empirical premise that media discourse has the power to control and maintain unjust social representations of other cultures. The problem is that the ideological baggage of domination and control dominates these theories to the point that the control paradigm becomes inadequate for the complex challenges faced by a multicultural society (McNair, 2006).

This book is an attempt to respond to these challenges. Firstly, while a range of studies have been devoted to the British mainstream or secular media representations of Islam and Muslims (Richardson, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2007; Poole, 2002, 2004; Ameli et al., 2007; Saeed, 2007; Moore et al., 2008), it could be argued that a sociological effort to study and analyse the representations of Islam and Muslims in the British Christian media is a timely contribution. One may reason that the British Christian media has a relatively small readership. Nevertheless, given the fact that religious belief plays a significant role in shaping people's identity and worldview, one can argue that discourses or narratives in the religious media may shape people's thinking and their knowledge about other cultures or religions. Or, as pointed out by Modood (2007a: 76), in the context of Britain, religion may be weak in civil society but churches (or religion) "can be a source of political criticism and action." Moreover, the association of religious media with a particular religious tradition or religious movement may indicate that discourses in the religious media echo the religious principles of those religious traditions and movements. This is because the Christian news media also draw from many ecclesial documents, reports and reflections. Besides, the religious media play the role of translating religion into political thinking or politics into religious ideas for the internalisation of their customers, to the extent that the religious media shape the political thinking of their audience or readership (Newman and Smith, 2007). Therefore, taking the British Christian media

as its focus, this study proposes to fill the gap created by the absence of sociological research on Islam and Muslims constructed, reconstructed and represented in the religious media. From this perspective, this study is developed to facilitate a deeper understanding of public discourses and narratives on Islam and Muslims, as represented in the media with a religious background. This means that analysis of the British Christian news media contributes to our understanding of various discourses concerning the relationship between Islam and Christianity, the encounter between people with religious and cultural backgrounds and the role of media in shaping Christian perceptions of people from other religions or religious movements.

Secondly, while acknowledging the valuable insights of previous studies on the media representations of Islam and Muslims, conducted using the conceptual frameworks drawn from post-colonial social theories, this study takes a different turn in analysing the British Christian media representations of Islam and Muslims through the lens of the politics of recognition as a theoretical framework. The politics of recognition has emerged as an influential social and political theory in the wake of the politics of multiculturalism (Taylor, 1994, 1995; Fraser, 2003; Honneth, 1995, 2003; Thompson, 2006; Modood, 2007a). As a conceptual framework, the politics of recognition shifts the analytical focus from ideological control, exclusivity and conflict to the possibility of openness to diversity, inclusive dialogue, and the relational formation of identities and the struggle for social justice. The basic argument for turning to the politics of recognition is that the language of the media representations of Islam and Muslims "can be explained partially but can never be reduced to merely a language of domination and control" (McNair, 2006). Representations of Islam and Muslims also have a discursive-interpretative dimension, since they are shaped by the social contexts in which they are produced, reproduced and sustained. The premise here is that the political theory of recognition offers a relational bridge-building model for use in analysing the production of knowledge about cultures in a multicultural society. This means that by turning to the politics of recognition, arguments in this study are developed around the notion of recognition and misrecognition in relation to the dialogic element of human sociality and the struggles for justice. Therefore, rather than relying on a conflictual model of analysis, this study develops an innovative framework based on a dialogic model of analysis. Since the topic of representations of Islam and Muslims in the British Christian media also covers the politics of representation and media coverage, theoretical insights are also drawn

from the theories of discourse, power relations, hegemonic struggle, representational knowledge and media studies.

My aim is, therefore, to contribute both conceptually and empirically to the questions concerning the media representations of Islam and Muslims, by identifying the ways in which knowledge about Islam and Muslim is produced, reproduced and sustained in the British Christian news media, by comparing various representations of Islam and Muslims in the British secular media and the British Christian media, and by providing empirical evidence regarding the use of the politics of recognition in an empirical study.

2. British Christian News Media

In order to study the representations of Islam and Muslims and the socio-cultural construction of (mis)recognition in the British Christian media, I consulted existing materials published from 1998 to 2007 in four British Christian print media: *Church Times, The Tablet, Evangelicals Now* and *Evangelical Times*. The choice of this time frame indicates a reference to the events of 11 September 2001, based on the argument that the 9/11 events have often been considered as a turning point in the global representation of Islam and Muslims. I therefore chose to include in this study a few years before and a few years after the 9/11 events. During this period of time, there were other Islam-related events such as the Bali bombings, the Iraq war, the *hijab* affair in France, the Madrid bombings, the 7/7 London bombings, the Danish Cartoons, the Regensburg lecture by Pope Benedict XVI and the letter from 138 Muslim scholars to the Pope and Christian leaders around the world. Having the 9/11 events as the central point of reference also indicates the context of this study and the temporal frame of the data.

Church Times, The Tablet, Evangelicals Now and *Evangelical Times* were selected as the sample of this study based upon access and prominence. Articles published in the mainstream British newspapers can generally be gathered from databases such as the Lexis Nexis database. Unlike the mainstream newspapers, British religious newspapers are not available in the Lexis Nexis database. As a result, in gathering the data sample, I relied on British Christian news media websites. Since access to the study sample is very significant, I chose these four print media on the

basis that their articles are available online on their websites.[1] I took into account the idea of comparability in choosing the study samples. By choosing four newspapers associated with different churches, this study allows for the possibility of comparing the published texts with one another. While access and point of comparability are very significant, it is important to point out that *Church Times, The Tablet, Evangelicals Now* and *Evangelical Times* are prominent newspapers associated with different churches, as I will explain later. Besides, contributors to these papers are, in general, public figures and public intellectuals such as religious leaders, politicians, columnists, journalists and academics. Additionally, in relation to the issues of Islam and Muslims, *Church Times* and *The Tablet* give space for the contributions of Muslim intellectuals and commentators. This indicates that the articles published in the studied media also contribute to and influence various public and policy debates.

I use the phrase "British Christian news media", since the studied media are all published in the United Kingdom and are associated with certain churches or, at least, with Christian faith. *Church Times* is best associated with the Church of England (or Anglicanism), *The Tablet* with the Roman Catholic Church and *Evangelicals Now* and *Evangelical Times* with the Evangelical churches or Evangelical movement in various churches. *Church Times* and *The Tablet* are weekly papers, while *Evangelicals Now* and *Evangelical Times* are published monthly. *Church Times* does not have any readership data. However, information obtained from the subscription controller of *Church Times* in 2010 indicated that *Church Times* has 10,500 postal subscribers. The website of *Church Times* indicates that the paper was founded in 1863 and it has now become "the world's leading Anglican weekly newspaper". *The Tablet* was audited by the Audit Bureau Circulations (ABC) in 2009 with a circulation of 21,978 over 150 countries. This paper is also mailed directly to 18,430 households. Information provided by the Marketing Manager of *The Tablet* in 2010 indicated that *The Tablet* is "published 'for intelligent Catholics' who seek information on religious affairs, politics, society, literature and the arts in the light of Catholic principles and belief". The circulation figures of *Evangelicals Now* in 2011 were 6,750 with a readership that was about double that of the circulation figures. *Evangelical Times* is "Britain's leading non-denominational evangelical Christian newspaper" containing "news, comment and articles of interest to Christians from all backgrounds." An e-mail received from the

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[1] The websites of the studied media: http://www.churchtimes.co.uk (*Church Times*), http://www.thetablet.co.uk (*The Tablet*), http://www.e-n.org.uk (*Evangelicals Now*) and http://www.evangelical-times.org (*Evangelical Times*).

chairman of the *Evangelical Times* management board in 2010 indicated that this paper did not have readership data.

3. Empirical Data and Discourse Analysis

Production of media texts indeed reflects events and discourses in society, but it is also influenced by the media as institutions. There is, therefore, a relationship between media as an institution and society. Among scholars, Stuart Allan has introduced the notion of 'news culture' to facilitate critical attempts in understanding the relation between news production and society. According to Allan, "[t]he concept of 'news culture'….resists the analytical separation of the 'cultural' from the 'economic' and the 'political' prefigured by the media-society dichotomy" (2004: 4). This is to say that news production is not only a cultural production but also an economic production, in the sense that news becomes a commodity to be sold and bought and an object of policy formation, due to the influence of news in the political sphere. In plain words, the publication of newspapers is "an industry and a business" (Richardson, 2004: 34). This means that 'news culture' is shaped by significant issues such as ownership, funding and patterns of employment (Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2004: chapter 2). The importance of addressing these issues lies in the fact that objectivity in news production cannot be separated from the forces that shape the various ways in which news is manufactured. Following Allan's concept, it could be pointed out here that the studied media also have their 'news culture'. *Church Times* is run by a Council of Management, under the company name of Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd. As already indicated, *Church Times* is independent from the Church of England hierarchy, although it is associated with this church. *The Tablet* is owned and run by The Tablet Publishing Company Ltd. Like *Church Times*, although *The Tablet* is associated with the Roman Catholic Church, it is also independent of the Catholic hierarchy. *Evangelicals Now* is a registered charity and a company limited by guarantee. This paper has "a board of directors who are appointed by and accountable to a group of 30 members who are the equivalent of shareholders in a company that trades for profit, but they do not hold any shares". *Evangelical Times* is owned by its shareholders.

The papers sampled in this study are funded through advertisements and paid subscriptions. *Church Times* and *The Tablet* have staff members who are particularly responsible for marketing and advertising. While relying on contributors for opinion pieces and feature articles,

these four print media employ their own journalists for news reporting. Besides this, they also publish news items provided by Christian news agencies and organisations such as Aid to the Church in Need, Barnabas Fund or Compass Direct News. The description provided here clearly indicates that the studied media are managed independently, with their own patterns of employment, funding, and marketing and advertising strategies.

It should be noted here that there are a number of limitations in my choice of studied media. Firstly, while these papers are associated with certain churches, they cannot be considered as the official voice of those churches. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that claims made in religious media cannot simply be isolated from various discourses within religious institutions. This does not necessarily mean that claims in religious media are the official voice of religious institutions, but rather an echo of common discourses that might circulate within various churches and society at large. Secondly, throughout this study, phrases such as "British Christian news media" or "British Christian papers" are often used. The choice of these papers, however, is not based on the idea of representing British Christian media outlets as a whole. Similarly, the choice of 'an Anglican paper' or 'a Catholic paper' does not mean that the chosen paper represents all the media outlets associated with the Church of England or Roman Catholicism. What this study is interested in is the variety of discourses on Islam and Muslims. By choosing these papers, attention is paid to the various perspectives of three different 'traditions', namely the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Churches. It is assumed here that the chosen papers do indeed reproduce the discourses of 'the faith community' with which they associated, while at the same time they also produce and construct their particular readings and (re)presentations of the discourses and narratives circulated in society at large (Poole, 2002: 23).

I also gathered additional data from 4 official Christian websites in the UK. While this study is based on the data gathered from four Christian newspapers, data from the four official Christian websites are used to place the primary data in the context of various dominant discourses, and this plays a very important role in my interpretation of the studied texts. This is to say that the additional data from the websites illuminate my ways of interpreting the studied texts and of comparing the dominant discourses in relation to Islam and Muslims across the studied media. The chosen websites include those of the Church of England and the

Archbishop of Canterbury, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales and the Evangelical Alliance UK.[2]

My analysis of the existing materials in the chosen news media included editorials, featured articles, news reports and columns about Islam and Muslims. An article was only included in the analysis when it clearly refers to Islam and/or Muslims in the headline or in the text. The identification of how Islam and Muslims are characterised was determined on the basis of the article as a whole. Therefore, articles which only refer to Islam and/or Muslims in passing, without any relation to the main issues, were excluded (see also Richardson, 2004: xvi-xviii). For the purpose of this study, 1,357 articles were coded. Details of the articles per paper can be seen in Table 1:

Table 1: Primary Data

Name of Print Media	Frequency	Percentage
Church Times	496	36.55%
The Tablet	327	24.10%
Evangelicals Now	344	25.35%
Evangelical Times	190	14%
Total	**1357**	**100%**

During the data coding, four themes and dominant issues clearly emerged. Interestingly, the emergence of these key issues reflects the dominant themes dealt with in previous studies, particularly studies conducted by World Economic Forum (2008) and Kerry Moore et al. (2008). For the purpose of data analysis, these key themes provide a context and focus for further analysis that forms four empirical chapters of

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[2] Here are the addresses of the chosen websites respectively: http://www. cofe.anglican.org, http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org, http://www.catholic-ew.org.uk and http://www.eauk.org

this study. The themes and key areas emerging from the studied texts include:

1. *Interreligious and intercultural dialogue.* This included the initiatives towards interreligious dialogue such as ecumenical meetings, discussion on ethical issues and general discussions on interreligious or intercultural dialogue.

2. *Terrorism and religious fundamentalism.* This key area included articles and reports on terrorism in general, 'war on terror', religious fundamentalism and events labelled as 'terrorist attacks or bombing'.

3. *Christian persecution.* This element focused on reports concerning the persecution of Christians in Muslim-majority countries, including the application of Sharia Law and its consequences for non-Muslim citizens. This is the only theme that did not appear in the studies of World Economic Forum (2008) and Moore et al. (2008).

4. *Politics, citizenship and integration.* This included discussion of Muslims as an ethnic minority, the politics of multiculturalism, the social/political integration of British Muslims within British society, and Christian – Muslim relations in the United Kingdom.

By having the above focuses as the contexts in which further analysis is grounded, attention is given to how a discursive construction of Islam and Muslims and constructed knowledge about Islam and Muslims is circulated in the British Christian media across those focuses. A qualitative analysis was applied as a tool for interpreting the underlying meaning associated with the representations of Islam and Muslims in the studied media. This means that the articles published in the studied media are considered as a tool for constructing what Islam is and who Muslims are and, at the same time, what Christianity is and who Christians are. While this promises a wide range of research on Muslims and the knowledge of Islam, as perceived and circulated in the British Christian media, attention was also paid to the rhetorical strategies of the articles in representing Islam and Muslims.

The methodological approach employed in the analysis falls broadly under the framework of discourse analysis (DA), an academic movement that investigates and aims at illustrating a relationship between the text and its context, social conditions, ideologies and power-relations (Blommaert, 2005; Richardson, 2007). Following Fairclough (1992: chapter 3), by employing discourse analysis to analyse language use as a social practice, discourse is seen in two related ways. Firstly, discourse is a mode of action or representation exercised through written or spoken texts and visual

messages (Dijk, 2000). In considering the discursive phenomenon of representation, the term 'representation' will be emphasised throughout the study because it refers to the power of the media and the writers to speak for the public about Islam and Muslims (Rattansi, 1994:58). Secondly, discourse is dialectically related to social structure. This means that social structure, on the one hand, is a basic condition for social practice and therefore, through its various systems such as systems of classifications and norms, social structure shapes discourse at a societal level (Fairclough, 1992: 64). On the other hand, discourse plays a role in constituting and constructing the world. According to Fairclough, the socially constitutive aspect of discourse operates in the ways social identities are constructed and social relationships between people are enacted and negotiated, and in the production and constitution of systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1992: chapter 3; see also Wodak, 1995: 208). In the present study, discourse analysis is used to examine the representations of Islam and Muslims in the British Christian media by uncovering the significance of the construction of social identities and social relationships, and the production of knowledge about Islam and Muslims through the narratives of written texts published in the studied papers and websites and spoken texts gathered through a series of interviews. It is therefore assumed here that the media have the power to influence and reinforce the attitudes, values and beliefs of their audience, readership and viewership.[3] Taking into account these two related ways of understanding discourse, it could be argued that a discursive event is co-shaped by the context in which it is produced and the social structure or institution within which it appears (Kuhar, 2006: 125).

The use of this method of analysis may be challenged with the argument that discourse analysis seems to offer floating arguments without proposing a clear position as regards what is being argued for or what is being defended. In the case of this study, one may argue that analysing the representation of Islam is not always 'an affirmation of Islam'. Or, in other words, a discursive critical analysis of how Islam and Muslims are represented does not necessarily lead to a 'liberating interpretation' or representation of Islam and Muslims (Sayyid, 2003: 35). Considering such criticisms, it should be stated here that discourse analysis is used more

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[3] Although the media shape the attitudes and beliefs of their audience, it should be pointed out here that the audience also has power to influence media production, because the audience is the media's market. Denis McQuail's study, for example, indicates that planning of media production and selling to advertisers are determined by "audience size; composition; patterns of demand, use, and satisfaction" (1997: 136; see also Ruddock, 2001).

narrowly in this study. This means that rather than using the framework to analyse the structure and details of language use which is normally applied in linguistics, discourse analysis is used to examine the social practice aspect of language use, as expressed in written and spoken texts. Here, what is being examined is how language use functions in constructing people's knowledge and versions of the social world and in making sense of themselves and their social worlds, such that meanings are created and (re)produced and identities are formed (Tonkiss, 1998: 246; Burck, 2005: 248). Particular attention is given to the narratives and labels used in the texts (Winkler, 2006: 8-11; Jackson, 2007: 394). Besides, the analysis also includes a critical view that offers a fairly balanced consideration of the issues discussed.

As a point of comparison, the study compares, on the one hand, the representations of Islam and Muslims in the British Christian media and the British mainstream media (based upon previous studies). On the other hand, the study compares the representations of Islam and Muslims in the studied papers. By focusing on the British Christian media and comparatively examining the ways of representing Islam and Muslims in various Christian media, this study is expected to uncover a number of discursive constructions of Islam and Muslims in the media discourse, the knowledge production of Islam and Muslims and the role of the media in contributing to the recognition and misrecognition of various cultures, particularly Islam and Muslims.

In the analysis, names for communities such as 'Christians', 'Catholics', 'Anglicans', 'Evangelicals' or 'Muslims' are used in a very broad manner to indicate a group of people's membership of a faith community, or a worldview and belief system which a group of people subscribe to and identity with, and through which a collective identity is normally formed. The same applies to terms such as 'Christianity', 'Roman Catholicism' or 'Islam'. Since these are used in their broadest terms, it cannot simply be assumed that Christianity (let alone Anglicanism or Evangelicalism) and Islam are monolithic. These religious traditions also have internal diversity. Clearly, this way of using the terms tends to fall into generalisation. Nevertheless, such a move is understandable on the grounds that the purpose of using the terms in their broadest way is to allow the flow of analysis and to avoid the tendency of being too detailed in matters of describing terminologies.

4. The Book in Outline

The book is divided into 7 chapters. Drawing on previous academic research and critical insights into the British media representations of Islam and Muslims, chapter 1 provides an overview of the common frameworks that have been used in previous studies such as 'Orientalism', 'clash of civilisations', 'racism' and 'Islamophobia', and indicates how these common frameworks are employed in the analysis of British media discourses on Islam and Muslims. By relying heavily on the studies that have been conducted, this chapter aims to review the general discourses in the British mainstream media representations of Islam and Muslims. In doing so, it provides a basis for comparing the discourses and accounts of Islam and Muslims in the British Christian media and the British mainstream media. This chapter also points out the limitations of the use of various theories in the study of media representations of Islam and Muslims.

Responding to the limitations of the frameworks outlined in chapter 1, I turn to the political theory of recognition in chapter 2. This chapter presents the significance of the political theory of recognition and its possible use in the study of the representations of Islam and Muslims in the media. The notion of recognition is also discussed in relation to the constitution of knowledge among cultures, discourse, power relations, hegemonic struggle and the discursive feature of recognition in the media discourse. A theoretical clarification of the terms 'Islam' and 'Muslim' is included in this chapter.

The following 4 chapters deal with the findings and discuss them in the light of the theoretical framework. Chapter 3 explores how Islam and Muslims are represented in the context of interreligious or intercultural dialogue. Focusing on the representations of Islam and Muslims in the context of reports and articles on terrorism, chapter 4 examines the labels, terms, narratives and knowledge production of 'Islamic terrorism' in the studied materials. Chapter 5 focuses on the findings that relate to reports on the persecution of Christians in places where Muslims are in the majority. Chapter 6 takes a different turn, focusing on the various ways of representing Islam and Muslims in the context of Britain. A conclusion follows in chapter 7. In this concluding chapter, a summary of the findings is presented, followed by a comparison between the representations of Islam and Muslims in the British mainstream media and the British Christian media. Finally, the findings are related to the theoretical framework accompanied by some considerations and further notes on the political theory of recognition.

BRITISH MEDIA DISCOURSES ON ISLAM AND MUSLIMS

This chapter traces the discourses on Islam and Muslims in the British mainstream media. Firstly, it aims to identify the frameworks that have been used in previous studies on the media representations of Islam and Muslims; secondly, it provides a general account of British media discourses on Islam and Muslims. This will also provide a basis for comparing the discourses on Islam and Muslims in the British Christian media and the British mainstream media. In presenting the representations of Islam and Muslims in the British secular media, this chapter relies heavily on existing scholarly studies. Therefore, rather than discussing the representations of Islam and Muslims in the British media *per se*, this chapter deals more with the findings of previous studies and the theoretical frameworks that illuminate those studies. Since it is a general account, the term 'British media' is used in a very broad sense, encompassing both print and electronic media. An overview of the common frameworks used in the academic studies surrounding the topic of the media and Islam will be presented in the first section. As the account progresses, the use of the frameworks in the studies of the media representations of Islam and Muslims in other countries will be outlined in a very general way. The second section provides a closer look at the studies on the British media and Islam. Thirdly, special attention is paid to the British media representations of British Muslims.

1. Framing Islam and Muslims in the Media

a) The Approach of Orientalism

In his notable book entitled *Covering Islam*: *How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, first published in 1981, Edward W. Said voiced concerns surrounding the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the media. Central to Said's arguments is the notion that an Orientalist assumption has dominated the development of how the

media and experts determine how we see Islam and the rest of the world. According to this Orientalist framework, Islam and the rest of the world are constructed in such a way as to be defined according to Western categories, ways and styles of thinking. In fact, Said had already developed this argument in his earlier and famously discussed work entitled *Orientalism*, first published in 1978. In this work, Said points out that Orientalism exaggerates differences in a way which leads to Oriental (including Muslim) societies being homogenised and simplified in ways that reflect the West's interest in them. This has profound implications in the creation of binary oppositions that distinguish the 'familiar' for Europe, the West, 'us' and the 'strange' for the Orient, the East, 'them' (Said, 2003[1978]: 43). Therefore, there is a link between the power of the West and the knowledge of the Oriental, simply because this knowledge provides a fundamental reason for the West to celebrate its network of power. Or, as Mutman puts it,

> "If Orientalist knowledge is linked with colonial/imperial economic and political powers, this is because they cannot be the powers they are without the knowledge of the Orient and the Oriental, while, at the same time, the production of this knowledge is unthinkable without the support and the context that the network of power provides" (1993:167).

According to Said, the mental operation of representing Oriental societies within the framework of Orientalist discourse works the same way in representing Islam and Muslims. He argues that the European representation of Muslims has always been "a way of controlling the redoubtable Orient" (Said, 2003[1978]: 60-69; *see also* Masuzawa, 2005: Ch. 6). With Christianity attached to the Western societies, Islam and Muslims are often represented using a Christian framework. In fact, as noted by Said, Orientalism was initially attached to Christianity as part of a missionary interest and activities in controlling "the other" with knowledge. Consequently, even in attempts to understand Islam, Christian frameworks are normally used in characterising or categorising Islam and Muslims. The simple example concerning this point is the use of the term 'Mohammedanism' as a name for Islam and 'Mohammedists' for Muslims. This use of terms precisely follows the way the terms 'Christianity' and 'Christians' derive from 'Christ'. The implication is that Islam is not understood from within, since it is understood through the window of Christianity. This leads to the further implication that "Islam became an image….whose function was not so much to represent Islam in itself as to represent it for the medieval Christian" (Said, 2003[1978]: 60). Indeed, categorising Islam through the frame of Christianity has profound