Media Discourse of Egyptian and British Newspapers' Websites and Its Influence on the Formation of Images of Muslims and Islam post 25th January 2011 Revolution

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So, ask the people of the message [knowledge] if you do not know.

[Quran 16:43]

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Abstract

Islamophobia is currently seen as a major and continuous threat to social cohesion in various Western societies. There is a significant body of research that explores media representations of Islam and Muslims in western media contexts. Only a handful of studies, however, have considered how Islam and Muslims are represented in Muslim-majority contexts. This thesis used a framing theory and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to compare and contrast news media framing of Islam and Muslims in online newspaper websites in the UK and Egypt, post the Egyptian Revolution 25th of January 2011 [1/25 hereinafter]. This research comparatively analysed two corpora from the British newspapers' websites, namely *The Guardian* and *The Times,* and two from the Egyptian Arabic-Language newspapers' websites, namely *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Youm7* post 1/25.

The analysis showed that Islam was represented differently in Muslim-majority media in comparison to western media outlets, with Islam represented first and foremost as a religion and common sense, i.e. a shared moral system and culture, in the Egyptian media; but often as a threat and a manipulative ideology in British media texts. There were, however, instances of positive depictions of Muslims in the sample of British media,

as well as critical representations of Muslims in the Egyptian media, with regards to the political practices of Muslim groups.

These findings suggest that the representation of Islam and Muslims will have some implications for political, cultural and societal affairs in both minority and majority contexts; in terms of national identity, multiculturalism and social cohesion in the UK; and media-political relations in both societies. To name but a few, these Muslim representations perpetuate Islamophobia and political discourse dominance regarding Islam in the studied British media; and safeguards the secular state and propagates national identity in Egypt.

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Preface

This project started as a joint channel scheme between Mansoura University in Egypt and Bournemouth University in the UK. The research was fully funded by the Ministry of Higher Education in Egypt. The researcher owes tremendous gratitude to Mansoura University and the Egyptian Missions for their financial support, and their agreement to transfer my project. Also, to Bournemouth University for their acceptance to transfer this project and for it to be awarded by BU. Thanks to all those who made this dream come true.

Acknowledgement

Dedication

To my parents; my wife Amira; Fares and Saja, you mean a lot to me.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Studies showed that the western media are overwhelmed with negative representations of Islam and Muslims (Albakry 2006; Ahmed 2007; Ibrahim 2009; Poole and Richardson 2006; Moore et al. 2008; Trust 1997). This negative image of Islam in the West is argued to be based on historical legacy and represents an old negative sentiment towards Islam and Muslims in the West (Said 1979; Said 1997; Kumar 2012; Trust 1997).

Although negative representations of Islam and Muslims are not a new phenomenon in the news discourse of western media (Hafez 2000; Poole; 2002), this distorted image has been devastated since 11th September 2001 attacks (9/11 hereinafter) on the US targets.

With regards to this, some argue that since then the western media tend to associate Islam directly with terrorism and represents all Muslims as terrorists (McClure 2011; Poole 2006; Albakry 2006; Ibrahim 2003). Considering al-Qaida took responsibility for these events with their Islamist identity, the media still tend to attribute violence and terrorism directly with Islam. This association, though, is carrying out an orientalist view that homogenises Muslims and demonises Islam as a religion, especially in the western media. It should be stated, however, that the great international powers should take some responsibility for the negative representations of Muslims due to their colonial interests (Kumar 2012; Kumar 2010).

The media's negative representations of Islam in the West dismiss that Islam is a religion and, as such, is open to multiple interpretations from its followers. In addition, the media tend to represent Islam as the main source of conflicts between the West and the Muslim world. This is a claim

that neglects the fact that conflict between the West and the Muslim world is believed by the majority of Muslims to be based on political factors, such as the double standard policies of the US and the continuous intervention of some western powers in the Middle East (Center 2010; Abdulla 2007).

Thus, global media are criticised for their concentration on the violent events only and for presenting a very small amount of coverage regarding international regions and countries and even for presenting this diminished amount from its cultural and ideological stances (Hafez 2011). Even when presenting a specific event in one community, such as the death of the British-Pakistani Cricket Coach Bob Woolmer in 2007 in the British newspapers, the British media representations of such event provided a cultural and orientalist stereotyping towards Islam and Muslims (Malcolm et al. 2010).

With regards to the media role in shaping social reality (Ibroscheva and Ramaprasad 2008; Saleem 2007; Soroka 2003), a cumulative amount of research revealed strong evidence that Muslims are stereotyped negatively in western media. However, few studies highlighted Islam and Muslims representations in the Muslim or Arab media.

Studies tend to focus on media representations of Muslim groups (Mahony 2010; Pasha 2011; Hamrita; 2016) or media representations of terrorism (Tahat 2011). In addition, one research underlined Islam and Muslims representations in English Egyptian media (Perreault 2014). However, there is a gap in research regarding Islam and Muslim representations in Arabic Muslim majority context; in addition to a comparison of these images with media representation in a Muslim minority context. This research aims to address these gaps by studying

Islam and Muslim representations in a Muslim majority context and conducting a comparison between these representations and their counterparts in a Muslim minority context media. The following sections will provide an overview to Islam and Muslim conditions in the British and the Egyptian contexts. The next section provides an explanation of the research issue and its objectives.

1.2. Islam and Muslims in Egypt and the UK - an overview

Islam represents the dominant religion in Egypt. Some demographics reveal that Muslims constitute 94.9% of Egyptian society (Hackett et al. 2015). The rest of society's population is made up of other religious minorities, with the largest minority in Egypt being Christians (5.1%) (Hackett et al. 2015).

Egypt is considered to be a religious society. Muslims in Egypt, as most of other Muslims around the globe, hold dear the Islamic values and Sharia, in addition to daily Islamic practices (Lipka 2016; Lugo et al. 2013). For example, 74% of Egyptians favour having Sharia or Islamic law as an official law in Egypt (Lipka 2016). Therefore, Islam is salient in religious and political practices in Egypt (Lugo et al. 2013). This is evident in English-Egyptian media representations of Islam. Islam usually denotes a mixture of religion, culture and politics in Egyptian media (Perreault 2014).

However, this is not to say that Islam is the dominant factor in Egyptian media representations of different issues. Egyptian society has a mixture of Pharaonic, Arab and Islamic cultures. The media tend to prioritise one type of culture over another, depending on the issue and the type of media (Adlan-Ayad 2001). In other words, the Egyptian media

scene is complex mixture of hybrid media outlets, ranging from state-run (or semi-official) newspapers or television channels to the independent or privately-run newspapers and news channels. It is fair to say that "each medium tells different tales, making radically different news choices in terms of framing" (Hamdy and Gomaa 2012, p. 196).

For instance, it is remarkable that the state-run media in Egypt, or other Arab countries, has played a role in "legitimizing their political regimes" (Cottle 2011, p. 650). This is obvious, for example, in Al-Ahram, the most influential state-run newspaper in Egypt, for their exclusion of the regime foes in its coverage of the parliamentary elections in 2000 and 2005 (Pasha 2011). However, the private media sector in Egypt tended to take a more centrist position in their coverage of the Egyptian Uprising, whilst the state-run newspapers put the responsibility of this event on the shoulders of protesters. The independent newspapers, on the contrary, fought government censorship by coverage of "opposing views, carefully avoiding the appearance of bias toward either side" (Hamdy and Gomaa 2012, p. 200). This is to say that, although differences between Egyptian state-run and independent newspapers are evident, they are both abide by authoritarian regime pressure and censorship to media practices.

However, Egyptian media also share with other Arab media a "political pluralism" (Hafez 2010, p. 9) approach. This shared feature of growing political independence in both media types is "giving way to ideological or even post-ideological (centrist) media" (ibid). In other words, Islam representations in the Egyptian media, according to the shared features of society, should be influenced by media relations with the regime, in addition to the dominant feature of the shared Islamic culture in society.

Therefore, Egypt is considered a religious society. Yet, it is also characterised as a moderate society. This is evident through the shared unfavourable opinion towards religious extremism among the majority of Egyptians. Accordingly, most Egyptians could be categorised as having a strong belief in Islam, while supporting democracy (Lugo et al. 2013). It is understandable, as such, that Egyptian media will have favourable representations of Islam in comparison to western media. However, it will have some commonalities as well, such as "emphasis on conflict, terrorism, and confounding of religion and politics" (Perreault 2014, p. 111).

On the contrary, Muslims represent a minority in the UK, with almost five percent of the population being classified as Muslim (Hackett 2016). However, Muslims are accepted the most in Britain compared to other western and eastern European nations, considering that British society holds the lowest unfavourable attitude towards Muslims in Europe (Lipka 2016).

Nevertheless, Britain shares the same heritage of Orientalism, colonisation and Christian culture with other European and Western nations (Said 1979; Kumar 2012). This is reflected in Islamophobia discourses towards Muslims (Runneymede Trust 1997) or Orientalist and negative representations of Islam (Said 1997; Moore et al. 2008). However, this Islamophobia, although the dominant discourse in the British media towards Islam, is only one feature in an array of other representations of Islam in the British press. With this in mind, considering the media profit orientation in Britain (Richards and Brown 2017), and the ongoing debates or controversies over multicultural or intercultural features of British society (Modood and Meer 2012; Cantle 2012), it is not surprising for some cohesive or multicultural representations of Islam to find their way into

some British media (Poole 2002). In other words, and surprisingly enough, Islamophobia is one of the themes found to be associated with Muslims in the British press representations of British Muslims (Moore et al. 2008).

1.3. Problem Statement

Studies of Islam and Muslim representations in the media were mostly focused on their representations in the western media. However, limited studies have examined Islam and Muslim representations in majority context. The first chunk of studies was helpful in understanding to what extent Islam and Muslims are represented in the western media. The second segment of these studies highlighted different representations of Islam and Muslims in the majority Muslim media, such as giving more weight to politics while representing Islam in the Egyptian-English media (Perreault 2014).

Ultimately, though, a gap in research was found in relation to Islam and Muslim representations in Arabic-language media. This research aims to address this gap by studying Islam and Muslim representations in the Egyptian-Arabic language media. Meanwhile, this research will further address Islam and Muslim representations in a western media corpus for the sake of comparison between Islam and Muslim representations in two different contexts.

Consequently, this thesis aims to conduct a qualitative comparison between Islam and Muslim representations in two different contexts. A context where Muslims represents a majority and Islam is the dominant religion of a society, i.e. the Egyptian media context. In addition to this, a western media context, where Muslims represents minority and Islam is a

religion practiced by a small community in the society, i.e. the British media context.

1.4. Research purpose and objectives

This research is set out to compare Islam and Muslim representations in two different contexts: the British media, as a westerner context and the Egyptian media, as a Muslim-majority context, post 1/25 (the Egyptian Revolution, 25th January 2011). Therefore, this thesis aims to conduct a comparison between Islam and Muslim representations in these two different media climates. In this regard, this research seeks:

1. To define, locate and compare Islam and Muslim frames in the British and the Egyptian media discourses post 1/25.
2. To examine differences and similarities in Islam Muslim representations in both media contexts, in terms of media frames, themes, references, media and background sources and geographical scope of media coverage post 1/25.
3. To highlight to what extent media representations of Islam and Muslims have cultural and/or political implications for both societies post 1/25.

1.5. Study Outline

This thesis is constructed of six sections, starting with an **introduction** to the research background, problem and objectives; ending with a concluding section to the research findings and contribution to knowledge. **The first chapter**, as such, will present a review of literature. **The second chapter** will present methods followed in the current study. **The third chapter** will present findings of Islam and Muslim representations in the British media. **The fourth chapter** will present Islam

and Muslim representations in the Egyptian media. The final section of thesis, or **conclusion and further discussions**, will conduct a comparison of Islam and Muslim representations in both media corpora. In addition, it will provide an outline to the thesis findings and contribution to knowledge.

2. Chapter one: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This research aims to study Islam and Muslim representations in the British and the Egyptian media post 1/25. In this chapter, a review of previous studies of Islam and Muslim images in the Western media will be given. Thus, this chapter will open with a brief section about the history of the relationship between Islam and the West. As suggested by the literature, the negative representations of Islam and Muslims dates back to the first contact between Islam and Christian Europe, Orientalism and the Crusades. Therefore, a track of historical and cultural factors, among others, that play a role in Islam and Muslim representations in the Christian West will be highlighted.

Following this section, an exploration to Islam and Muslim representations in the Western media post 9/11 attacks will be discussed. Studies in this section highlight a dramatic change of Islam and Muslim representations in the Western media post that date. In this regard, studies have shown that Islam has been represented as a synonym for terrorism and violence; and Muslims as terrorists post 9/11 aftermath (Ahmed 2007; Ibrahim 2003).

The subsequent section provides a critique of media studies of Islam and Muslim representations, especially in Britain. Studies in this section highlight that Islamophobia is a severe phenomenon in the British media. However, this is not a direct product of media bias. Instead, other factors, such as media routine or news values, could provide an explanation for the media's negative generalisations about Islam and Muslims.

Subsequently, studies on audience perceptions of Islam and Muslims are also highlighted. Particularly, this section will explore factors which play a role in negative perceptions of Islam and Muslims.

The literature review will also consider Islam and Muslim representations and perceptions in the Western context. The following section will shift the focus to Islam and Muslim representations in the Arab and Muslim media. Studies in this section show that Islam is represented, in a considerably different manner than in the Western context.

Finally, the last section will provide a discussion on framing literature, and framing studies of Islam and its representations in the Western media. The reason for this is to reach a gap in previous studies on media framing of Islam and Muslims and to address it in current research. Meanwhile, reviewing framing literature will guide current work by providing a threshold for conducting the current research, utilising the framing theory.

2.2. Orientalism, neo-Orientalism and Islamophobia

Islam, since its start in the Arabian Peninsula in the Seventh Century, was seen as a threat to Christendom. Across the fourteen centuries of contact between Islam and Christian Europe, tension has played a major role in this history. Said (1978 pp. 73-74) commented on this:

> "Islam excepted, the Orient for Europe was until the nineteenth century a domain with a continuous history of unchallenged Western dominance. … only the Arab and Islamic Orient presented Europe with an unresolved challenge on the political, intellectual, and for a time, economic levels. For much of its history, then, Orientalism carries within it the stamp of a problematic European attitude towards Islam … Doubtless Islam was a real provocation in many

ways. It lay uneasily close to Christianity, geographically and culturally."

This drastic sentiment towards Islam was highlighted in different ways by literature, either in the view of Orientalism, "Them vs. Us" as depicted by Said (1978; 1981) or, more recently, in the view of neo-Orientalism (Kerboua 2016) and Islamophobia (The Runnymede Trust 1997).

Different endeavours sought to track the history of the negative images and stereotypes of Islam in the West. For example, scholars tracked the historical shifts of Islamic images in the Western world (Kerboua 2016; Kumar 2012; Shadid and van Koningsveld 2002).

For instance, Kumar (2012) highlighted that the history of the relationships between Islam and the West was based on conflict. Since it commenced in the Arabian Peninsula, Islam was marked by Christian Europe during the seventh century as an enemy to Christendom. From the seventh till the eleventh century, Islam was constructed as an enemy to the Christian culture, not only because of Muslim conquests of European lands, but also because of numerous converts to Islam from Jews and Christians. As a result, the Church started to invent and spread negative rumours and venomous stories about Islam. As Kumar argued:

> "Such outrageous and apocryphal stories began to circulate with apparently no need for evidence of any sort. … The result was that Islam was debased and constructed as a dangerous enemy. What was particularly dangerous about this enemy was that not only was it taking over Christian lands but, worse still, it was succeeding in converting people to Islam. When Muslim armies advanced on European lands from the seventh to the eleventh century, many non-Muslim subjects (including Christians and Jews) converted to Islam. For instance, non-Orthodox Christians who were persecuted by the

Greek Church welcomed Muslim rule. Over a period of several centuries, many converted" (Kumar 2012, p. 16).

Shadid and van Koningsveld (2002) underline that contacts between Islam and the West are based on stereotypes and prejudice. This is salient in the large number of accounts in the western media through which Muslims were described as "fanatics, irrational, primitive, belligerent and dangerous" (Shadid and van Koningsveld 2002, p. 174). They explained that these generalisations and simplifications are the main production of the lack of expertise, whilst "fantasy surges ahead" and faulty knowledge and emotion are the main players "in the regulation of the course of mutual relationships" (ibid).

Shadid and van Koningsveld (2002), additionally, suggested an outlined typology of the relationships between Islam and the West. This typology consisted of five models; each of which refers to a period of connection between the West and Islam, and its negative influential attitudes that had been left towards Muslims and Islam in the West. The first model outlined, chronologically, the historical connections between Islam and the West. According to this model, the first period had been shaped by the superiority of Islamic civilisation from 622 until 1492. The second period of this model overlapped the first one, as it witnessed the Christian Crusades and conflicts with the Muslims world from the eleventh century until 1683. The third and fourth periods were constructed by the development and superiority of the Western Civilisation, and they are interwoven with colonialism during the late ninetieth and twentieth centuries. The most salient image of this last phase was the 'superiority' of the West in front of the 'inferiority' of the Muslim culture (Shadid and van Koningsveld 2002, pp. 177-179). By the end of the twentieth century, after this period of colonialism, which was shaped by the Orientalist images of

Islam, a new stage began. This new stage was shaped by the projection of "the clash of civilizations" as proposed by Samuel Huntington (1993), when he presented his hypothesis to the new version of conflict which would be based on cultures, instead of ideologies, post-collapse of the Soviet Union. In the fifth and final model, Islamophobia discourses surrounded Islam and Muslims representations in the Western media.

As argued above, this inferiority and fear of Islam had served, at many stages, many political interests (Kumar 2012). In addition, it was shaped by other economic and social factors.

Ogan and her colleagues (2014) commented on this issue when they pointed out that the sentiment of fear towards Muslims and Islam is not a new or current issue. Indeed, it has its origins in the first meeting between Islam and Christianity. According to them, the term Islamophobia refers to the historical feelings of fear and hatred towards Muslims and Islam in Europe by the Christian population since the 14th century. These feelings were provoked by the immigration of Muslims to European countries.

Said (1981) studied the image of Islam in the West. In his book 'Covering Islam', he went through a historical background for the current image. According to Said (1981), the inferiority of the Muslim world in the West is mixed with a steadfast view of Islam as a late enemy, which has the capacity to destroy Christianity or the West. As Said (1997) puts it:

> "even when the world of Islam entered a period of decline and
> Europe a period of ascendency, fear of Mohammadanism persisted"
> (Said 1997, p. 5).

This idea of 'Othering', or inferiority, is the main base for Orientalist thought, as argued by Said (1978; 1981) and others (Kerboua 2016 and Kumar 2012). With regards to this, Said (1978, 1981) in his respective

works, 'Orientalism' and 'Covering Islam', highlighted the role of cultural generalisations or Orientalist viewpoints in the view of Islam by Western Civilisation or from an Occidental perspective. According to Said (1978), the underlying theme of Orientalism is based on division. In other words, 'them' or the '*Other*' Islamic or Oriental part of the world is versus 'us' or 'ours', the more developed and civilised West or Occidental.

This idea of Orientalism, as argued by Said (1978), is based on cultural generalisations and on a philological approach that assumed that understanding the Orient or the world of Islam could be managed through the understanding of Islamic scriptures. Therefore, Orientalism is a production of a narrow lens, that has been applied in the understanding of the World of Islam; neglecting all other historical, cultural or political factors (Said, 1979).

These Orientalist views of the Muslim world had developed recently in a more destructive way, with more attention being paid to the Muslim World, instead of the previous focus on the Orient in general. Ibrahim (2009) commented on this and emphasized that post-Cold War and the deconstruction of the Soviet Union, Islam is now regarded by the West as the enemy, replacing Communism; becoming a threat to the Western culture (Ibrahim 2009).

The above-mentioned argument is based on Samuel Huntington's (1993) hypothesis of the "clash of civilisations". Huntington (1993) argued that the clash and opposition between the "East" and the "West" are based on culture instead of ideology, as had happened before with Communism. He contended that the next conflict would be based on culture, where people and countries of shared culture, history and religion will fight

against other nations with different cultures. For example, Western countries, with shared values of liberalism, democracy and Christianity versus the Arab World, where Islam is the main religion; with their shared ideas of fundamentalism (Huntington 1993).

This frame of polarizing the world into good and evil was adopted and publicised by the language of the second Bush administration, post the 9/11 attacks, through which Islam came to be seen as the new enemy to the West (Kumar 2010). Kumar (2010, p. 259) points out:

> "The ideologically loaded term "Islam," which referred to a backward, unchanging, static world then warranted U.S. invention and "modernization." Orientalism today is inflected by these terms and takes the form of "Islamophobia" or a fear/hatred of Islam and Muslims".

These distorted images and hatred attitudes towards Muslims and Islam have become prevalent in modern days, especially in some Western countries (EUMC 2006). Some argued that, to some extent, these Orientalist views have been translated into media reports and political speeches; these spread negative and stereotyped images of Muslims and Islam in the Western contexts (Kassimeris and Jackson 2012; Moosavi 2014).

The Runnymede Trust (1997) had given this issue of hatred and negative attitudes towards Muslims and Islam special interest. In its report, 'Islamophobia - A Challenge for Us All', the Trust tracks the historical origin of the term Islamophobia. In addition, the report gives an account and articulation of the term syndromes (See figure 1).

Closed and open views of Islam		
Distinctions	**Closed views of Islam**	**Open views of Islam**
1. Monolithic / diverse	Islam seen as a single monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to new realities.	Islam seen as diverse and progressive, with internal differences, debates and development.
2. Separate / interacting	Islam seen as separate and other – (a) not having any aims or values in common with other cultures (b) not affected by them (c) not influencing them.	Islam seen as interdependent with other faiths and cultures – (a) having certain shared values and aims (b) affected by them (c) enriching them.
3. Inferior / different	Islam seen as inferior to the West – barbaric, irrational, primitive, sexist.	Islam seen as distinctively different, but not deficient, and as equally worthy of respect.
4. Enemy / partner	Islam seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, engaged in 'a clash of civilisations'.	Islam seen as an actual or potential partner in joint cooperative enterprises and in the solution of shared problems.
5. Manipulative / sincere	Islam seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage.	Islam seen as a genuine religious faith, practised sincerely by its adherents.
6. Criticism of West rejected / considered	Criticisms made by Islam of 'the West' rejected out of hand	Criticisms of 'the West' and other cultures are considered and debated.
7. Discrimination defended / criticised	Hostility towards Islam used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.	Debates and disagreements with Islam do not diminish efforts to combat discrimination and exclusion.
8. Islamophobia seen as natural / problematic	Anti-Muslim hostility accepted as natural and 'normal'.	Critical views of Islam are themselves subjected to critique, lest they be inaccurate and unfair.

Figure 1: Table shows closed versus open views of Islam and Muslims as outlined by The Runnymede Trust (1997).

According to the Runnymede Trust (1997) report, the term Islamophobia originates back to the 1980s, though it is first used in print in 1991, where it was mentioned in an American periodical. However, the term, at the time of the report, was quite new as the report argued, its meaning has its resonance in the history of relations between Islam and the West. As the report argued:

"the word is not ideal, but is recognisably similar to 'xenophobia' and 'europhobia', and is a useful shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam – and, therefore, to fear and dislike of all or most Muslims. Such dread and dislike have existed in western countries and cultures for several centuries. In the last twenty years, however,

the dislike has become more explicit, more extreme and more dangerous." (The Runnymede Trust 1997, p. 1)

The report, therefore, illustrated the hatred and dislike of Islam and Muslims and broke them down into eight dimensions, based on two opposite views. The first one is a closed view, which is argued to be an Islamophobic view of Islam. This view sees Islam as a monolithic religion/entity; separate from other cultures; inferior and enemy to the West; a political and military ideology that is deconstructive; having no right of criticism of the West; while hatred of Islam is seen as a justification of anti-Muslim sentiment and where discrimination against Muslims is accepted.

On the contrary, the open view of Islam is based on an alternative view of Islam. This view sees Islam as a diverse religion instead of being viewed as a monolithic religion. Islam is seen as such as a religion with multifaceted characteristics; an independent religion, with its own values; however, it has some commonality with other faiths. According to this view, Islam also is seen as different but capable, having its own say in solving modern world problems and then being seen as a partner, not as an enemy. Additionally, Islam is viewed as a religion that is practised faithfully by its own adherents; with its critiques to the West which have the value to be considered and debated. Moreover, disagreement with Islam does not prevent combating discrimination against Muslims. Finally, critics of Islam are themselves subject to criticism, as subject to inaccuracy and unfairness (The Runnymede Trust 1997). The report also highlighted that media prejudice towards Muslims is at least one of the other forms of Islamophobia in British society (The Runnymede Trust 1997).

This section has a brief discussion of the history of relations between the West and Islam, and their reflections on Islam and Muslim stereotypes in the West. The next section will address the resonance of these stereotypes, as argued by the literature, in the Western media coverage of Islam and Muslims post the 9/11 attacks on the US.

2.3. Islam and Muslim representations in the Western Media and their perceptions among Westerners

Islam images were not favourable, historically, in the West. However, in the modern world, and especially after 9/11 attacks, studies (Karim 2006; Kumar 2012; Ibrahim 2010) show that a dramatic change has taken place in the media representations of Islam. On 11th September 2001, several attacks took place on American targets, namely, the Pentagon and the World Trade Towers.

Considering the significant role of the media in the construction of images and stereotypes of other nations, cultures, religions and other objects (Lippmann 1946 and Hamada 2001), this section will highlight Islam and Muslim representations in the Western media, pre- and post- 9/11 attacks. In addition, the section will also give a brief review of literature on Islam and Muslim perceptions in the Western context.

2.3.1. Islam and Muslim representations pre-9/11 attacks

Several studies were interested in examining Islam and Muslim representations in the Western media outlets. Throughout the past three and half decades, since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and earlier, in 1979 with the Iranian Revolution, a huge number of publications accumulated and tackled this issue.

For example, Al-Zahrani (1988) analysed news reports published and disseminated throughout two of the major American media outlets, ABC Television and The New York Times. The analysis extended from 1979 until 1987. The main purpose of the study was to compare Islam and Muslim coverage in two different media outlets, television and newspapers; and in two different contexts, covering violence and non-violence events surrounded Islam and Muslims.

The study found that most of the American media coverage of Islam and Muslims was concerned with international and violence events that includes Islam, rather than non-violent events. In addition, the coverage generally tended to be negative rather than positive in both media outlets. Additionally, three issues were found to be the most repetitive in the coverage of Islam and Muslims; namely 'crisis events', 'war' and 'conflicts'. The study also concluded that both media had followed a similar pattern characterized by an increased coverage of Islam and Muslims post an international event. This was salient, for example, in the coverage of Islam post the 1979 the Iranian Revolution. Finally, as the study argued, the coverage tended to be more negative than positive towards Islamic groups such as Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Jihad Organization and other groups.

Moreover, Karim (1996) focused on the study of the Canadian media discourse towards Islam and Muslims throughout the 1980s until the mid-1990s in the anterior century. His main purpose was to unveil the portrayals of Islam and Muslims in a Northern media context; however, in a context of a country that is not an engaged player in international politics, such as Canada. Karim (1996) argued that due to the shared cultural ideology and the hegemony of American and Northern media, the Canadian newspapers

would share the same portrayals of the American and Northern media outlets regarding Islam and Muslims. The study results supported his claims, as he concluded:

> "Canadian media also adhere to the dominant Northern discourses on "Islam." … The media image of the "Islamic terrorist" has become a staple in coverage of Muslim societies. Critical examination of the motivation and social conditions of people claiming to act in the cause of "Islam" is seldom, and almost any deviant activity by people who happen to be Muslim is usually attributed to their religion. Whereas the issue of terrorism perpetrated by some Muslim groups should be of concern, similar depictions of Christians, Jews or followers of other religions carrying out violence in the name of their respective faiths are rarely carried out" (Karim, 1996: 504-505).

This dichotomy in the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the western media in comparison with other faiths, or adherents of other religions, was found too in the coverage of Muslim societies in comparison with other non-Muslim societies, such as Israel.

For instance, Oumais (2001) was interested in the representations and images of Islam and Muslims in the Western media in comparison with the coverage of Israel during the period of peace treaty from 1991 to 1999. The study concluded that the Western media coverage of Arabs and Muslims tended to be more negative in comparison to Israel during the studied period. The study also found that while both sides were covered equally in terms of aggression, only Arabs and Muslims were more likely to be covered as terrorists and incompetents in comparison with Israel.

As Oumais (2001) argued, four features could account for the negative coverage of Islam and Muslims in the Western media: difference, threat, irrationality and similarity. These features were proliferated in American and Western media coverage of Communism during the Cold

War. They had been used as a lens to view any new enemy, even if an imagined one, to the United States and the West.

Oumais (2001) subsequently outlined that "Islamic fundamentalism" had become an ideological label or concept, like "Communism", which invites an anti-Islam interpretation like "anti-Communism". Creators of this concept often define Islam as a threat to the West and its interests. Muslims are also defined as fundamentalists and extremists who represent a threat to the Western values and societies (Oumais 2001).

Ibrahim (2009) carried out a study to review the American media coverage of Arabs, Muslims, Islam and Middle East in the 20th century. The study, as such, tracked communication studies that were conducted throughout the past century; which examined the media stereotypes towards Arabs and Muslims during the twentieth century. The study's main purpose was to discover change in coverage and images that took place throughout this extended period. According to the reviewed literature by Ibrahim (2009), the images of Arabs and Muslims witnessed several changes throughout this period. For example, a study by Mousa (1984) found that the coverage of Arabs at the beginning of the twentieth century by The New York Times tended to cover conflicts and was negative to Arabs' images.

Furthermore, the sources cited in this coverage tended to be from the Western side; in comparison, few were from the Arab side. It was argued, as such, that these findings supported the colonial stance in covering Arabs, as Said underlined in his 'Orientalism' (1978) argument. Post the colonial period, Suleiman (1988) and Batarfi (1997) showed that the American media were revered in its coverage towards Israel. On the contrary, this

coverage referred to Arabs using negative characteristics, describing them as, for example, as backward and dishonest, while education and living standards were very poor. This type of coverage was prevalent, especially following the 1956 Suez War. More recently, during the 1990s and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ibrahim (2009) concluded that Islam was seen as the new enemy that had replaced Communism; and constructed as an enemy and a threat to the West. This argument was supported, to some extent, by Sheikh et al. (1995) where they examined the representations of Islam as a religion in the American and European media. The study argued that Muslims were most cited in this coverage with topics confined to crises, wars and conflicts. The coverage also tended to refer to the Muslim groups and organizations in a general manner, without specificities [all studies are cited by Ibrahim 2009].

2.3.2. Islam and Muslim representations post 9/11 attacks

The previous studies highlighted a brief history of the distorted images of Islam and Muslims in the Western media. However, these studies studied the images and stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims in Western media, particularly amongst specific events such as the Soviet Union collapse, the Gulf War, the Suez War and the Iranian Revolution.

However, the 11th September 2001 attacks, as mentioned earlier, constructed a milestone in how the global media outlets and the Western media, in particular, represented Islam as being associated with terrorism, which could reflect a new ideology adopted by these news corporations.

Karim (2006), for example, outlined that following the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks on the US, targets who were the usual enemy of the United States, i.e. Communism, were replaced with another collective one

described as "militant Islamists". Islam and Muslims subsequently came to the forefront of the leading American media. This replacement and Islam's place foregrounded in the international media played a role in constructing the new frame of Islam and Muslims as "the Other", or the threat; whom we are supposed to protect our "collective Self" against it (Karim 2006, p. 117). This controversial change grabbed the attention of different studies who tackled the coverage and representations of Islam and Muslims in the American and the Western media, post the 9/11 attacks.

Several scholars commented on this change in the media coverage of Islam and Muslims post 9/11. For example, Sati (2009) pointed out that Western media coverage of Islam is currently surrounded with negative issues and angles. Ibrahim (2010) referred to the malaise of Muslims living in Europe and the US post 9/11 where they are exposed to a distorted media coverage of Islam, disseminating images of violence, aggression and terrorism. This coverage ought to strengthen and repeat stereotypes, without paying such attention to "explain motivation behind violent acts" (Ibrahim 2010, p.111), apart from presenting multiple views and explanations to them. Alternatively, highlighting the nature of Islam as a religion with multiple-practices of its followers in everyday life. Murray (2010) contended that the lack of information about the religion of Islam, cultures and practices of Muslims is a significant factor in the negative and stereotypical discourse surrounding Islam in the major American newspapers. Hafez (2000, p.3) also pointed out that "the lack of communication" between the West and Islam is a major cause of problems and misunderstanding between each other.

In responding to these events, scholars sought to examine Western media representations of Islam and Muslims post 9/11. For instance,

Fitriyani and her colleagues (2015) examined news reports of elite American media and press releases of multinational organizations. They found an explicit tendency among American media to relate criminal acts to Arabians and people from the Middle East. The study argued that American media tended to frame them as committing criminal acts and causing death to other people. This tendency was also found in the UN Security Council press releases, with its assertion on the urgent confrontation of all threats to world peace and security, such as terrorism, by mainly bringing the perpetrators of the attacks to justice.

Subsequently, Fitriyani et al. (2015) contended that media with high circulation, such as The Times and The Washington Post, are utilizing a discriminative approach in the coverage of Islam and the Middle East. This discrimination takes the shape of publishing titles, which spread hatred towards Islam. For example, headlines like: "The dark side of Islam" and "Should we fear Islam" (Fitriyani et al. 2015, p. 24), could spread a mode of fear of Islam. The study also found support to the Orientalist view, which had been defined by Said (1978), in the covering of Islam and Muslims in the Middle East by the Western media. In this regard, Fitriyani et al. (2015) mentioned that the western media coverage tended to associate "Islam" or "Islamic" keywords with violent characteristics such as: "terrorism," "extremism," "fanaticism," "militancy" and "violence." This view narrowed the Middle East and Muslims societies to a "malevolent and unthinking essence" as argued by Said (1981, p. 8). It could be argued, based on the study findings and Said's (1981) argument, that Western media produced and reproduced the Orientalist's view of Islam post 9/11.

Ahmed (2007) illustrated this issue when she conducted a study on The New York Times coverage of Islam and Muslims to figure out if any

changes took place in the coverage of Islam and Muslims by the American press after this aftermath. The study concluded that before 9/11, attacks Islam and Muslims were mostly framed in and confined to the context of tension between Muslims and Jews in Palestine. Although this coverage of Islam changed post the attacks to concentrate on two frames: a frame of violence in covering of Islam, and a frame of tolerance in the covering of Muslims. These two frames reflect the tone of the second Bush administration after the 9/11 attacks in distinguishing between Islam "inside" and "outside" the United States (Ibrahim 2003).

Ibrahim (2010) also conducted research to find out the role of the official ideology on the framing and representing of Islam and Muslims in US news networks post the 9/11 attacks. The study found a dichotomy and disturbance in the coverage of Islam and Muslims post the attacks. For instance, Islam was viewed as a "religion of peace" inside the US and as "a violent threat" globally. In addition, Muslims were framed as "part of American life" for those living inside the US; and as "violent and threating" for those outside. The study concluded that the networks, which followed the Bush II Administration discourse regarding Islam and Muslims, differentiated between Muslims who "live with us" and Muslims who are "against us".

In a different context, Poole (2006) examined the portrayals of Muslims and Islam post two striking events, such as the 9/11 attacks and the War in Iraq. Her main purpose was to unveil the changes in covering British Muslims in British newspapers after these events. The study found that two main changes took place in the British media in the reporting of British Muslims. First, the study found an increased amount of media coverage of Islam and Muslims, which had doubled from 1994 to 2003,

particularly post the Iraq war. Secondly, the study concluded that there was a shift in reporting on British Muslims post 9/11 by relating them to terrorism. Although, as the study argued, this was also noticeable in the reporting of Islam in global media post the attacks, as this was a new angle in how Islam was reported within the British media. Previously, Poole (2002) concluded that several topics dominated the coverage of British Muslims such as politics, education, the Rushdie affair and fundamentalism, among other issues and with slight changes from year to year. However, reporting Islam in the context of terrorism and the dominance of this topic in the British media coverage was a new shift in the news reporting of Islam and Muslims within the British media after the attacks (Poole 2006).

Furthermore, Moore et al. (2008) sought to examine the British press coverage of British Muslims in Britain, apart from mass destructive events, i.e. 9/11 attacks on the US and 7/7 attacks on the London Underground. Their analysis extended from 2000 to 2008. However, the study excluded data from 2001 and 2005. The study highlighted the same finding regarding the increased amount of British media coverage of British Muslims, across the study timeframe. Moore et al. (2008) also found that most of the news stories published about British Muslims came in negative contexts, for example, reporting Muslims as a threat in the context of terrorism; or as a problem, by reporting them in the context of values and differences; or both by reporting Muslims in the context of extremism. Thus, the study concluded that whatever the coverage tone, the context of covering Muslims tended to be a negative one. Finally, the study highlighted that nouns such as "terrorist", "Islamist", "suicide bomber" or "militant" were used regularly in references to the British Muslims. Moreover, adjectives

such as: "radical", "fanatical", "fundamentalism", "extremist" or "militant" were used commonly in collocation with British Muslims.

Al-Maghraby (2011) found somewhat similar results when she compared the coverage of Muslim Communities in German and British newspapers from 2009 to 2010. The study discovered a high-profile media coverage of Muslim communities in both media contexts although this coverage was more noticeable in the context of the German media outlets. In addition, the study found that this coverage had changed in amount, in response to the events related to Islam and Muslims during the study timeframe and tended to be negative in general. According to the study findings, "Muslim" and "Islamists" were the most common nouns used to refer to Muslim communities. Additionally, some negative characteristics were used to refer to the Muslim women such as: "extremist and belonged to terrorist groups" and "a veiled woman hid before rods". In general, the British newspapers were more positive than negative in covering the British Muslim youth when compared to the German newspapers. This highlights the spread of negative stereotypes of Muslims across European media and not just instigated by American media.

Albakry (2006) studied the American and German media representations of Muslims and the Middle East. He aimed to find out how Islam and Muslim portrayals were being constructed in media editorials as the "Other" threat. Also, how journalists focused on tackling Islam and Muslim events on the grounds of the Judeo-Christian tradition and whether this had created this depiction. The study concluded that journalists in the American and German media used the Judeo-Christian tradition as a benchmark in understanding other religions and cultures. For instance, the study found that journalists used to refer to liberal and democratic values,

while representing Islam and Muslims. This, in itself, is a misleading representation, which could lead to the "otherness" of Muslims and Islam, considering that democracy and liberalism are, per se, Western-invented concepts.

In a different respect, a non-European context, Kabir and Bourk (2012) studied the representations of Islam and Muslims in three broadsheet New Zealand newspapers. The study was concerned with the representations of New Zealand newspapers of Islamic identity and Muslim communities. The study explored to what extent New Zealand newspapers reproduced the negative and stereotyped images of Islam and Muslims, or the Orientalist view of them, in news stories and editorials. Kabir and Bourk (2012) found that New Zealand newspapers were interested in the coverage of Islam and Muslim international events in comparison with its covering of local events. The study also highlighted small differences between Islam and Muslim representations in the hard news and opinion articles. Although the study highlighted the negative tone and frames in the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the New Zealand media news stories, a more discursive and slightly positive representation was found in the editorial items. In conclusion, the study highlighted the value of examining the influence of the dependence on international news agencies and the coverage of international events on the negative representations of Islam and Muslims. The study also signified that the somewhat positive representations of Islam and Muslims in media editorials hold the capacity to overcome and challenge the negative and Islamophobic assumptions about them in the news coverage.

In a different domain, Dabhined et al. (2011) studied the representations of Islam and other religions, in Swiss European media. The

study showed that Islam was negatively represented in comparison with Christianity in the Swiss media. For example, Christianity was almost always represented with a positive archetype, by referring to it as a "good mother". On the contrary, Islam was represented in negative prototypes, as always guilty or the villain. However, these representations were found to be based on journalistic production and routine rather than on negative perceptions. The study justified these negative representations of Islam in the Swiss media on the grounds that the coverage focus is on the international events that are related to Islam, which are mostly negative, while the domestic coverage of the peaceful Islam is missed (Dahbined et al. 2011).

Bleich et al. (2016) found that Islam and Muslim portrayals in the New York Times headlines had been affected positively by terrorist attacks on the US. The study period extended from 1985 to 2013 for twenty-nine years. The study concluded, surprisingly enough, that the net tone of Islam and Muslim representations tended to be positive across the critical time of four weeks after terrorist events. Although, after this time, the net tone of Islam and Muslims portrayals return to negativity as before the attacks but, in the long run, terrorist events, even 9/11 attacks, had no negative effect on the representations of Islam and Muslims in the New York Times. However, the study did not address all representations of Islam and Muslims in the full-text articles or news content, or in other newspapers or media outlets. Bleich et al. (2016) argued that these findings are significant in "understanding the evolution of media tone, but they are not sufficient" (Bleich et al. 2016, p. 1124). The study also raised significant questions regarding Islam and Muslim representations in the liberal leaning and prestige newspapers. As the study put it:

"Is positive coverage concentrated among left-leaning papers? … Among the prestige press as opposed to tabloids? What motivates journalists to solicit and to write different types of stories about Islam and Muslims? (ibid)

The findings of this study hold significant advantages in the understanding of negative events and their influence on the representations of Islam and Muslims, especially in the domain of terrorism. Some could argue that post-terrorist events in the media in the West tend to feature positive representations of Islam. This tendency might aim to mitigate some hostile attacks towards Muslims who live in western countries. In addition, this could be due to the intertextuality between media and political discourse, where politicians tend to depict Muslims in terms of good and bad (Ibrahim 2010). However, Bleich et al. (2016) based their argument on their analysis of the headlines, though a full analysis to the same corpus could reveal different interpretations.

In a different case, Malcolm et al. (2010) examined the coverage of Islam in a sports context. Their goal was to discover whether any differences were present when covering Islam and Muslims in a sports context, in comparison to the mainstream news. They concentrated on the British newspapers' coverage of the death of the Pakistani coach, Bob Woolmer, in 2007 at the Cricket World Cup. The study found that the representations of Islam and Muslims in the context of sports are very similar to the mainstream one. As Malcolm et al. (2010) argued:

> "key elements of the cultural stereotyping of Islam and Muslims identified in Said's Orientalism—namely, violence, irrationality, and backwardness—were reproduced. These ideas stem from, and reinforce, a narrative of absolute and systematic difference between the East and the West. … The reservoir of ideas journalists drew upon appear, therefore, to be strongly influenced by the cultural generalizations Said identified in Orientalism and which others

(Poole 2002; Richardson 2004; Runnymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia 1997; Sayyid 2003; Shohat and Stam 1994) have more recently charted" (Malcolm et al. 2010, p. 215, 230).

This suggested that journalists' viewpoints towards Islam and Muslims could have a huge effect on their news articles and reports. In addition, it highlighted how these negative and Orientalist stereotypes being used to describe Islam and Muslims are assured to have an influence on public perceptions of Islam and Muslims. As Fitriyani and her colleagues (2015) pointed out, without doubt media consumers of news, reports and commentaries, which are intensified by portrayals and representations of Muslims as terrorists, are assured to hold stereotypes of Muslims as being terrorists too. Moreover, directly or indirectly, these stereotypes would affect their feelings and actions towards Muslims by treating them in a bad or Islamophobic way (Fitriyani et al. 2015, p. 24).

Based on the above argument, recent studies have noticed the significance of this point and shifted their concentration to the way in which Islam and Muslims are being perceived by the public (Altikriti & Al-Mahadin 2015; Fitriyani et al. 2015; Hussain & Bagguley 2012; Ogan et al. 2014). They describe how these stereotypes are being translated into more hostile and Islamophobic ways of treating Muslims and holding stereotypical views of Islam (Al-Fartousi & Mogadime 2012; Bail 2012; Jung 2012; Kassimeris and Jackson 2012) and throughout the speeches of politicians (Moosavi 2014).

For example, in the context of the perception of Islamic symbols by the Western media and the public, Al-Fartousi and Mogadime (2012) studied the stereotypes of the veiled Muslim women in the West. The study concluded that many of the newspapers' articles had associated wearing the

burka with extremism. They argued that these articles represented Muslim women as a "homogeneous group", without bearing any attention to their differences in ethnic and racial origins. The study indicated also that this link between burka and extremism did not only resonate in Western circles but also in the Muslim context. The study referred to the decision made by late Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Mosque, Sheikh Mohammed Sayyed Tantawi, in 2009 to ban schoolgirls from wearing the burka or niqab inside Al-Azhar's institutes. In sum, Al-Fartousi & Mogadim (2012) argued that this association between burka and extremism in a Muslim context could be an inherited stereotype from the colonial period. A stereotype that views the East as backward in opposition to the enlightened and secular West; which found its way through some Muslim politicians and critics' speeches or arguments.

In this regard, some scholars argue that worldwide media with high circulations, such as The Times and The Washington Post, play a role in shaping people's minds; particularly towards objects they did not have first-hand experience of, for instance Muslims and Islam (Fitriyani et al. 2015; Ogan et al. 2014). Media consumers in the western societies have a lot of exposure to negative media coverage of events and issues related to the Muslim world and populations. Consequently, they are affected by such negative perceptions.

For example, Ogan and her colleagues (2014) were interested in the role of the media, among other factors, in the increase of anti-Muslim sentiment or Islamophobia in both Europe and United States. They analysed collected data in 2008 and 2010 by Pew Global Attitude Project and Pew News Interest Index, respectively. Their study aimed to examine correlations between several demographic variables, such as "political

affiliation", "religious practice" and "news interest" on the one hand; with attitudes towards Muslims in several countries on the other hand. The study was interested in tackling the issue of building the so-called Ground Zero Mosque in New York 2010 and its effects on hatred towards Muslims, in terms of media coverage. The study concluded that:

> "U.S. respondents who paid more attention to media coverage of the Park51 issue were less likely to support the building of an Islamic Community Centre in New York City." (Ogan et al. 2014, p. 40)

In addition, those respondents who followed media reports about Islam were strongly expected to think about Islam as a violent religion and to deny Muslims' rights, to be equal to other religious groups (Ogan et al. 2014).

These negative stereotypes of Islam and perceptions of Muslims were found to be held among adults in Britain, when considering their dependence on the media as their main source of information regarding Islam and Muslims. For instance, YouGov conducted a survey in 2010 on behalf of Exploring Islam Foundation. The results of this survey were based on the reports of two thousand surveyed adults in the UK, regarding their perceptions of Islam as a religion and Muslims as its followers. The survey also asked respondents to report their sources of information concerning Muslims and Islam. The findings of this survey indicated that, to a greater extent, respondents had associated Islam with negative terms such as: extremism 58%; terrorism 50%; violence 33%. Meanwhile, the vast majority of respondents depended on TV news (57%) and newspapers (41%) for acquiring knowledge concerning Islam. On the contrary, less information came from either direct contact with Muslim individuals as friends (16%), Muslims in own community (12%) or work colleagues

(11%). In addition, information acquired about Islam from its main resources such as the Holy Quran or Muslim organizations was the lowest with 3% for each (YouGov 2010, pp. 1-2). Negative representations of Islam and Muslims in the media were found to not only have an influence on Westerners' perceptions of them but also to have a negative effect on international Muslim students' well-being (Brown et al. 2015).

Furthermore, Iqbal (2010) led an endeavour to conceptualize and measure Islamophobia as an epistemic/symbolic construction. He measured the term in the viewpoint of two sub-dimensions: 'threats sub-dimensions' and 'hatred sub-dimensions'. Another important variable, the 'social/mediated dimension', was also studied. The study revealed that the majority of respondents (72%) depended on the media for information about Muslims and Islam. This was followed by friends (57%) and community (53%). Respondents, when asked about media representations of Muslims, revealed that:

> "most common attributes associated with Muslims are: they are culturally different (72%), anti-women (68%), critical to West (55%), intolerant (53%), extremist (49%), they follow an aggressive ideology (45%) and Muslims are rigid (43%)" (Iqbal 2010a, p. 585).

Regarding Islamophobia components, the study highlighted that respondents held "high conative/behavioural level threat perceptions towards Islam/Muslims". This could be interpreted on the grounds of the increased coverage of terrorism post 9/11 attacks, which "increases threat perceptions, without sufficiently affecting the individual schema (cognitive) and beliefs (affective)". In addition, the study found strong correlations between "political and security threat perceptions" as sub-dimensions for Islamophobia. However, weaker correlations for them with cultural threat perceptions were found. This highlights the role of the

media's negative representations of Islam/Muslims as it plays a role in Islamophobia.

These findings assert the role of media in Islamophobic and negative perceptions of Islam/Muslims. However, it is also mapping the complex connectivity of Islamophobia dimensions as it reveals that not all political, security and cultural sub-dimensions of Islamophobia are connected to each other.

Moreover, Hamada (2001) studied the perceptions or images of Arabs and Muslims in the minds of Western image-makers. The study was concerned with the elements or factors that constituted the image of Arabs in the minds of Western media writers, producers and creators of media content. The study claimed that the attitudes of image-makers (producers and gatekeepers; or "reporters, correspondents, technicians, columnists, writers, newsmen, editors and freelancers" Hamada 2001, p. 14) among other "cultural, economic and political factors, including the behaviours of Arabs themselves – are responsible for the distorted Arab image" (Hamada 2001, p. 10). The study also argued that, although the West is not a homogeneous entity, it provides a unified image for Arabs.

In this regard, the study found that negative Arab images were dominant in the minds of the majority of Western image-makers. For instance, the study revealed that 85% of the respondents held an image for Arabs as fundamentalist, while "78.6% perceived Arabs as anti-West and 69% claimed that Arabs are aggressive" (Hamada 2001, p. 23). Three main factors that play a role in the distorted image of Arabs are: the majority of respondents (87.5%) reported the lack of information as the main factor in the negative image of Arabs. Secondly, 87.7% of respondents reported

inaccurate information about Arab issues. Furthermore, Arab-Western religious sensitivities (74.4%) were found to affect this distortion of the Arab image. In addition, the study found strong support for the examined hypothesis. For instance, a significant correlation was found "between the stereotypical Arab image western that image-makers have and their negative attitudes towards Arabs" (Hamada 2001, p. 28). Finally, the study asserted that the gap in the Western image-makers' understanding of Arabs and Islam and vice versa, comes from the fact that each side look at the other one "in terms of different values" (Hamada 2001, p. 30). As Hamada (2001, p. 30) put it:

> "In light of the findings obtained from the attitude-image hypothesis, I may suggest that the individual strives to maintain consistency between his or her attitude and the image he or she has towards a specific entity. The result stated here can be easily understood in the light of the fact that both the West and the Arab and Muslim world perceive each other in terms of different values. While religious values and beliefs are viewed as personal matters in the West, they are viewed as social and political matters in the Islamic world".

This study manifested, among other findings, that the lack of information about Arabs and Muslims plays a role in their distorted images in the minds of image-makers. It could be argued, based on the study findings and Said's (1978) argument of Orientalism, that this lack of information is a barrier to better understanding and intercommunication with Arabs and Muslims. This gives more space for stereotyped images and perceptions to lead in the production of Muslim representations in the Western media content. It could be argued that these distorted representations are the product of bias on the part of Western media image-makers, or "hostility and ignorance" (Hamada 2001, p. 8) against Arabs and Muslims, as highlighted by Said (1981) and in this study. However, it could also be argued that these portrayals of Arabs and Muslims are the

product of specific political situations. Possibly, amongst them, is the lack of political freedom in the Arab world and, in addition, the absent of the true implementation of Islamic law, such laws that cope with "democracy, human rights and recognition and respect of the other's culture" (Hamada 2001, p. 25).

This leads to the next section on the critique of the media studies of Islam and Muslim representations in western media texts. To summarise, the previous section discussed and reviewed literature on Islam and Muslim representations in Western media and Westerners' perceptions. Studies in this section highlighted that Western media produce, reproduce and disseminate misrepresentations and destructive images of Islam and Muslims. Additionally, some Westerners hold negative perceptions of Islam and Muslims; though the most serious are the perceptions held by image-makers in Western media. The next section will tackle a different point of view. Studies in the section below argue, in one way or another, that Islam and Muslim representations in the Western media are the product of media routine that is confined to the context of media production and marketing in Western countries. Thus, it could be said that Islamophobia is concrete and has some evidence from the literature; although this conclusion should be mitigated by the notions of news values and profit. This discussion will follow.

2.4. Studies that critique studies of media representations of Islam and Muslims in the West

Studies in this section argued that Islam and Muslim negative representations in western media are influenced by media routine, such as news values and the profit orientation of news corporations. Meanwhile, some studies extended the scope of discussion to include other

Islamophobias, instead of treating this term as mainly pertaining to Western context.

For instance, Tsuria (2015) argues that Islamophobia has multifaceted aspects. According to this study's argument, Islamophobia does not only reflect prejudice or discrimination against Muslims in the Western context. Instead, Islamophobia could also be applied to other discriminations against Muslim minorities, in Asia, for example. Other studies argue that anti-Muslim sentiment is not something confined to bias towards Muslims and Islam in the Western media. Instead, it could be argued that this is the product of news values, media routine and contextual production and reproduction of stereotypes about them.

In this regard, Tsuria (2015) studied the representations, or conceptions of the keyword "Islamophobia" among other keywords in the Arab-Muslim media. The study aimed to go beyond the single depiction of Islamophobia, as a concept that should be studied in a Western context only. Instead, the study argued that Islamophobia should be seen as a plural concept, that reads, Islamophobias not only Islamophobia. So, the concept is also attached to other practices of violence against Muslims in Africa, Asia and other contexts. Generally speaking, the study emphasised the complexity of Islamophobia manifestations and the understanding of its factors in the Arabic media. For example, although most of the studied articles referred to Islamophobia as being understood in a Western context, a broad view of the concept has been applied to include other violent attacks against Muslims in Africa and Asia as well.

Furthermore, the study asserted the diversity and complexity in understanding the factors of Islamophobia in Arabic-Muslim media as well.

In this regard, the study highlighted that these factors are understood to be related to the colonisation era, international media coverage, in addition to actions that are conducted by extremists in the name of Islam.

In relation to a critique for media studies of Islam and Muslim representations in the West, especially in Britain, Richards and Brown (2017) argued that these studies are in danger of building an 'Occidental' view and critique for Western ideology. They have based their argument mainly on two observations: first, some media studies lack proper scientific evidence for their findings or results. Second, scholars had generally tended to neglect journalistic routine and the marketed characteristics of media work in Britain and their role in the negative representations of Islam and Muslims in British media. One of the major influences of this neglect of media practices, as a factor in negative representations of Islam/Muslims in Britain, is the building of new isolations, rifts or divisions in the society. Instead, they called for a "proportionate approach" in tackling 'media Islamophobia' (Richards and Brown 2017, p. 20).

To achieve this, the authors have called for more consideration towards the media routine (Shoemaker and Reese 1996) and news values (Galtung and Ruge 1965) as factors in the negative representations of Islam and Muslims in Britain. Although they agree on the serious problem of 'media Islamophobia' in British society, especially in some parts of the British media, as in the tabloids, they placed emphasis on the risk that a consensus over the deliberate misrepresentations of Islam and Muslims could have on the media practices among media providers. In particular, this could lead to building a wall between media academics and journalists (Richards and Brown 2017).

To give this further consideration, a brief discussion of media routines, news values and their role in Islam and Muslim representations in the western media will be presented below.

2.4.1. News values, Media Routine and Islam and Muslim Representations in Western Media

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argued that media routines are the main factor in media success in the market-oriented societies. Media collect data from sponsors (officials) and sell it to hybrid audiences (consumers). Making sense of this information requires routine-based work or templates to input data into them in order to produce news. Without such everyday work, the cost of news production would outweigh the benefit of selling the news. Therefore, news values are norms to define what is more important and most appealing to the audience. It is argued that the more out of norm or unusual the news, the more attractive they will be to the audience and the more captivated they will be by the media and presented as news (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). For example, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) outlined six prominent news values that are extracted from previous literature: "prominence/importance", "human interest", "conflict/controversy", "the unusual", "timeliness" and "proximity" (Shoemaker and Reese 1996, p. 106).

Thus, the media tend to focus on news with human angles or human interest; such as news of the personal lives of celebrities and human drama, which are more prominent in television news. Additionally, conflict and controversy are prominent aspects in news interest. This could be built on the assumption that other areas of life are harmonious and running smoothly. That is why we tend to look at controversial and conflictual issues as more important than mainstream ones because they give the

impression that something significant is happening and we should give it more consideration (Shoemaker and Reese 1996).

Though news values are claimed to be prominent in media choices of stories, a critique, or counter-argument for this claim is that news values have occurred through the study of media content as a tool to discover what the media actually presents to the public. However, to give evidence for these news values, a study of their influence on the audience consumption of media is needed. This could reveal to what extent news values are essential in readers' consumption of news. In addition, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) reported that a group of academic experts had studied the stories that were included and excluded from the coverage of the American media based on their news values. The study revealed that some stories, despite containing prominent news values, were excluded from reporting. Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p.111) then highlighted that:

> "it is more accurate to say that to be included in the news, stories must have news value; but that is not sufficient in itself."

In this regard, it could be argued that events concerning Islam and Muslims, especially abroad, sell more. It has been highlighted by different studies that the media in the West put more weight on reporting Islam and Muslims abroad, in comparison with local or national Islam (refer to the section 2.2. in this chapter for examples). This could partially be due to the news values, e.g. war, crisis or conflict matters that are tangled with international events, which is claimed by news values theorists to sell more.

Although news values have an absolute influence on the representations of Islam and Muslims [the same could apply for other groups and people of different religions], it cannot be depicted as the main source of bias, if any, against Muslims and Islam in the Western media.

Hafez (2000) pointed out that there are different misrepresentations and misconceptions between the West and the Muslim World. According to his argument, the causes of these misconceptions vary from one case to another; however, some shared causes could be grouped and highlighted. One of these is the personal attitudes of journalists and media producers. Journalists are not merely professionals; they are also human beings. Therefore, they have their own system of values, which have been accumulated across their educational and socialization processes. To balance such bias, a well-informed understanding of Islam and the West is significant. However, he placed stress on the role of media organisational routine and content production, especially in the West, on the final product of media stories.

In this regard, Hafez (2000) stated explicitly that four factors play a role in the misrepresentations of Islam and Muslims in the Western media, which originates in the media routines, namely: the media profit orientation, dependence on external sources, organisation ideological orientation and foreign correspondents' lack of cultural information. As Hafez (2000) argued, media organisations in the West are working privately, away from state control. In addition, they are profit-oriented organizations, which means they give more weight to their audiences or consumers' "orientation rather than enlighten [ment of] their audience through balanced information" (Hafez 2000, p. 9). Therefore, media reporting on terrorism, or "violent fundamentalism in the Islamic world" (ibid), is selling more than reporting on common political issues (Hafez 2000).

Another factor is media dependence of external sources. Media per se are not the main producers of the content about Islam, either in the West

or in the Muslim world. Media depend, to large extent, on external news sources, mainly on international news agencies, such as Reuters, Associated Press and Agency France Press (AFP). The content provided by these news agencies are not only a product for them, but public relations sources, which mostly pertain to governments and play a role as well in the shaping and colouring of this content for the sake of their rulers. In this regard, Hafez (2000) suggested that the production of news goes across a chain of providers, who, in the end, put their influence on the content that will reach consumers, and then those consumers are vulnerable to the propaganda and public diplomacy of political rulers. As he explains:

> "The chain of international information, PR—news agencies—media—consumers is vulnerable to all sorts of "public diplomacy" and state propaganda, which is handed down in large quantities to the consumers and can distort the image of political developments." (Hafez 2000, p. 9)

Organisational ideological orientation also has its influence on the output product of media content. For example, newspapers with more conservative ideologies tend to put more weight on religious matters. However, the left-leaning newspapers are usually interested in news about social conflict and human rights. Finally, in the Western media, dependence on foreign correspondents is important, as it gives a balance to news coming from wire services or news agencies. However, those correspondents lack knowledge of the cultural background on the regions they are covering. In addition, they are sometimes working as opinion leaders, using their own analysis of the news stories and giving their impressions based on their expertise in these regions. Although some valuable news stories that could provide the reader or consumer with a good contextual background on the events are held back or prevented from coverage or representation. This could affect the quality of their reports

(Hafez 2000). While the problem in the Muslim media is the other way around, as they do not have the resources to fund foreign correspondents, which is why they mostly depend on news agencies to provide them with information about political and foreign affairs issues (Hafez 2000).

In summation, studies in this section pointed out that the role of the routine and news values is to be considered while examining the negative representations of Islam and Muslims in the Western media. The next section will explore different literature. This section will mainly cover Islam and Muslim representations in the Muslim and Arab media, including social media.

2.5. Islam and Muslims in Arab and Muslim media

The previous sections in this chapter have reviewed literature in relation to Islam and Muslim representations in the Western media. This section, though, will shift the focus to include studies that examined Islam and Muslims representations in a non-Western context, especially in Muslim majority contexts. Considering that Islam represents a dominant religion in this context, studies in this section showed an explicit interest in the representations of Islamist factions or movements in this context, instead of focusing on Islam's representations per se.

For instance, Tahat (2011) was interested in the coverage of terrorism events by Al Jazeera and Al Arabia news websites. His main concern was to examine to what extent the two media outlets clarified the position of Islam to terrorism acts. The study concluded that both websites failed to make a separation between Islam and terrorism actions. Instead, the two leading Arabic news websites continued to describe Muslims as terrorists, and link terrorist acts to Islam. Tahat (2011) argued that this failure led

back to both websites' dependence on the international and Western news sources in their covering of terrorism acts. Therefore, they were, to some extent, reproducing the same representations of Islam and Muslims found in Western media outlets.

On the contrary, Mahony (2010) found that Indonesian media applied a different approach and worked hard to separate Islam and Muslims from terrorist actions, in comparison with the Australian media. The study compared frames, stereotypes and representations used to cover terrorism issues and Islamic groups in two different media climates - the Australian and Indonesian. The study concluded that noticeable differences were found in Muslim and Islamic group representations, in a comparison between both media climates. For example, on the one hand, the Australian news media had applied a Western and Orientalist viewpoint in representing Muslims and Islam and treated them with an inherent prejudice way as the "other" (Mahony 2010). On the other hand, although both media outlets were driven by the fervent discourse of the war on terror and failed to present views of both sides of pro- and anti-war reviewers, the Indonesian media outlets were more balanced in their coverage of Muslim and Islamic group issues. In this regard, Mahony (2010, p.755) highlighted that the Indonesian media reflected efforts of:

> "media producers, government and Islamic organisations in simply portraying terrorism and violence as separate from Indonesian Islam".

The study argued that this would present a step towards a "responsible reporting" or "peace journalism" (ibid) in covering Islam as a peaceful religion.

From a different perspective, Pasha (2011) was interested in the coverage of Muslim Groups by the Egyptian media. He analysed the news reports published on the Muslim Brotherhood Group on the front page of al-Ahram newspaper in two different periods: 2000 and 2005. The study findings referred to the dichotomies used in representing the group in the Egyptian main pro-regime newspaper.

For example, the study found that different Egyptian governments followed "a constant and systematic strategy of an exclusionary nature towards the Muslim Brotherhood" (Pasha 2011, p. iii); which was applied, partially, through "soft power" (ibid) or "media negative representations" (ibid) of this group (Pasha 2011). The study also highlighted that al-Ahram used a salient technique to prevent and hide "the good aspect of the Muslim Brotherhood" (Pasha 2011, p. iv). Furthermore, the study observed a relation between the Orientalism discourse and the representation of the Islamic group in al-Ahram newspaper. According to Pasha's argument:

> "The negative representation … is explained by the government's fear of Islamists as a political threat, [and] its desire to maintain the West's support, and the continuation of Orientalist discourse" (ibid).

The aforementioned studies have found different results concerning the representations of Muslim groups in Muslim majority media. However, post Arab Spring uprisings, Arab countries witnessed a strong but sensitive debate over the combination between Islam as a religion and politics (El Gazzar 2013). These debates were mostly caused by the de facto of the increased role of Islamists in these regions during this period. Attitudes towards Islamist movements were more positive after the Egyptian Revolution, referencing them in public spheres "heroes or idealists" (El Gazzar 2013, p. 46). Yet, just before the election of ex-Egyptian President

Morsi, with his Islamist background, Islamists were represented on the public sphere as "'biased or primitive" (ibid). El Gazzar (2013) commented on this:

> "Islamists were framed first as heroes or idealists … when compared to frames used by non-Islamists of fundamentalists or primitive … In the second phase of analysis, the frame used by Islamists had changed, describing Islamists as ethical (N = 77), while anti-Islamists also changed the frame through using words such as biased or primitive (N = 28, 19 respectively). An increase in the frequencies of anti-Islamist frames can be noticed." (El Gazzar 2013, p. 46)

This quotation highlights that representations of Islamists have changed on social media, when making a comparison between these representations before and after the Egyptian revolution. Surprisingly enough, these representations did not change only in the messages of non-Islamists, but also in the messages published by pro-Islamists on social media. The implications of these findings have significant aspects. These findings refer to the sceptical tone that was growing before, during and after the Islamist ruling in Egypt. This could be partially due to Islamists' representations in the mainstream media. However, Islamist practices, whether political, social or even through their media outlets, should also have played a role in such growing scepticism towards them on social media.

This increased role of Islamists was not confined to the Egyptian Revolution. Instead, other Arab Spring countries witnessed the same political dominance of Islamists, for example, Tunisia. Hamrita (2016) studied the secularist discourse representations of Islamists on Facebook webpages. The study emphasised the role of ideology, or ideological differences between the secularists and Islamists, as being secular vs conservative ideologies, on secularist representations of their Islamist rivals

(Hamrita 2016). The study also pointed out that Islamists or the Muslim Brotherhood were 'othered' in the discourse of Tunisian secularists based on their ideology in such a way that they were treated as a homogeneous socio-political entity, that they are not Us but the Other. The use of language or pronouns was salient in this othering process.

The study also revealed that nouns, such as "terrorist/s" or "nouns of an abstract nature" (Hamrita 2016, p.12), such as "Islamism" or "Muslim Brotherhood" were proliferated in the discourse of secularists and were used in the otherness of Islamists (Hamrita 2016). In addition, the study found that many strategies were used in the secularist discourse in the otherness of their Islamist rivals, such as "negative lexicalization" and "generalization". For instance, in the first strategy, "negative lexicalization", Tunisian secularists used negative adjectives to describe Islamists as 'sick' people. They used the word "fearophobia", which is an invented word, to show their negative perceptions of Islamists which "manipulate[s] the public['s]" (Hamrita 2016, p.14) view of them (Hamrita 2016). Furthermore, the discourse of secularists used a generalization strategy to refer to Islamists as "terrorists", such as in this salient example "you, the Islamists, are all terrorists" (Hamrita 2016, p.14). In conclusion, the study asserted that the secularists' posts on Facebook used violent discourse in representing Islamists. Such discourse ignited a verbal war against Islamists. This type of discourse, regardless of its truthfulness, would deny any inclusion of Islamists in a country of democratic transition (Hamrita 2016). As Hamrita (2016) explains:

> "the Secularists' discourse about Islamists takes the form of a violent discourse regardless of the truthfulness of its content. This is because what all the linguistic devices and discursive strategies used in such a discourse and have as a main goal is to show their hatred to Islamists

through declaring a verbal 'war' on them. Yet, in the context of democratic transition, this speech can build neither democracy nor diversity that Secularists claim to advocate for." (Hamrita 2016, p.17)

To summarise, this section highlighted Islam and Muslim representations in the Arab and Muslim media. Some studies revealed that some resonance to Western media representations of Islam and Muslims found their way to Arab and Muslim media. Although others highlighted that, these media represented Islam and Muslims differently. The next section will underline framing theory studies; and their application in examining Islam and Muslim representations, mostly in Western media.

2.5.1. Islam and cultural identity in Arab and Muslim media

Another portion of studies showed different interests in studying, for example, the presence of Islamic traditions amongst journalists' professional values in Muslim majority countries (Pintak 2014). In addition to this, the representation of cultural identity in activists' social media accounts during the Libyan uprising (PaPaioannou and Olivos 2013).

In this respect, Pintak (2014) studied the presence of Islamic values in the context of journalistic professionalism in three different Muslim majority countries, i.e. the Arab world, Pakistan and Indonesia. The study revealed through an empirical study that although journalism practices are shaped by global standards, they are also contextualised. Thus, besides global standards, journalism is also influenced by "local values such as culture, political climate and religion" (Pintak 2014, p. 482)

In this respect, the study indicated that Islamic values are the prism through which journalists approach their profession in Muslim-majority contexts. Thus, the study found that:

"… the shared goal of improving society, whether through radical change or gradual social reform, mirrors the Qur'anic quest for truth and justice; and the way these journalists approach their job is heavily influenced by a variety of other Islamic values, such as the need for balance, moderation and respect. … [thus the] study indicates that in regions where a professional journalistic culture is in the process of emerging, that relationship may be reversed and that in Muslim-majority countries, religion serves as a unifying factor mitigating other influences." (Pintak 2014, p. 499)

This indicates the presence of Islamic values in journalism practices in Muslim-majority countries.

Moreover, PaPaioannou and Olivos (2013) indicated that, in the time of political uprising, analysis of participants' entries on Facebook denote the formation of new cultural values that cope with "human rights and political freedom" (PaPaioannou and Olivos 2013, p. 99). Thus, users utilise these alternative media to represent their new collective goals and cultural identity.

Thus, it is fair to argue that cultural and religious values are factors that should be considered in the analysis of the representations of different subjects in Muslim-majority countries.

2.6. Framing studies: Culture, Ideology and framing of Islam and Muslims in Western Media

Framing is a well-established approach in the study of media coverage of events and issues in national and international contexts. It has also been applied successfully when comparing similarities and differences between media frames and discourses that were set for the same events (Akbulut 2010; Braziunaite 2011; Ruigork and Van Atteveldt 2007; Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008). Furthermore, a framing theory was effectively applied to the study of media representations and depictions of

Islam and Muslims in the Western media (Ahmed 2007; Ibrahim 2010; Kumar 2010); even in comparing these depictions in Muslim and non-Muslim media contexts (Mahony 2010).

Informed by a vast body of theoretical literature and cumulative research building (D'Angelo 2002; Carragee and Roefs 2004; Entman 1993, 2003; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Gorp 2007; Scheufele 1999 and others) the framing theory goes beyond what the media present, to examine and discover how and why it had been presented. Framing, as such, goes beyond the clear and explicit meaning of media stories to find out the latent and implicit meaning or latent interpretations.

Given the widespread study of media frames, the next sub-sections will highlight different aspects of framing theory. First, an account for framing origins, especially in sociology and cognitive psychology, will be explained. Additionally, an outlined review of framing research and devices will also be provided. Subsequently, another sub-section will give an account for framing typologies, and their application in comparative studies. As part and parcel of the framing process, ideology and culture will also be given special consideration. For example, media dependence on governmental sources and its influence on framing process, as highlighted by Entman (2003), will also be provided. Finally, a brief review of studies that applied framing in the study of Islam and Muslim representations will be summarized. Finally, the research questions will be stated.

2.6.1. Framing origins, devices and typologies

Framing is based on the assumption that representing issues in different ways in news media influences audience understanding and interpretations of the same issue (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). Framing

has two different origins (Pan and Kosicki 1993): one is based on a psychological framework of study, which could be tracked to Tversky and Kahneman's (1981) work on problem decision making and their psychological determinants among decision makers (Tversky and Kahneman 1981). The other origin has its foundation in the work of Goffman (1974) when he stated that "primary frameworks" (Goffman 1974, p.24) or "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman 1974, p.21) guide our understanding and interpretation of social events (Goffman 1974). Based on these classifications, researchers suggested that two types of frames could be tracked and studied in media communication: individual and media frames (Scheufele 1999).

For example, Pan and Kosicki (1993) considered studying media texts using a system of organised indicators that show specific ideas and provide the audience with tools that encourage them to think in a certain way. Therefore, they highlighted the role of media framing as tools of organising media texts for media producers, which underlines the framing function in the production and structuring of texts. In addition, framing is understood as interpreting devices that are used by audiences in decoding and interpreting processes during the process of consuming media texts. It could be emphasised then, as they argued, that:

> "Framing, therefore, may be studied as a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse or as a characteristic of the discourse itself." (Pan and Kosicki 1993)

This conception of framing is based on a constructionist view of frames as part of social cognitive processes that are embedded in media messages, in addition to the pre-packaged views of media followers. As Kinder and Sanders (1990, p.74) argued, frames are "internal structures" in

individuals' minds, in addition, they are "devices embedded" in media texts. Therefore, it could be posited that frame building and setting are collaborative processes that are employed by media sources, media journalists and media consumers; where each type puts their own conceptions to the events, while they are all connected to each other through the line of news discourse (Pan and Kosicki 1993).

Entman (1993) suggested that frames are to be found in at least four different places, "the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture" (Entman 1993, p.52). Entman (1993) addressed the issue of examining media content or texts as a main source of media frames. According to his discussion, the framing concept provides a legitimate way to study and understand the "power of a communicating text" (Entman 1993, p.51). Entman (1993) then highlighted the role of language and media symbols as containers of frames inside the media content, as he outlined:

> "The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key-words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman 1993, p.52).

These frame symbols are the target of media analysts. Thus, the process of content analysis driven by the theory of framing should address these aspects in the text as different from one another, hence, extract and describe these media frames that lie within the text. In this regard, Entman (1993) determined:

> "the major task of determining textual meaning should be to identify and describe frames; content analysis informed by a theory of framing would avoid treating all negative or positive terms or utterances as equally salient and influential" (Entman 1993, p.57).

Obviously, these symbols act as devices through which journalists and media practitioners provide their thoughts, interpretation of reality and address their audiences with a whole understanding of the world around them. Several researchers commented on the issue of framing devices and tools (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Entman, 1993; Entman, 2003; Gorp, 2007). Generally, according to discussion in this regard, researchers distinguish between two varied devices in the framing process: the framing devices and reasoning devices. On the one hand, framing devices refer to the repertoire of resonant symbols in one culture, which journalists or content producers depend upon to provide their interpretation and frames to the audience. These symbols combine words, images, icons, key words and so on of other symbols inherited in every culture and language. On the other hand, frames function to provide definition to the issue or event at hand; describe causes and results of the current situation; coin descriptions for its actors and finally suggest remedies and solutions to get rid of this problematic situation. These are part and parcel of every frame and construct its reasoning aspect (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Entman 2003).

Gamson and Modigliani (1989, pp.3-4) illustrated the difference between these two aspects of frame when they discussed the components of media packages in their study of nuclear discourse. In accordance with their differentiation, framing devices were constructed mainly of five components: metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images. On the other hand, reasoning devices combined three aspects: causal analysis, effect or consequences and moral claims. They argued that the role of the framing process constructs the meaning for news audiences through the shared symbols between them and media practitioners, through

framing devices. In addition, they highlighted its role in providing audiences with an understanding of the world around them from the viewpoints of content producers, which is done through reasoning devices.

Therefore, frames have several functions for news media consumers; these functions are part and parcel of the framing process and the construction of a frame. Ordinarily, frames provide audiences with definitions, consequences, labels and judgments for events and issues. As Entman (2003) assumed, news frames play an important role in constructing reality for media audiences through four ultimate functions: defining the situation as problematic; determining causes of the situation; release moral judgments for those involved in the situation and suggest solutions or improvements to get rid of this problematic situation. At least two of these functions are essential to construct a real frame. However, defining the problem and suggesting a remedy are the most important aspects of the frame. As Entman outlined, these are important because "defining the problem often virtually predetermines the rest of the frame" (Entman 2003, p. 417). In addition, a solution "promotes support of (or opposition to) actual government action" (Entman 2003, p.418).

Entman (1993) outlined the way in which frames act and how media content producers build them as follows:

> "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (ibid, p.52)

These processes, selection and salience are important in terms of the media routine and constructing reality for an audience. Indeed, the world of journalists is very crowded with several events and issues every day.

Hence, framing provides them with an effective angle and approach to choose what they are going to present their audience through the process of selection. This, of course, happens on the grounds of what is newsworthy; the ideological viewpoint of the journalist himself and of the media organisation, in addition to the standpoint of frame sponsors. Meanwhile, ideology and culture play a significant role in the selection or salience of a frame in the news story. These processes of selection and salience are significant due to their effective role in shaping audience thinking and minds. The more a frame is resonant with the cultural background or common mind-set of the media texts and their receivers, the more it will be effective and more likely to be consumed by media consumers.

For instance, Hall (2000) used frames as tools, which stimulate schemata in the minds of the audience. According to her definition of framing, frames stimulate specific sets of associations in the mind of the reader or media follower. This stimulation of a schemata results in different understandings or interpretations of the same simple content among several audiences. She defined frames as:

> "the elements of a text that cue or activate schemata in the mind of an audience member as he or she interprets a work. These schemata, in turn, shape the way the individual evaluates or responds to the information within the text." (Hall 2000, p.232)

Additionally, de Vreese (2005) defined framing as a process that includes all the dynamics of media content production and media use or consumption perspectives. He suggested that communication is not a static process, as for framing; it is a dynamic process that involves:

> "frame-building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (the interplay between media frames and audience predispositions." (de Vreese 2005, p. 51)

Framing also has various consequences, whether at individual or societal levels. At an individual level, exposure to specific frames could result in changing individual attitudes towards an issue or an event. While on the societal level, framing could have more social influence on the formation of societal processes, "such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions." (de Vreese 2005, p.52)

Given the idea that frames could be both influenced by the media content production processes, such as news gatherings and journalistic routine; or affect audiences' interpretations, news frames could be studied as independent variables (IV) or dependent variable (DV) (de Vreese 2005). As de Vreese (2005, p.52) stated:

> "media frames may be studied as the DV, i.e. the outcome of the production process including organizational pressures, journalistic routines, and elite discourse. Media frames may also be studied as IV, i.e. the antecedents of audience interpretations."

Framing is dealing with the representations of an issue. Therefore, a frame makes an implicit or explicit emphasis on some aspects of the communicating text, while agenda setting is dealing with the salience of an issue (Vreese 2005). Frames give different readings to the same event. Given that many players are competing to represent their views through media texts, including media outlets and journalists themselves, then framing is a picking process from among these contested views. As Vreese (2005, p.53) stated:

> "Frames are parts of political arguments, journalistic norms, and social movements' discourse. They are alternative ways of defining issues, endogenous to the political and social world."

Researchers have followed different paths in extracting news frames (Matthews 2009). However, at least two approaches were common in

framing analysis, inductive and deductive approaches. In the inductive approach, researchers start the analytical stage without prior defined frames in their minds. Then frames occur from the analysed data as they are doing the analysis (Vreese 2005). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) applied this type of framing analysis in their study of media coverage to the nuclear discourse. In the deductive approach, researchers follow pre-prepared defined criteria for extracting frames from the analysed texts (Vreese 2005). Braziunaite (2011) followed this approach in her study for the British and the American media coverage of Abu Ghraib detainees' abuse scandal. Vreese (2005) suggested a more general typology for the study of news frames. This typology takes into account the specificity of issues, which requires the extracting of specific frames that pertain solely to these issues; therefore, he suggested issue-specific frames as frame types that are useful in the study of exact issues. However, to meet the generalization and comparability requirements that are significant for empirical evidence and then for the theory development, he suggested generic frames. This type of frame could be marked as transcendent, that are applicable to the study of different issues, within different cultures and even different time frames (Vreese 2005).

Using framing devices (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Entman 1993), several studies were interested in extracting frames dedicated to cover national and international issues. For example, Braziunaite (2011) studied the coverage of the detainee abuse scandal in Abu Ghraib prison by the American and the British soldiers. Applying a framing approach, the study had supported the usefulness of using the four framing functions as a tool in discovering how reality is being presented by media angles. In addition, the study revealed nine frames used to tackle this issue and

suggested that these frames are appropriate for the study of other national and international issues. These frames are:

> "events, investigations, individual responsibility, systemic responsibility, human interest, diagnostic, prognostic, image, and media reflexivity" (Braziunaite 2011, p.299).

This study is very reflective, in terms of its proof and support to the ability of framing devices in the grasp of how the media construct reality, particularly in two different contexts. However, some of these frames, as Braziunaite (2011) underlined, are interwoven and driven, in essence, from broader or master frames, namely: Lyengar's (1990) repertoire of responsibility frames and the five typology frames suggested and studied by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000).

In this regard, Iyengar (1990) studied the US television coverage of the issue of poverty throughout a half decade, from 1981 to 1986. His study differentiated between two types of frames in television reports that had been used to represent this issue: the thematic and the episodic frames. According to Iyengar (1990), media reporters apply thematic frame when they provide supporting information on specific issues, such as providing statistics about poverty, or commenting on government policies, for instance. Media reports, as such, are using a thematic frame that puts the responsibility of the problematic situation on the societal or governmental levels. On the contrary, when the news report concentrates on individual situations to reflect, for instance, on the condition of a poor family or individual as the main source of their poverty; then the media are using an episodic frame to attribute the responsibility of this situation to the individuals, rather than the society or the public policy. These frames are significant as they are widely applicable to several situations and media

contexts. In addition, they provide a heuristic view of how to determine and extract them in news reports and media content.

Furthermore, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) found other frames to be more common in the coverage of television and press news to the political issues in Europe. The most common of these frames was the attribution of responsibility frame, whether to individuals or the government. This frame is similar to what Iyengar (1990) identified and broke down into either episodic or thematic frames. The other four frames, which were identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), are the conflict, economic consequences, human interest, and morality frames. These frames were found to be most depended upon by the news media and journalists in the coverage of the political issues respectively.

Additionally, Entman (2003) emphasized the role of the political elite in frame setting for media producers. In his model, Cascading Network Activation (see figure 2), Entman (2003) set the idea of the master or dominant frame and the contested or counter-frame. According to his discussion, political elite, in his case the White House and Officials, set a dominant frame after the 9/11 attacks. Media outlets and journalists then followed this frame. Although two famous journalists acted on their own and developed a contested or counter-frame to the dominant or official one.
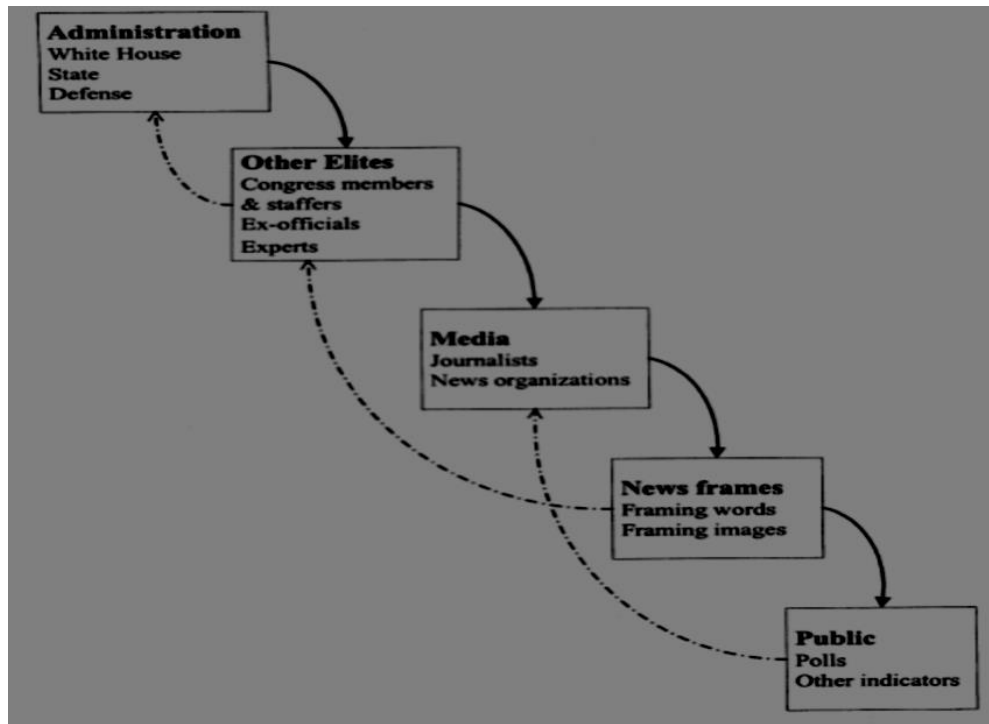
Figure 2: Cascading Network Activation (Entman 2003, p. 419)

This dichotomy is very significant and helpful in the study of issues tackling the role of politicians and elites in framing of issues and events.

Normally, framing works through the processes of selection and highlighting or salience (Entman 1993). The main goal of a frame is to simplify the meaning to the audience and to put it into a cultural and political context in order to influence consumers. This could be by defining the problem, shedding light on its perpetrators, judging them and their acts on the grounds of moral aspects and values, and finally proposing the causes and solutions for a problematic situation (Entman 2003).

The previous sub-section highlighted framing studies, gave a brief outline of framing devices and their application in the extraction of frames and frames typologies. The next sub-section will highlight the role of

ideology and culture in the framing process and their application in framing studies, especially concerning media sources and frames.

2.6.2. Framing: ideology and cultural resonance

Ideology is a vague concept (McLellan 1986). However, it has perceptible signifiers. Ideology, in general, is a way of understanding the aim of the existence of our life. In other words, it is a way of making sense of the complexity of our existence. No doubt, ideology as a concept and ideology in itself, has developed post the collapse of religion in Western culture (about two hundred ago years only) and it has replaced [religion] with science and material [secular] concepts (McLellan 1986). As such, in any given society of the modern world, there are some values, ideas and beliefs that are resonant in this society. Some of these ideas or values are more powerful than the others are and hence are dominant in this society. However, there are other fewer, powerful ideologies that compete from time to time with the prevailing ideology. These dominant ideas, values and beliefs (or ideology) are mostly produced, reproduced and perpetuated by popular culture (for the sake of this research, mass media or newspapers texts). Some people identify with one type of ideology and are opposed to others. They will feel comfortable when reading or watching media content that identifies with their mental concepts or perceptions. The media usually produce and reproduce media texts or content that are identified with the resonant ideas [ideologies] in the society. The production and dissemination of these ideas will play at least two roles: first, the perpetuation of these ideas, and then the coherence and solidarity in one society. In addition, it will sustain the popularity of the mass medium among its audience (Bertrand and Hughes 2005). As Bertrand and Hughes (2005) stated:

"Within any community (unless we are engaged in civil war) we need to rub along together, so at any one time there will be a 'dominant ideology' – a set of ideas that are coherent with each other, and to which most people within that community subscribe. Because of the connection between culture and ideology, it is likely that popular cultural products such as television will usually express that dominant ideology … However, because no culture/society is ever entirely homogeneous, and because commonly held ideologies lose or gain ground over time, we are likely also to find other less powerful and possibly conflicting ideological positions." (Bertrand and Hughes 2005, p.220)

In this regard, framing studies have given special consideration to ideological stances of frame sponsorship and how this affects the final product of media frames (Entman 2003; Carragee and Roefs 2004).

For example, the relationship between media frames and official ideology, particularly in the coverage of foreign affairs, is well established. Moreover, journalists' dependence on official frames in times of war and conflict is proven, particularly post the 9/11 attacks, mostly in the coverage of Muslims, Arab and the terrorism issues (Entman 2003; Ibrahim 2003). It is argued that journalists follow governmental interpretation of ambiguous and mass destructive events. This, subsequently, leaves its impact on the type of frames being disseminated to the public and thus, on the audience interpretation of the covered events.

For example, Ibrahim (2003) examined the role of ideology and reporters' choices in the process of framing. Ibrahim (2003) highlighted the role of the official ideology and of the journalists' dependence on The White House interpretations of the 9/11 attacks and on the discrepancy of narrated frames and depictions of Islam and Muslims the weeks after these dramatic attacks. The study found two sets of frames through which Islam was presented. These were the "militant Islam as an angry, violent threat

mostly external to the US", and "mainstream Islam as practised by those who live in the US as a religion of peace." These frames matched the Bush II Administration official ideology, which distinguished between peaceable, beloved and legal Islam practised "inside the United States" and hatred, violent and terrorist religion practiced "outside the US." The study highlighted, as such, the role of penetration of official or government ideology, in the representations of Islam after 9/11 attacks.

Additionally, Hall (2000) distinguished in her study of the US and the Canadian media framing to the Audiovisual issue in the GATT between the political and the ideological frames. According to her discussion, the political frame is more focused on the "causes and effects" (Hall 2000, p.240) with more consideration to the actors' positions, while "the ideological frame structures the debate as a moral or ideological issue" (Hall 2000, p.241). Both frames are far from solely representing the viewpoints of those who are for and those who are against the issue. They are more interested in representing and cueing specific interpretations to the issue (Hall 2000).

Furthermore, Al-Badawy (2013) found support for the role of journalists and institutional ideology in the discursive representations of the Muslim 'Other' in the Egyptian media. In relation to the coverage of the dominance of the Muslim Brotherhood Group and the Salafist Party in the Egyptian Parliament Elections in 2011, the study found that the representations provided to these groups, in addition to the Copts, were clustered around the ideology of the columnists and the editorial policy of the media outlet. For instance, the liberal and private sector newspapers, in general, used negative depictions towards the Muslim groups to highlight their sovereignty as backward and extremist. On the contrary, these

newspapers depicted the Copts as being oppressed, marginalised and worried about their future. This shed light on the role of ideology, not only in the Western or International media but also in the national and local community.

Side by side, ideology and culture are the main sources of framing devices and reasoning. Actually, frames do not work in vacuum; they depend upon the cultural repertory in a given society to build their core point. Framing an issue should be supported by the common sense and culture of a given society, in order to be effective. Generally, media content producers build their frames using words, images, stereotypes, metaphors, and so many other symbols, which are driven by the shared culture with their audiences. It could be argued that the most effective and noticeable frame is the one that has as many resonant symbols as possible that match a society's culture. This frame would be more readable and hold power over audience thinking (Entman 2003; Gorp 2007).

This idea of cultural influence in frame building is part and parcel of framing heritage (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). More recently, this relation between culture and discourse influence was re-established by other researchers (Entman 2003; Gorp 2007). For example, Gamson and Modigliani (1989: p.3) referred to the culture alongside official speeches as the main sources of journalists' frames:

> "Journalists may draw their ideas and language from any or all other forums, frequently paraphrasing or quoting their sources. At the same time, they contribute their own frames and invent their own clever catchphrases, drawing on a popular culture that they share with their audience."

Additionally, Gamson and Modigiliani (1989) had widened their discussion and highlighted the importance of culture as a resource of media

frames, such as words and symbols. They referred to the cultural resonance of framing as a shared background between media journalists and their audiences and underlined the influence of this process on the power of frame. According to their discussion, some frames are more powerful than others. These influential frames have many more words, ideas and symbols resonated in the culture of a given society. This resonance normally increases the appeal of the frame package to the audience by letting it sound natural and familiar to them (Gamson and Modigliani 1989)

Entman (2003) combined cultural resonance and magnitude when he discussed the measures of the powerful and the most effective frames. He contended that frame devices, or the words, images and other symbols which construct a frame, are easily distinguished from the other news aspects in terms of the capability to gain "support of, or opposition to sides in apolitical conflict" (Entman 2003, p.417). This capability could be measured using the criteria of resonance and magnitude. Entman (2003) asserted the influence of a frame in terms of cultural resonance, even more than the aspect of magnitude, which is measured by "prominence and repetition." (Entman 2003, p.417) As he outlined:

> "Those frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the greatest potential for influence. They use words and images highly salient in the culture, which is to say noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged. [he continued…] Resonance can sometimes overcome the need for magnitude. Some words and images possess sufficient resonance to impress themselves on public consciousness without requiring a significant number of exposures: airliners flying into the World Trade Center on September 11, for instance." (Entman 2003, p. 417)

Frames, as such, are useful in the study of media texts in a cross-cultural examination. Two reasons underline the framing utility in this

context. First, framing could impact audiences' understanding of their own cultural and national identities. Although not all media texts have the same intercultural connotations, media influence on one's understanding of his or her cultural and national identity could affect the building of cultural boundaries that might influence any further connection with the outside world. This cultural aspect of frames could be understood in terms of familiarity and reinforcement. People of one group are almost always familiar with "a set of classification schemes, behavioural scripts, archetypes and narrative models" (Hall 2000, p.233). The more a frame stimulates these shared schemes in the minds of media followers, the more it gives them familiarity and reinforcement. The recurrent use of the same frame would also give more support and emphasis on the same cultural aspects and allocate more validity to them in the interpretation of similar events (Hall 2000).

Hafez (2000) highlighted that culture is based on shared values among audiences and between them and the media. Thus, journalists are playing the role of interpreters or translators of cultures when they report about foreign events to their own audience. They make sense of different events by simplifying them and putting them in a cultural frame, so their consumers can have a better understanding. Reporters, as such, could follow an essentialist approach in representing other cultures, by showing how they do not fit with ours. They also could follow a syncretistic view, by representing other cultures as congruent and matching ours (Hafez 2000).

It could be argued that Western media reporting about fundamentalism in the Muslim world is a matter of reflection on the one identity of the West. It is a matter of reflection of the public discourses,

reinforcement and impressions of values. Nevertheless, this could also play a role in demonising other cultures and religions (Hafez 2000).

Hall (2000) emphasised that the media role in expressing and maintaining culture and national identity could have a positive impact in the end. However, the use of consistent frames in representing the self and the other could also prevent intercultural or international dialogue between the inside and the outside groups or nations.

Following this idea, some researchers highlighted the role of culture and societal values in the coverage of discursive issues related to Muslims and Islam, particularly in the Western countries (Albakry 2006; Miera and Sala Pala 2009).

For instance, Miera and Sala Pala (2009) highlighted the role of culture in the construction of the debate surrounding the re-publishing of the Danish cartoons, which were marked as an abuse of the Prophet Muhammad by Muslims, in the French and German newspapers as a public issue. They concluded that several stances took place in accordance with the newspapers' ideology, whether left, right or centre wing, towards the re-publishing of these cartoons and the justification of this stance. However, the majority of these reactions by newspapers from both countries came under the umbrella of the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. Meanwhile, the newspapers represented Islam as a threat to the West in terms of these cultural values. They outlined:

> "Nevertheless, beyond the variety of reactions in the media, the dominant positions in both countries consisted of firmly restating freedom of expression and freedom of the press, presented (more or less explicitly and radically) as threatened by Islam in general or fundamental Islamists in particular,[…] In both countries, the cartoons' controversy revealed the strength of a perception of Islam

as a threat to the nation, and of an interpretation of the controversy in terms of an enlightened 'West' threatened by a backward, fundamentalist, Muslim 'other'" (Miera and Sala Pala 2009, pp.392-393).

This conclusion refers to the influence of the cultural values on the construction of media discourses and representations towards Islam and Muslims in the debate surrounding this controversy.

This highlights the role of cultural values in the building of frames. This sub-section underlined the role of ideology and cultural practices in the framing process. The next sub-section will address the role of media choice of sources as a form of practicing power. Especially, it is argued that those given a space in media texts are those that set the frame.

2.6.3. The Hierarchy of Influences Model to Study Media Content

Cross-national study of the media phenomenon of interest [Islam and Muslim representations in this research] requires a researcher to recognise differences in media contexts (Reese 2001 and Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Instead, multi-levels analysis should consider how differences in social contexts and routine practices for example guide interpretations to differences in framing media content. According to Reese (2001) actual terms:

> "This "hierarchy of influences" model proposes important distinctions between level of analysis and locates the individual journalist within a web of organizational and ideological constraints. Such a model is particularly important in comparative research, because it helps to place the phenomena of interest within a structural context." (Reese 2001, p. 174)

This model guides explanations of the studied media phenomenon on different levels (Reese 2001). Shoemaker and Reese's hierarchical model of

influences considers the factors that affected media content production, identifying five levels of analysis, from which, each research can choose and follow distinguished approaches to study and interpret the phenomenon of interest. The five levels of analysis are: individual, routines, organisational, extra-media [social institutions] and ideological [social systems] levels (Reese 2001 and Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Each level raises several questions that encourage comparative research to investigate journalism practices across nations.

For instance, on the individual level, media content may be influenced by a journalist's –personal attitudes or political background (Reese 2001). This is "a communicator-centered approach" (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, p. 7). At the routine level of analysis, which overlaps with organisational level, "routines are most important because they affect the social reality portrayed in media content" (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, p. 168). News values, for instance, constitutes "yardsticks" through which media workers and organisations judge what is "newsworthiness" for their audiences (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, p. 170) and will influence what news is made available for media audiences (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). At the organisational level of analysis studies can investigate, for example, how media organisations meet their goals and compromise professionalism with market constraints (Reese 2001). Editorial policy, for example, can guide our interpretations to differences in news frames. As Reese (2001, p. 181) explains:

> "Editorial policy … allows the organization to shape what stories are considered newsworthy, how they are prioritized, and how they are framed."

This can clarify differences in representation of the same event across several media outlets. At the remain social institutions and social system levels, Shoemaker and Reese's hierarchy of influences model considers social impacts on media content. These can come from social institutions that media are in relation with; or from the wider context of social system. As Reese (2001, p. 182) clarifies, at the extra-media level research interest goes to influences on media content that reflect "systematic, patterned, and ongoing ways media are connected with their host society". Media sources, for example, place "a significant impact on media content"; as "they are the origin for much of what journalists know" (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, p. 108). Elite sources, for instance, such as official sources, government or police figures, are believed to have clear impact on media content. This is because they "have the resources to access media" and journalists accept what they release "as factual" (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, pp. 108, 109). At this level of analysis, it is important to consider pressures enforced on media, for instance, or what relationships do they have with state governments. As Shoemaker and Reese (2014, p. 121) "governments of all countries exert control over the media", this can take the shape of laws or regulations where the media are "privately owned"; or the shape of financial pressures where the media are owned by government (Janus 1984; citation in Reese and Shoemaker 2014, p. 121).

Shoemaker and Reese (2014) based all the proceeding levels of analysis on the assumption that each level adds up to the next layer to serve the interest of an ultimate power in social system. As they stated:

"The social system level is the base on which the other levels of analysis rest. … Here we look at the powerful in society and at how that power is played out through the media. We assume that ideas have links to interests and power and that the power to create

symbols in media content is not a neutral force." (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, p. 65).

This hierarchy of influences model encourages a critical view to study media content recognising how journalists' individual characteristics and attitudes, their journalistic routines, organisational policies and media relationships and links with social institutions "work to support the status quo … and serve to make the media agencies of social control." (Reese 2001, p. 183). Thus, "ideological analysis" generates hypothesis about "power and how it is distributed in society" (ibid). Ideas and values, for example, dominant in each national context and disseminated through media content, should be critiqued and investigated genuinely to understand what power they serve and at whom interests they work. As Reese (2001) argues:

> "At this level we ask how a system of meanings and common-sense understandings is made to appear natural through the structured relation of the media to society. … The "cultural air" thus provides the larger environment that journalists and their institutions occupy. (Reese 2001, p. 183)

Thus, media content can play an ideological role in maintaining the status quo or hegemonic practices in one society (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). In this regards, ideology and culture play a significant role in shaping media content. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) defined ideology as "a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive and integrating force in society" (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, p. 70). One of the implications for studying media content as driven by ideology, is investigating how media "label groups or individuals as deviant" (Hall 1989, p. 309; citation in: ibid). In other words, ideology guides us to understand the media impact on social control; or the maintenance of the status quo.

This research is interested in how cross-national media representations of Islam and Muslim can be distinguished, therefore, the Hierarchy of Influences Model will be used as a complementary theoretical framework to interpret findings. With regards to this, it is expected that differences in news values and source selection, for example, may shape media representations and framing. The main interest of this project, however, is to analyse differences in both a cultural and ideological context may influence representations of Islam and Muslims.

The next section will provide a brief discussion of culture and ideology and how they are conceived in this research. Additionally, will review literature on framing and news sources, and how they influence media framing of relevant issues.

2.6.4. Culture and ideology, working definitions

Culture is a vague concept, that is why it has been described as "a fuzzy and difficult to define construct" (Triandis et al. 1986). In essence, the term has been studied in fusion with religion, ideology and has been reduced "to the aggregate of individual values and opinions" (Williams 1996, p. 369). Needless to say, religion is considered a prominent feature of a culture. In addition, ideology has some commonalities with the cultural system (Ralston et al. 1997, Geertz 1973). However, there should be a distinction made between these terms, especially with regards to this research, between ideology and culture (Williams 1996). In this regard, culture is conceptualised in this research as a common sense that is shared between people in a given society. This common sense is composed of, but not confined to, their collective history, values and religion, which define "what is" and "what ought to be" (Williams 1996, p. 370). Therefore, it is reflected in mental perceptions of the world and of one's own self.

This definition of culture highlights the significance of cultural values and legacies of the past in people's perceptions of the current world, and for their national identity. In other words, the definition signifying the role of "national contexts" (Miera and Sala Pala 2009, p. 385) in the comparison between Islam and Muslim representations in the studied environments. For example, on the one hand, the resonance of the shared Orientalism view of Islam in the West (Said 1979); Islamophobia (Kumar 2012; Trust 1997) and what is deemed "the Judeo-Christian religion … in the West" (Ralston et al. 1997, p. 179), will have influences on the otherness of Islam and Muslims in the British context. Moreover, the argued multiculturalism nature of Britain (Modood 2005; Modood and Meer 2012) or interculturalism (Cantle 2012) and social integration opportunities (Casey 2016) in the UK, will leave accommodating impressions on Muslim representations in the British media.

On the other hand, Islam is the dominant religion in Egypt, with the society sharing the same culture and history, where Islam is at the core of these values. The resonance of such cultural values will have an absolute impact on the favourable representations of Islam in the Egyptian media. However, I will also argue that Islam is not only represented as a religion, but also represented in terms of politics and is exploited for the sake of politics sometimes. Put simply, Islam is represented as a religion for the sake of keeping the more or less authoritarian/secular characteristic of the Egyptian regime. This is reflected, for example, in the exclusion of other Islamist fictions from the political equation in Egypt (Pasha 2011).

Ideology is also a hard term to conceive, considering that it is a "very contested concept" (Williams 1996, p. 371). Ideology is usually used to refer to "any idea system characteristic of particular group or class"

(Williams 1977, p. 55 in Williams 1996). In this sense, ideology plays a functional role in the self-awareness of a group of people. Therefore, as far as people in a community cannot live without culture, their political action is defined by ideology and they "cannot act politically without an ideology" (Williams 1996, p. 371). Put simply, "any set of political attitudes, beliefs, or values, could be designated at least part of an ideology." (ibid). Geertz (1973) offered a conception of ideology as a cultural system. However, ideology is distinguished from culture in the sense that its "organizing principles regulate political understandings" (Williams 1996, p. 371). This suggests that ideology could be echoed in the wider cultural system of a given society. However, this definition does not reflect a clear distinction between culture and ideology (Williams 1996).

Ideology is a common concern among CDA theorists (Van Dijk 1995; Reisigl and Wodak 2009). For example, Reisigl and Wodak (2009) addressed ideology in its relation to the hegemony of a power group in a given society. They stated:

> "Ideology, … is seen as an (often) one-sided perspective or world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group. Ideologies serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations through discourse … by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public spheres ('gate-keeping')." (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, p. 88).

Therefore, ideology, for example, is addressed in the analysis of media texts, in the view of which social actors are giving a space to express their ideologies and influence the social and cultural identity of a society, for instance. Furthermore, Van Dijk (1995) highlighted the sociocultural aspect of ideology, as "basic frameworks of social cognitions, shared by

members of a social group" (Van Dijk 1995, p. 248). Consequently, ideology, to some extent, as it expressed through talk or texts, setting the cultural or social identity of people in a given society (Van Dijk, 1995). Both conceptualizations of ideology are relevant to the requirements of this research. In particular, it highlights the influences of social actors or media sources and the influence of cultural values in Islam and Muslim representations. However, for the sake of distinguishing ideology from culture conceptions, I will adopt Williams and Demerath III's (1991, pp. 426-427) definition of ideology as follows:

> "Ideologies are belief systems – articulated sets of ideas that are primarily cognitive. … But, of course not every belief system is an ideology. "Ideology" refers to belief systems that are primarily articulated by a specific social class/group, that function primarily in the interests of that class or group and yet are presented as being for the "common good" or as generally accepted "common sense."

This definition separates, somewhat, ideology from "hegemony"; in addition, it distinguishes the concept from "anthropological conceptions of culture" (Williams and Demerath III 1991, p. 426). In this regard, for example, "spokespersons for particular political actors" always shed "their agendas in "what everybody knows" will benefit the "community at large" (Williams and Demerath III 1991, p. 427). This definition of ideology highlights the belief system in itself as the core pillar of influence; instead of how these ideas are being used for the sake of this group or class (Williams 1996). Thus, this conception of ideology defines it as "formal systems of thought that benefit a particular group or class of people," though "ideas themselves are presented as universally true or valid" (Williams 1996, p. 374).

Consequently, ideology in this research, for example, will be examined in the media choices of events/issues which are representative of Islam and Muslims. Furthermore, lexical choices and media themes will highlight different aspects of ideologies in the studied newspapers. However, news sources and journalists, as prominent social actors, will have their own "belief systems" (Williams and Demerath III 1991, p. 426) that will indicate different representations in the studied media.

2.6.5. Framing and media sources

Media choices between news sources are a significant form of the media practice of power in news texts. It is argued that in media texts different voices are given the space to represent issues according to their views (Sigal 1986; Brown et al. 1987; Smith 1993). However, those who are giving this space set the frames for media consumers (Liebler and Bendix 1996). Richardson (2006) highlighted that the study of media sources is a matter of concern, especially when it comes to representations of minorities. As he explained:

> "Simply put, who is allowed to speak and who is not; who is allowed to label others in the news and who is not, are important questions to ask" (Richardson 2006, p.103).

As far as "objectivity in journalism" (Sigal 1986, p.15) is concerned in media texts, it is important to note that a single discourse may contain different frames. Not only could several frames be embedded in a single discourse, but also in one news story. The production of news and media reporting, in general, is a collaborative work. The final product, which could be a news story or a report, is the outcome of the collaboration of editors, news sources, background information providers and so on. Given their diversity in perspectives, it is anticipated that different contested

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frames will be found inside the one story. Professionalism in journalism production mandates that no fewer than two perspectives or interpretations are to be embedded in the text to sustain "the framework of objectivity" (Hall 2000, p.236). Therefore, it is not expected in a controversial issue to find only one unchallenged frame in the text (Hall 2000).

For instance, Liebler and Bendix (1996) studied the media framing of the Old-Growth forest debate. This debate involved two views: those who are pro-cut and those who are pro-save. Liebler and Bendix (1996) based their argument, partially, on the media imbalance of reporting one-sided sources of the argument, which would lead to the support of one argument over the other. They put an emphasis on the news sources' role of setting the frame for media journalists. They argued that journalists depend on news sources to provide them with content and explanation for environmental events. This is problematic because any salient or highlighted argument or view in media texts will affect media viewers or consumers' decisions.

The study found support that media "source usage" (Liebler and Bendix 1996, p.61) played a noticeable role in media framing of the issue. The study concluded that media reporting tended to be more supportive of the pro-cut viewpoint. This was clear in view of the fact that the majority of sources reported were from those who had supported this viewpoint. In addition, the media had used a portrayal technique to obscure the expertise of sources from the other side.

This signifies the importance of addressing the role of news sources in the building of media frames; especially when it comes to minority

representations, such as Islam and Muslim representations in the British press.

Richardson (2006) studied the role of source quotations in the production and reproduction of inequity in Islam and Muslim representations in the British broadsheet press. He argued that not only those who are given the space to speak in the text matter, but also source usage or their influence on the discourse is important. Richardson (2006, p.115) found that Muslims were given, more or less, a space to speak about their actions and their religion. Though their voices were only included if the context of the reporting highlights a critique of their actions or is "critical of their religion." This underlined, as he argued, an imbalance and inequity. Simply put, when the event is not critical of a Muslim action, Muslim voices are silenced in the text, while reporting Muslims only when they criticise their religion reflects a tendency to connect Islam to negativities. Richardson (2006, p.115) commented on the influence of this approach as follows:

> "Such an approach not only contributes to a popular association between Islam and negativity, it also distances Muslims from non-Muslims (since 'their opinions are often placed in opposition to 'ours') and symbolically implies that Muslims are only qualified to speak in response to certain (negative) events."

The study also argued that reporters' interpretations of Muslim news would lead to an imbalance and unfairness in the reporting of Muslim events. The study, therefore, suggested that fair reporting of Muslims requires journalists to provide source opinions without interfering, to show the importance of the story being dealt with. For example, using verbs such as 'said' instead of loaded verbs such as 'claims' would sustain a more balanced coverage. In addition, the study argued that such "factual

reportage" (ibid), as followed in the Financial Times, could reduce "Islamophobic reporting" of British Muslims (Richardson 2006).

Additionally, Abdel-Maksoud (2005) highlighted the relation between the choices of news sources and the bias in media coverage. He studied the news discourse of The New York Times and The Washington Post through examining their coverage of the building of the Israeli Separation Wall in the West Bank in Palestine. He found that the news stories in both newspapers tended to be negative in coverage of the Palestinian actors in general. The Times, specifically, was more negative in its coverage as it represented the Palestinian people in general as "potential extremist terrorists." According to his explanation, this could be seen as the outcome of the bias in news sources, as around three quarters of The Times' sources were brought from the Israeli side and the vast majority of them were officials. On the other side, less than one quarter of sources came from the Palestinian side. This highlights the neglect of the Palestinian viewpoint in the interpretation of this issue and a tendency to defend the Israeli accusations. This is a problematic situation when considering the role of the media in the formation of public opinion in accordance to its coverage, particularly in foreign policies and issues (Soroka 2003).

To summarise this chapter, studies argued that Islam and Muslims are represented through an Orientalist and Islamophobic way in the British and the Western media. However, a critique highlighted that these negative representations of Muslims and Islam in the British media are due to media routine and news values, instead of deliberate bias. Few studies highlighted Islam and Muslim representations in the Arab and Muslim media. In addition, a framing theory was applied successfully in the comparison of media coverage of national and international events, besides the

examination of Islam and Muslim representations in news media. The next section will highlight the main research question. Furthermore, the section will give a breakdown for this question into several sub-questions, based on the review of literature, as highlighted in this chapter.

2.7. Research Questions:

In line with the previous literature, this research will address the main research question, and its sub-questions below:

2.7.1. What are the main differences and similarities in Islam and Muslim representations in the British and the Egyptian media websites post 1/25?

To address this question more accurately, the following sub-questions will be answered separately, as follows:

2.7.1.1. What are the most recurrent frames of Islam and Muslim representations in the British and the Egyptian media post 1/25?

2.7.1.2. What are the differences and/or similarities between British media newspapers' websites (i.e. The Guardian and The Times) representations of Islam and Muslims post 1/25?

2.7.1.3. What are the differences and similarities between Egyptian media newspapers' websites (i.e. Al-Ahram and Al-Youm7) representations of Islam and Muslims post 1/25?

2.7.1.4. What are labels, lexical choices or associated descriptions that are in recurrent conjunction with Islam and Muslims in the British and the Egyptian media post 1/25?

2.7.1.5. Who is allowed to speak about Islam and Muslims in both media outlets, i.e. news sources?

2.7.1.6. To what extent could news values and media routine account for negative representations of Islam and Muslims?

2.7.1.7. To what extent could cultural resonance and ideologies account for differences and similarities in the British and the Egyptian media representations of Islam and Muslims post-1/25?

2.7.1.8. To what extent do Orientalist/Islamophobia arguments produced and reproduced in Islam and Muslim representations in the British media compare to those in the Egyptian media, post 1/25?

The following chapter will address the research approach and methods to address and answer these questions. In doing so, the chapter will start with a discussion about the research approach and the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to address these research questions.

3. Chapter two: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will address the research approach and methods used to examine Islam and Muslim representations, comparatively, in the British and the Egyptian newspapers' websites. In this regard, the chapter will discuss the adoption of Fairclough's approach to CDA, as an inductive qualitative approach to media frames. Finally, an outline to the research sample with a breakdown of the number of articles across the studied newspapers' websites and the studied periods will be given.

3.2. Research approach

This research design is based on a qualitative analysis to achieve its goals. In doing so, a qualitative critical discourse analysis will be applied in extracting Islam and Muslim frames in the British and the Egyptian media. This approach will help highlight the roles of media production and the language choices in Islam and Muslim representations. This section will address qualitative traditions in the operationalization of the theory.

3.2.1. Qualitative versus quantitative approaches in the extraction of media frames

Scholars have followed different approaches in the examination and extraction of media frames. These approaches are argued to be ranged from inductive versus deductive to qualitative versus quantitative patterns, based on their methods of frames operationalization and research procedures (Matthes 2009).

For instance, some studies have followed a qualitative pattern in the examination of news frames; through extracting media frames inductively (Downs 2002; Ibrahim 2010; Worthington 2001). This means, applying an

in-depth and close reading to media texts. Studies of this type gave more weight to media discourse and, generally speaking, combined discourse methods with the framing theory in the extraction of detailed quotes to reflect on media frames (Matthes 2009).

Other studies have applied a quantitative approach, while deductively extracting frames (Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern 2007; Einsiedel 1992; Iyengar and Simon 1993; Perreault 2014; Simon and Xenos 2000; H. De Vreese 2001). Studies of this type have followed a coding technique in the counting of different elements of media texts, such as news sources and tones (Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern 2007; Einsiedel 1992); and media frames or themes (Perreault 2014; H. De Vreese 2001).

However, a combination between both approaches brings together strengths of both. In this regard, some scholars followed a combined pattern by applying a qualitative approach to the study of media frames, while using manual coding to classify and apply a counting procedure to some elements of the text (Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad 2000). Others have adopted computerised content analysis combined with textual analysis methods in extracting and verifying media frames (Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira 2008). Put differently, neither study has applied, purely, either an inductive or deductive approach to extracting news frames (Matthes 2009) nor is there a confined interpretation of framing theoretical basis (Reese et al. 2001).

Thus, these differences in approaches and methods, which have been followed by researchers in the examination and extracting of news frames, are justified on the ground of the reason and purpose of each study. Nevertheless, they are also due to the openness of the framing theory to

multi-interpretations and application of several methods (Entman 1993; Pan and Kosicki 1993). Additionally, these differences are based on primarily the hybrid applications of the framing theory in media studies (Entman 1991; Gamson and Modigliani 1989).

3.2.2. Approach choice and research justification

Based on the above discussion, this research will apply a qualitative approach to this study of media representations of Islam and Muslims in the British and the Egyptian media. This choice is due to the advantages a qualitative approach provides, such as techniques which give more weight to the descriptive and close reading to the studied texts. This inherited nature of qualitative methods will allow for interpretative and descriptive reading of the studied features of media texts in order to explore their representations of Islam and Muslims in both media climates.

3.3. Fairclough's approach to CDA, Qualitative operationalization of media frames

Fairclough's (1992, 1995a, 1995b) approach to CDA is interested in the discursive practices of the communicative texts, how they are influenced by other sociocultural practices and how these texts are affecting these practices of sociocultural events. Therefore, according to Fairclough's approach to CDA, discourse analysis is not just one level of analysis; instead, it is "an exploration of how 'texts' at all levels work within sociocultural practices." (Fairclough 1995a, pp. viii-ix). Thus, Fairclough (1995a) argues that the relation between discourse and society is historically changeable. In a modern, or a late modern capitalist society, discourse is taking a great "role in sociocultural reproduction and change" (Fairclough 1995a, p. 2). To map this relation between discourse and society, Fairclough (1995a) has suggested a three-dimensional model of

CDA (Fairclough 1995a). This model considers three separate, but interwoven, stages of analysis. Analysis of the produced language in the text, or lexical choices by media journalists or text providers; analysis of discursive practices or the "processes of text production, distribution and consumption" (Fairclough 1995a, p. 2) and analysis of socio-cultural practices, or how the text produces and reproduces power relations and hegemony (Fairclough 1995a).

In this model, Fairclough (1995a) is interested in the combination between textual analysis, with close consideration of text production and dissemination processes, in addition to their interplay with texts consumption and interpretation by different consumers, by media audiences, for example. The model also takes into account the relational and dialectical relations between media texts and sociocultural events, such as social change. Core to Fairclough's understanding and operationalization of CDA is his conception of text interdiscursivity, as part of text intertextuality. By intertextuality, he meant the overlaps between the produced text, with other "genres, discourse and styles it draws upon" (Fairclough 2001, p. 124) and how the text reproduced them in new discourses, through repetitive and creative practices. This aspect of CDA is mainly interested with the question of power relations and hegemony in textual practices (Fairclough 1995a).

Consequently, according to Fairclough's CDA approach, developing a nuanced understanding of a text's needs, in parallel, a comprehension of the world where this text has been produced. An informed analyst with multidisciplinary theories, with knowledge about the surroundings events in the society, would lead more discursive interpretations of the text with its embedded power relations, explicitly and implicitly. Thus, CDA is all

about analysing a particular text, in its wider context of discursive practices and its influence on sociocultural practices. Put differently, this means, partly, to put the presuppositions of a text and the way they are produced and ordered, within the context of social and cultural practices, in order to grasp the power and ideological relations embedded in that text (Fairclough 1995a; Richardson 2007).

To sum up this section, Fairclough's approach to CDA is considered an operationalized approach. It is concerned with "the social nature of language" (Fairclough 1995b, p. 53), with a keen eye for its discursive and sociocultural practices as well (Fairclough 1995a). The next section will discuss further each stage of Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA, i.e. textual analysis, discursive and sociocultural practices, and their operationalization in this study.

3.3.1. Textual Analysis

Text, as a written language, is considered as one type of semiosis. However, in its broad definition, texts do not have to be in a linguistic form. For example, in cultural studies, artefacts, pictures or music are considered different sorts of texts. Although in discourse analysis, a text is understood "as written or spoken language" (Fairclough 1995a, p. 4). Fairclough (1995a) argued that the several functions of language in texts could operationalize to apply Foucault's (1972) theoretical hypothesis about discourse or the embedded social representations in texts. Foucault (1972) addressed the language as discourse. According to his view, discourse is "a system of representation" (Hall 1997). Put differently:

"By discourse, Foucault meant 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge

about – a particular historical moment … Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language." (Hall 1997, p. 72)

Concerning his constructionist approach, Foucault (1972) considered that things have no meanings in themselves out of discourse. Simply put, Foucault highlighted that our knowledge is based on meaningful things, and that the meanings of things are embedded in discourses about them; therefore, it is discourse that is our source of knowledge about these things; not things in themselves. Thus, "subjects like 'madness', 'punishment' and sexuality" (Hall 1997, p.72), or Islam and Muslims in this research, only have their meanings "within the discourses about them" (ibid). Accordingly, the study of discourses of any given topic should consider specific elements of discourses about them, i.e. statements, inclusion and exclusion, personification, authority, practices and episteme or acknowledgment of different discourses (Hall 1997).

Thus, this research will start with a textual analysis of Islam and Muslim representations in the media texts at hand. Given that, textual analysis is open to different operationalization methods (Fowler 1991; Hansen and Machin 2013; Richardson 2007), the research will adopt four methods of textual analysis for the sake of the study of Islam and Muslim representations in the studied media. Namely, this research will analyse lexical choices, over-lexicalization, naming, references and presupposition. The choice of these techniques is based on their capability to study the latent and salient content or explicit and implicit representations of Islam and Muslims in the studied media. In addition, considering this research interest in the role of ideology in the constitution of Islam and Muslim discourses in both media outlets, these textual analysis methods have close implications in extracting implicit and explicit ideological stances in texts (Fairclough 1995a; Fowler 1991). The sections below will address,

consecutively, each method separately; and will provide examples of their applications in the current study.

3.3.1.1. Lexical analysis

There is no neutral nor ideological structure to media texts. Given that there are alternatives in text structure, each one could signify different meanings. Media production of news texts happen under the pressure of social circumstances; the structure of news texts, as such, carries and maintains social values and beliefs, embedded in representations of news events and concepts. That is to say that the concept of representation in itself carries the capability of signifying different meanings, "from a specific ideological point of view" (Fowler 1991, p. 66). These values or ideologies carried within the text will differ, based on, for example, "choices of words and grammatical phrasing" (ibid), as those found in press texts (Fowler 1991).

Therefore, lexical analysis positions a core place in understanding text meaning and in extracting ideas, concepts or ideologies implanted in this text (Fowler 1991; Hansen and Machin 2013; Richardson 2007). According to Halliday, "vocabulary or lexis is a major determinant of ideational structure" (Fowler 1991, p. 80), or meanings and propositions embedded in a given text. Although, the lexicon meaning of a word, its definition and synonyms in a dictionary are important, words make sense of the world as a group of words in relation to each other, or in reference to other concepts in the outside mental or material world (Fowler 1991).

Hansen and Machin (2013) suggest that we can do a simple lexical analysis by considering or extracting the basic lexical choices used by the text producers. A key operationalization of this analysis asks specific

questions about "what kinds of words are used?" (Hansen and Machin 2013, p. 121) or "is there a predominance of particular words, for example?" (ibid). This type of analysis has the capacity of underlining omissions in the text and shifting in meaning (Hansen and Machin, 2013).

Another feature connected to lexical analysis is highlighting any sort of categorisation in the studied texts (Fowler 1991; Richardson 2007). For example, Fowler (1991) nominated that in a studied text two groups or registers of words were extracted. On the one hand, the first group of words highlights a socialist ideology (e.g. "a world socialist system … the working class … working people … Socialist countries"). Where, on the other hand, the other register of words manifests a capitalist or an imperialist ideology (e.g. "the heyday of imperialism … colonial rule … colonies … colonialism … neo-colonialism") (Fowler 1991, p. 83). This manifest example could suggest a representation of political opposition or contention between these two ideologies. It is a matter of fact, therefore, that part of the critical analysis of a text is to extract these registers of words and be conscious of their discursive nature in highlighting "socially and ideologically distinct areas of experience" (Fowler 1991, p. 84). In other words, this recurrence of predominant words, inherently, serves a function of categorisation, which should be examined and considered (Fowler 1991). With regards to this, Richardson (2007) highlights the importance of lexical choices in building and signifying a media frame, as follows:

> "All types of words, but particularly nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs carry connoted in addition to denoted meanings. … The words used to communicate the message(s) of a text – whether about an individual, a group of people, an event, a predicted or *expected* event, a process, a state of affairs or any of the other

subjects and themes of newspaper texts – frame the story in direct and unavoidable ways." (Richardson 2007, pp. 47, 48)

For example, Picard and Adams (1988) explored the role of lexical choices in representations of political violence. They distinguished between nominal and descriptive characterisations in media representations of acts and perpetrators in elite US newspapers. Also, Moore et al. (2008) underlined that the use of nouns and adjectives were indicators of negative representations of British Muslims in the UK press.

To operationalize lexical analysis in extracting Islam and Muslim representations in the current study, the research will ask the following questions, while analysing the studied media texts:

- Do any particular words or kinds of words appear as dominant or repetitive in media texts about Islam and Muslims in the British media in comparison to the Egyptian media?
- Do these words cluster around or pertain to any kind of ideologies, values, ideas or beliefs?
- What could be inferred as salient or omitted by using these words?

3.3.1.2. Over-lexicalisation

Over-lexicalisation is another sort of lexical analysis. However, it is quite a critical or sharp analysis of lexical choices implanted in media texts (Fowler 1991; Hamrita 2016; Hansen and Machin 2013; Paltridge et al. 2014; Richardson 2007; Teo 2000). Over-lexicalisation aims to highlight an excessive use of synonym words or "over-description" (Hansen and Machin 2013, p. 123) inside a text. This overuse of words in describing an event, a group of people or other objects is a mark of a reference to ideological stances (Hansen and Machin 2013). Fowler et al. (1979)

indicated that over-lexicalisation is "a pragmatic strategy of encoding ideology in news discourse" (cited in Teo 2000, p. 20).

A simple example of over-lexicalisation the use of gender to add more elaboration to some types of positions in society. For instance, using collocations such as 'male nurse' or 'female doctor' embedded a reference to a time where men used to be doctors and women used to be nurses. While in recent days there is no such distinction or differentiation between these roles in terms of gender (Hansen and Machin 2013). Another example for over-lexicalisation is the use of unfavourable excessive descriptions of a drug-dealing Vietnamese gang in some Australian newspapers. With regards to this, Teo (2000) argued that the use of excessive wording, such as 'the cult of extreme violence', or 'extreme youth and extreme violence', highlights an exclusion of those youth cultures from the mainstream Australian culture. Over-lexicalisation also highlights an otherness process for powerless and minority groups based on "cultural norms" (Teo 2000, p. 21). As Teo (2000) indicated:

> "over-lexicalization often has a pejorative effect as it signals a kind of deviation from social convention or expectation and reflects perceptions and judgements from the essentially biased standpoints of such cultural norms or social expectations." (Teo 2000, pp. 20, 21)

To operationalize this method, the researcher will apply the following questions to the analysed texts:

- To what extent have the studied British media, in comparison to the studied Egyptian media, used over-lexicalisation or excessive wording in representations of Islam and Muslims?
- Do Islam and Muslim descriptions, in comparison between both media, reflect an otherness or unfavourable representations of them?

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3.3.1.3. Naming and references

Naming or labelling is a process through which news media or journalists refer to social actors in media texts and, consequently, affects the way media readers or followers view or perceive those actors. Put simply, there is a wide range of identities or roles an actor could identify with in a given society. For example, a man could be identified as being a man, an Asian, a father of two, a British, a student or a Muslim (Hansen and Machin 2013). Therefore, these referential strategies have the capacity not only to define the social group or category to which an event belongs to, but also they are capable of associating specific characteristics to the named actors in media texts (Richardson 2007).

For example, naming a man in a headline as a "Muslim man arrested for fraudulently claiming benefits" is signifying a different meaning in comparison to when referring to the same actor as a "father of two daughters arrested for fraudulently claiming benefits" (Hansen and Machin 2013, p. 125). In the first example, the referential strategy is used to place emphasis on a news frame of otherness to this man, representing him as part of a socially considered problematic group (Poole and Richardson 2006). Although, this man could be born in Britain and, as such, could be referred to as a British man, this strategy is used to associate this negative action to another group, which is different from us. However, in the second example, the referential strategy is used to humanise the man as a father of two daughters and, as such, his action could be justified, which could evoke sympathy towards him (Hansen and Machin 2013).

Therefore, it can be highlighted that the use of labels could be considered a reductionist process when it comes to the representation of a religion or a group of people. In other words, labelling is based on a

proposition that the same characteristics are shared between people of the same group or followers of the same religion, without consideration of their differences in language, societies and traditions (Said 1997). Such journalists, when they choose one name over another, are foregrounding a specific social category, whilst silencing another (Richardson 2007).

As Teo (2000) pointed out, reporters, on the one hand, use generalisations to brief and outline complex news details to their audiences. Therefore, they use labels and references to attribute specific qualities to named actors in the news discourse, without burdening their audiences with repetitive details in every single event. Consequently, the way we categorise a social group in news discourse, for example, determines how we "perceive and relate to them" (Teo 2000, p. 17). This categorisation has an ideological indication (Teo 2000).

To operationalize this method, the research will ask the following questions while approaching the studied media texts:

- What names or labels are used by the studied British media, in comparison with the Egyptian media, to identify Islam and Muslims?
- Do these labels and references help to include or exclude Islam and Muslims in both of the studied media outlets?

3.3.1.4. Presupposition

Presupposition is a tool to analyse hidden or implicit meaning in the media texts (Richardson 2007; Van Dijk 1991). Presupposition refers to a meaning that is revealed semantically by a statement and the denial to the same statement. For example, "The police have stopped the 'softly softly' approach", in addition to the denial to the same statement "the police have

not stopped the 'softly softly approach" (Van Dijk 1991, p. 183). Both statements reveal that the police followed a softly approach in policing activities (Van Dijk 1991).

Presuppositions, as such, consider information which is shared between the text producer and the readers; thus, do not need to be voiced. However, presupposition could also be deemed as information that is subtly or implicitly revealed by the news outlet, which is not recognised by the news readers, though is suggested by news text to be a common sense or "common knowledge" (Van Dijk 1991, p. 183). In that sense, presupposition also considers news value, and is a must for readers to comprehend new information. With this in mind, "novelty and recency" of news implicitly highlights previous "knowledge and beliefs" (Van Dijk 1988, p. 121) about them. In order for new information to be comprehended and consumed, they should revoke old frames or schemata in the readers' minds (Van Dijk 1988).

Therefore, an examination of news discourse should also consider the analysis of hidden arguments in the text to grasp the comprehensive text meanings (Richardson 2007). In other words, presuppositions are "assumptions that are 'built in' to an utterance, rather than directly stated" (Reah 2002, p. 106). For example, in the right-wing media representations of ethnic minorities, one could expect to find media emphasis on negative characteristics of the out group, while placing emphasis on making stress on our positive natures. This is found in the below example:

> "If the ordinary British taste for decency and tolerance is to come through, it will need positive and unmistakable action (Telegraph, editorial, 13 August)" (Van Dijk 1988, p. 183).

The text above does not state explicitly, "but presupposes that British tolerance and decency exists", a claim that should be understood to be "against the backdrop of anti-racist accusations to the contrary" (Van Dijk 1988, p. 183).

Additionally, Reah (2002) highlighted that different linguistic tools are valuable in extracting text presupposition. For example, "implicative verbs such as manage and forget" in addition to, "change of state verbs such as stop, begin, continue" (Reah 2002, p. 106), all imply presuppositions. For instance, the statement "He managed to stop in time" revealed implicitly that he had already stopped in time. Furthermore, "have you stopped stealing cars" presupposes that the addressee was previously stealing cars (Reah 2002). Other types of presuppositions use 'wh-questions'. With this regards, "'When did he buy the car?' presupposes that he bought the car." (Reah 2002, p. 106). To summarise, presuppositions are "presupposed meanings" (ibid), as they do not faithfully express direct meanings. With this in mind, they can go without challenge, especially in the context of newspapers consumption, where the shared context between the reader and producer could not exist (Reah 2002).

To operationalize this method, the research will ask the following questions:

- What implicit or hidden arguments could be revealed from the British media representations of Islam and Muslims in comparison to their representations in the Egyptian media?
- What type of ideas, values or ideology or hidden arguments could be revealed from the texts or are pertained to while representing Islam and Muslims in the studied media outlets?

3.3.2. Discursive practices

Fairclough and discourse analysts aim to have studies for discourse analysis that bridge the gap in social phenomena between the micro and macro levels of analysis, or between the text and its context, such as political and social structures (Fairclough 1992). Put differently, they sought studies to bridge the gap between the linguistic structures of the text (textual analysis) and what Fairclough came to call intertextuality or orders of discourse (Fairclough 1992, 1995b), as a mediated stage in Fairclough's three dimensional approach to CDA. This section will highlight conceptualisation and operationalization of this stage in the current research.

3.3.2.1. News values

Media present news as stories. It is therefore the value of these stories that determine whether news producers will consider them news or not. Therefore, it should be highlighted that a study of news discourse should consider whether these values will influence the structure of this discourse (Bell 1991). It is also a matter of fact that "these are values" and, as such, "they are not neutral, but reflect ideologies and priorities held in society" (Bell 1991, p. 156).

Therefore these values have roles in different processes concerning news: "selection, attention, understanding, representation, recall" (Van Dijk 1988, p. 119) and the overall benefit of news information (Van Dijk 1988). It could be pointed out that it is not only what is mentioned in news stories that matters, but also what is absent. In other words, it is significant in the study of news or journalistic discourse to realise that "journalistic meaning is communicated as much by absence as by presence"; so "what is

'missing' or excluded" (Richardson 2007, p. 93) also reveals meaning equal to what is present in the news (Richardson 2007).

Van Dijk (1988) pointed out that as values, news values have a socio-cognitive aspect, which indicates that news professionals do not only share them, but also, in some respect, the public or media audiences do as well. This discursive and interpretative aspect of news values influences media production, in addition, to media consumption (Richardson 2007). In this regard, Van Dijk (1988) classified news values in accordance with two broad terms: "the economic terms of news production" and "the social routine of newsgathering and organizational production" (Van Dijk 1988, p. 120). Newspapers are profit-run organisations and, therefore, according to constraints of economic factors, such as sales and adverts, these factors formulate and confirm which news values will have impact on news selection and publication. Therefore, presupposed expectations of influential news actors or media sources and predetermined agendas of news public and the ideological orientation of a news corporation, these are all reflected or "implied by selection and treatment of stories" (Van Dijk 1988, p. 120). Furthermore, media routine implies that newspapers, for example, rely on professionalized or standardized habits of news reporting. The daily or periodical basis of news publication, for instance, highlights media organisations favour of "momentaneous spot news: instant of events, with clear beginnings and ends" (ibid).

Additionally, for news corporations to have instant accessibility to news, they favour "stories and news actors that have organized relationships with the press" (ibid). This consideration is key in the reporting of events about elite politicians, organisations, celebrities or elite

countries. Consequently, media routine helps in the reproduction of social structure in society (Van Dijk 1988).

Therefore, an examination of media and news discourse needs to consider the discursive practices of media texts production and consumption. It should be declared that media discursive practices ranged from a broad meaning of macro-analysis or consideration of economic factors and their role in media production, down to text construction based on other fragmented pieces of information, such as news agencies texts or press releases of social and political actors (Richardson 2007). To operationalize this method, the research will ask the following questions:

- What sorts of information or events do media publish concerning Islam and Muslims in the British media in comparison to the Egyptian media?
- What sorts of news values do news publish on Islam and Muslims reflect, in comparison between both media outlets?
- To what extent does news publishing on Islam and Muslims in both media outlets help to produce and reproduce information or stereotypes concerning Islam and Muslims?

3.3.2.2. Intertextuality

By intertextuality, Fairclough meant the drawing of different discourses from the available choices in the social or political contexts and how these discourses were interwoven inside the analysed or studied texts. With regards to this, Fairclough (1992) distinguished linguistic analysis from intertextual analysis. Thus, the intertextual analysis stage is bridging or linking the gap between the study of text and its relation to context as suggested by Fairclough's approach to CDA. It also accounts for the

interplay of different discourses or "semantic values" (Fairclough 1992, p. 195) inside a text. In other words, in contrast to the textual analysis assumption of "linguistically homogeneous" texts, intertextual analysis supposes that texts are "linguistically heterogeneous" (Fairclough 1992, p. 195).

Consequently, in intertextual analysis, research interest highlights the interplay or import of other discourses from different genres to the genre of media discourse (Fairclough 1992). Intertextuality, as such, is based on the notion that texts are connected to each other and that media texts do not produce or consume separate with other texts. Considering that all texts subsist, they have to be understood and studied in relation to one another (Richardson2007).

More specifically, in the study of news discourse, intertextuality could reveal at least two styles of intertextuality, external versus internal intertextualities. In external intertextuality, on the one hand, media texts could refer to other news pieces and make a linkage between the two pieces, in a way that reveals that the later instalment of a news piece is a circle in a textual chain, through which the latter refers to the former, and so on. This known as a media running story (Richardson 2007).

Thus, to highlight that a text is embedded in a textual chain, interest goes to "the use of discourse markers such 'another', 'further', 'additional'", or "modifiers such as 'new'" (Richardson 2007, p. 101), which highlights the history of the current text or previous events in the chain. For instance, in this headline "Palestinians and Israelis take a new step on peace path" published in the Daily Telegraph, 18 March 2005; the use of discourse modifier 'new' hints that this step is another one in a chain

of an old one or indicates a history of other steps on peace path between both sides (Richardson 2007).

On the other hand, internal intertextuality, in media or journalism studies, examines, more or less, who is giving a space by media reporters to speak, and whose voices silenced (Richardson 2007; Teo 2000). Put differently, quotation patterns used by media reporters as "a gate-keeping device" (Teo 2000, p. 18), which nominates those who have the power and influence to be salient in media texts; while, those who are considered as minorities or marked as powerless in the society will have less of a voice. Consequently, quotation patterns and reporting techniques lead to that: the powerful became more empowered and outspoken in media texts, while powerless groups, such as youth or minorities, became more disempowered and silenced in media texts (Teo 2000).

With this regards, Teo (2000) highlighted that the Vietnamese were silenced in different ways in quotation patterns in the Australian newspapers. By, for example, quoting them "less than one-quarter of the times compared to the white majority" (Teo 2000, p. 18). In addition, Teo (2000) highlighted that in a report about an execution of a man from the ethnic minority, the only one quoted namely and directly was a detective from the dominant white group. In contrast, the only sympathetic voice from the ethnic minority in the report was a quotation from the neighbour of the dead person, which reported indirectly and anonymously and had given a space at the end of the news report, which indicates a "low-value status" (ibid).

Subsequently, this research will examine quotation patterns in both studied media and highlight its role in Islam and Muslim representations.

To operationalize this method, the research will ask the following questions:

- To what extent does the studied media use of external intertextuality in providing information on Islam and Muslim events and/or issues affect Islam and Muslim representations in both media contexts (*"fwryn bwlysa: daeawat limuzaharat musalahat munahidat lilmuslimin fa alwilayat almutahida.."* (Al-Youm7 10/10/2015); and *"Higgs boson physicist shunned in Pakistan"* (the Guardian 08/07/2012)?

- Whom do the media give a space to speak in media texts about Islam and Muslims in the British media in comparison to the Egyptian media outlets?

- What do quotation patterns in both media outlets say about power relations in media texts?

- Do these quotation patterns entail any cultural and ideological indicators in representing Islam and Muslims in both media outlets?

3.3.3. Socio-cultural practices

Fairclough's approach to CDA recognises language in its social context. Language as such represents "a mode of action" (Fairclough 1995a, p. 131). As a mode of action, language is contextualised by "socially and historically … dialectical relationships with other facets of … (its 'social context')". Therefore, language is "socially shaped" by its social relationships and "is also socially shaping, or constitutive" (ibid), or constitutes other configurations in society (Fairclough 1995a). Language, as such, is seen as a constitutive tool of shaping "social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief". However, these

configurations are differing in their "degrees of salience" (Fairclough 1995a, p. 131), in different situations.

Therefore, socio-cultural practices, as the third dimension of Fairclough's approach to CDA, goes beyond the text structures and the discursive practices of its production and consumption, to highlight the social, political, ideological and cultural practices and relationships of this text to the outside society (Fairclough 1992, 1995a; Richardson 2007). CDA, as such, considers the outside influences on media and text production. However, it also considers journalists' impacts on the social world (Richardson2007). In other words, CDA study of media discourse examines "journalists … producing and reproducing social realities" through their maintenance and conveying of "social beliefs" (Richardson 2007, p. 115).

Accordingly, to operationalize this third and last dimension of Fairclough's approach to CDA, this research will consider the cultural and political contexts of Islam and Muslim discourses and representations in the British and the Egyptian media. In other words, Fairclough's approach to CDA considers the text in its wider social contexts. In addition, it highlights how this text installs or reinstalls cultural, political, ideological or other social configurations. Therefore, a consideration of the Muslim position in the British society, as discussed earlier, on the one hand, is significant for explaining the role of these media texts in producing or reproducing Islam and Muslim Orientalism or Islamophobia representations in the British media. It is also noteworthy to give an account for multicultural or cohesive representations of British Muslims in the British media.

On the other hand, this research will consider the position of Islam in the Egyptian culture, as an imperative explanation to Islam and Muslim representations in the Egyptian media texts. Furthermore, the period of this research happens to include the political rise and decline of Muslim groups, especially, Muslim Brotherhood, in Egypt, post Arab Spring. Therefore, discourses regarding Islamist movements and their role in political governance in Egypt and Arab Spring countries were prominent in this context. Thus, further consideration to the political and cultural situation in Egypt will help in understanding the discourse about Islamist movements, for example, during the studied period in the British and the Egyptian media alike.

In other words, this research argues that Islam and Muslim representations in the British media will differ, in comparison to their counterparts in the Egyptian media, based on the political and socio-cultural contexts in both societies. To operationalize this third and last stage of CDA, the research will ask the following question while analysing media texts concerning Islam and Muslims:

- What sorts of political, cultural and social implications do Islam and Muslim representations in the British media texts have in comparison to their counterparts in the Egyptian media in both societies?
- Do socio-cultural practices in the UK and Egyptian society explain Islam and Muslim distinct representations in both media contexts?

To sum up, this research will apply Fairclough's three-dimensional model in extracting Islam and Muslim frames in the British and the Egyptian studied media.

3.4. Selection of media sample for CDA

This research aims to examine Islam and Muslim representations in the media discourse in two different contexts, i.e. in the British and the Egyptian media outlets. As far as the media and content samples are concerned, the following section will follow Hansen et al.'s (1998) three steps in representing the decisions that have been made by the researcher in choosing the type of studied media, the dates and content that is included or excluded from this analysis.

According to Hansen et al. (1998) the first decision to be taken after the statement of the problem is to consider many questions regarding the media, dates and content sample. Media produce huge amount of data, mostly for the mass media daily. This data is also varied depending on many factors, such its political, ideological stances or ownerships. Considering this, it is quite exhausting and undesirable to study all media or to include all their content into analysis. Therefore, an articulation of the type of media and content that will be included in the analysis is significant. The sampling processes for media and their content start by narrowing down the amount of media included in the study. Then, deciding what dates will be involved in the study timeframe. And finally, the content that will be included or excluded from the analysis (Hansen et al. 1998).

3.4.1. The selection of media or titles

This research will focus on the study of the quality newspaper websites in both the British and the Egyptian media. The choice of the newspaper media and not the other mainstream media, such as radio or television is based on the discursive nature of news reports in newspaper media content. Newspapers provide its readers with plenty of information

and analyses different events through their news reports, features or opinion articles, such as editorials. This content is made available through their reporters, correspondents, or through newspapers subscriptions in wire services or in many international news agencies.

Furthermore, newspapers hire many columnists and host opinion articles from guest speakers that add different tastes to media coverage through their analytical views on ongoing events and issues. This discursive nature of broadsheet newspaper content is a rather inherent nature to newspaper media routine in comparison to other mainstream media, such as television or radio content. In addition, this type of reporting is confined to the quality newspapers, i.e. broadsheet newspapers outlets, in comparison to tabloids newspapers, who focus mainly on sensational coverage rather than informative coverage.

This informative and discursive nature is relative to the study of media discourse on Islam and Muslims. Put simply, Islam and Muslim representations are connected to several aspects of societal and cultural discussions, such as political arguments, social representations of minority groups, etc. Hence, the study of Islam and Muslim representations in the newspapers content is connected to the main interest of this research to highlight connections of Islam and Muslim representations in the studied media outlets to other ideological or cultural factors. For example, to highlight the role of news media ideological stances and cultural values in Islam and Muslim representations in both media contexts.

Finally, the choice to focus on the study of the British media as a western media context, in comparison to the Egyptian media, as an Arabic-language media content on Islam and Muslims is made for many reasons.

First, the proximity of context. Being from an Egyptian and Arabic background gave the researcher more familiarity with the language and, to some extent, the ongoing events at the timeframe of the analysis. In addition, doing the research in Britain gave the researcher the privilege of understanding, more or less, some relevant discussions of Islam and Muslims' positions in the British context. For example, discussions over social integration and interculturalism. Indeed, proximity and familiarity would give the researcher a good range of interpretations to the studied media texts, which is an inherent need to CDA (Fairclough 1995a).

However, neither proximity nor familiarity are the main reason for the choice of the two studied media contexts. This leads to the main reason for this choice, which is based on the specificity of each context. On the one hand, the Egyptian media have a profound nature, not only in terms of their superiority as one of the oldest media in the Arabic-language media; but also, because of their reliance on a cultural repertoire in representations of different issues. For example, Adlan-Ayad (2001) found that the Arabic and the Pharaonic identities of Egypt were reflected more than its Islamic identity in the state-owned media, Al-Ahram, in representations of the peace process with Israel. Furthermore, the Egyptian media have a wide spectrum of media outlets, ranging from state-run (semi-official) to private media (Hamdy and Gomaa 2012). This could provide different stances in the representations of Islam and Muslims in comparison between different Egyptian media outlets. In other words, some differences could be underlined in comparison between the state run and the private media outlets (Perreault 2014). This nature of the Egyptian media serves the interest of comparison in this research, not only across two different contexts, but also across inter-comparison between dissimilar media outlets

representations of Islam and Muslims, based on their ideological stances or media routine.

As far as the choice of the British media is concerned, they have been chosen based on several specificities of the British media and British society as well, in addition to the previous literature on media representations of Islam and Muslims in Britain (Moore et al. 2008; Poole 2002).

In this regard, Muslims, although they represent a minority in British society, they also represent a considerable number of that society (Lugo 2009). This feature of Muslims in the UK caused erupted several endeavours to consider the position of the integration of British Muslims in British society and the society cohesion (Cantle 2012; Kere and Richard 2017). Meanwhile, accumulative research and studies were interested in the role of the British media in the otherness of British Muslims, on the ground of Islamophobia (Allen 2010; Trust 1997).

This gives two specificities to British society and, consequently, to the British media. First, Muslims are accepted, more or less, in Britain, given the apparent multiculturalism feature of the UK (Modood 2005). Second, the British media, as such, would be expected to reflect two different discourses on Muslims: one that is inclusive in nature to accelerate or state Muslim integration into British society. However, another discourse of otherness of Muslims and Islam, especially outside the UK, would be reflected in the British media. This argument is based on the shared western history and values between British society and the West in general, which in one way or another explains the discourse of orientalism in the western media on Islam (Said 1997).

Thus, this expected multitude faces in the British media discourse on Islam and Muslims could allow for a fruitful comparison between Islam and Muslim representations in the British media context. A context that is mostly identified with multiculturalism and the shared western culture, in comparison to Islam and Muslim representations in the Egyptian media. A context where Islam represents a dominant religion and Muslims represent the majority. It is expected, as such, that the Egyptian culture will have influences on Islam and Muslim representations in the Egyptian media, where Islam is in the core of this culture.

Henceforth, to examine Islam and Muslim representations in the above-mentioned contexts, a comparative analysis is essential to achieve the ultimate purposes of this research. In fact, the comparative analysis provides an approach to highlight the similarities and differences in media coverage and discourse. It is a leading approach to discover the role of ideology and culture in the representations of Islam and Muslims, which is the ultimate purpose of this research. Cotter (2003) highlighted the purpose of doing comparative or cross-sectional analysis of media outlets, is to examine the role of politics and media practices in the formation of news discourse, not only in Western contexts, but also in several other contexts.

Accordingly, the specificity of this research will concentrate on the similarities and differences in media discourse surrounding Islam and Muslim representations in the British and Egyptian media outlets. With regards to this, this research explores several factors that could affect the Islam and Muslim images in both media outlets. This research examines news sources, news values, ideological and cultural values echoed in each society and in news media production on framing Islam and Muslims in both media contexts.

Henceforth, this research will depend on two corpora from the Egyptian and British newspapers' websites post 1/25 (25th January 2011, the Egyptian Revolution). The idea behind this is to represent different ideological and institutional backgrounds to satisfy the aim of comparison in this research. Moreover, the rationale behind the choices made for this research sample was based on their wide range of issues and events covered relating to Islam and Muslims locally and internationally. This is reflected in their multitude of news reports and opinion pieces written for provided to their audiences regarding Islam and Muslims. Finally, the circulation of the studied newspapers or the accessibility of their websites is another criterion in the choice of these newspapers outlets. However, this comes in the second priority after being prestigious newspapers and representing a specific ideological stance in news production. In accordance with these criteria, two corpora have been chosen from the Egyptian and British media outlets. Al-Ahram and Al-Youm7 newspapers have been chosen to represent the Egyptian media side. The Guardian and The Times have been chosen to cover the British media side.

Regarding the Egyptian media corpus: the Al-Ahram newspaper website is the official website of Al-Ahram newspaper, which is the oldest newspaper in the Egyptian press-market. Although it has a broad coverage which reflects several viewpoints and voices, it primarily reflects the official agenda of the rulers as one of the main state-run news organisations in Egypt (Adlan-Ayad 2001; Hamdy and Gomaa 2012). In addition, in terms of accessibility, Al-Ahram website is one of the most accessible newspaper websites in Egypt. Furthermore, this website provides a wide range of coverage in terms of national and international issues and events.

Meanwhile, the Al-Youm7 newspaper website represents the private newspaper sector in Egypt. In addition, this newspaper policy leans towards liberal positions. Although Al-Youm7 is not one of the prestigious newspapers in Egypt, it is still the most accessible newspaper website in Egypt in terms of the 'Alexa.com' website toolkit in measuring the statistical accessibility of websites across the globe. In this regard, Al-Youm7 is the fourth most accessible website in Egypt, after Google Youtube.com and Facebook.com, according to the last search made by this researcher on Alex.com in 2017 of the top websites in Egypt. This made Al-Youm7 the first and most accessible newspaper website in Egypt. In addition, the website twice won the Forbes Middle East award for the most effective news website in the Middle East. Although Al-Youm7 is a website for a broadsheet newspaper, it has a sensationalised aspect within its media coverage. This could be due to the website marketing tendency. However, it also has a wide range of coverage of national and international affairs; a feature that fits with the interest of this research. Thus, the choice of Al-Youm7 is based on the aforementioned reasons; particularly the website accessibility, influential coverage of national and international affairs and its liberal leaning.

Regarding the British corpus, on the one hand, The Guardian is one of the most accessed newspapers and websites in the UK and around the world. In addition, The Guardian newspaper is known for its editorial stance that supports the liberal and left-side ideology. The newspaper and its website cover a wide range of national and international issues. Additionally, it provides a great deal of space for several speakers to deliver their opinions and views on its website outlet. Furthermore, The Guardian was named the Newspaper of the Year in 2014 for its influential

coverage of the government policy and the newspaper observation for that policy (Veltri 2012).

On the other hand, The Times is also a prestigious newspaper with a right-leaning ideology. Furthermore, The Times is interested in global issues and found to be, with The Guardian, one of the most quoted foreign sources by the European newspapers (Veltri 2012). Finally, The Times website, in comparison to The Guardian website. is working behind a paywall. To some extent or another, this could interpret differences between both sites' representations of Islam and Muslims in this research. Thus, these corpora reflect a wide range of different ideological standpoints, in terms of coverage and institutional news practices. Hence, studying the published texts and provided discourses by these websites will satisfy the aim of the comparison in this research.

3.4.2. The Sampling of Issues or Dates

This research studies Islam and Muslim representations in the British and the Egyptian media contexts post the Egyptian Revolution 25th January 2011. The research however, is not confined to the representations of specific issues about Islam and Muslims in both media outlets. Considering the extended period since the start of the Egyptian Revolution 2011, until the moment of writing this research, a specific period was chosen from 2012 to 2015. This longitudinal framework could afford for what Hansen et al. (1998) marked as a "reasonably representative sample" (Hansen et al 1998, p. 102).

Given the huge amount of data published across this period, and to narrow the analysed data, four events were chosen as starting points of the data collection, based on their potential for discussion and rich discourse

about Islam and Muslims in both media contexts alike. These events are: the election of ex-president Morsi on 30th June 2012; his ousting on 3rd July 2013; the election of current Egyptian president, Sisi, on 3rd June 2014; and Russia Air-Strikes on Syria 30th September 2015. In this regard, data published two weeks after each event was collected for the analysis in this research.

On the whole, data collected for this research was collected over thirty-two weeks from the four-studied media across the four-studied periods. These weeks are divided into four determined periods and were collected from each newspaper website separately. Thus, the first period includes data collected from 01/07/2012 until 14/07/2012. The second period includes data collected from 04/07/2013 until 17/07/2013. The third period involves data collected from 04/06/2014 until 17/06/2014. Finally, the fourth period includes data collected from 01/10/2015 until 14/10/2015. The starting point for the collection of data in each period starts from the first day after each one of the stated events above. However, the analysis of data is of Islam and Muslim representations in general, and this analysis is not confined to media framing of each one of these events.

Put simply, although this research took its threshold from the first day after each one of the stated events, in data collection stage this research used general terms to collect all texts relevant to Islam and Muslims in both media outlets. In this regard, this research used two main keywords in collecting research data: 'Islam' and 'Muslim'. However, research samples contain all articles that comprise of these references, besides their varieties; namely 'Islamic', 'Islamist' and 'Muslims'. The same criteria were applied to newspapers on both sides, in the British media using the same keywords, and, in the Egyptian media, using their equivalents in Arabic.

Data collected from both media contexts represent different shades of issues surrounding Islam and Muslims in both societies. These four chosen periods cover different issues relating to the rise and fall of Islamist rule in Egypt and other Arab Spring countries. Particularly, the rise of the so-called Islamic State (Isis), after the collapse of Iraqi's Mosul to their hands and international response to this event.

Furthermore, in the British media, a discussion erupted over the regulation of educational practices in some state schools in Birmingham; an issue named in media outlets as the 'Trojan Horse'. These schools are featured as the majority of their pupils are Muslim. The issue exploded, however, when a letter highlighted as a 'hoax' was sent to penetrate some Islamic practices to these secular schools. Thus, interwoven discourses between political, educational and cultural discourses about Muslims in Britain were highlighted in the British media.

Furthermore, Egyptian media discourses discussed the role of Sharia (Islamic law) in the Egyptian constitution and politics. These issues and events, amongst others, highlight several discussions that are fruitful in understanding media representations of Islam and Muslims in both media contexts.

3.4.3. The Sampling of Relevant Content

This stage is the final phase in the three stated stages by Hansen et al. (1998). With regards to this, the research will follow strict criteria in order to reduce the amount of data collected, to include only relevant data according to the research topic and questions and to exclude the data that is irrelevant to the study (Hansen et al. 1998). In the previous stage, as mentioned earlier, all of the data published about Islam and Muslims in the

four studied websites during the timeframe of this research was collected. The data yielded from this search has been downloaded, with the exclusion at this stage to any irrelevant types of content to this research, such as letters to the editors, obituaries, readers' articles, book reviews, etc. Thus, the collected data included news items (e.g. news stories, news reports, features) and opinion articles (editorial, analyses, columns, etc.), which were downloaded and included in the data at this stage.

The next stage was concerned with scrutinising the data to exclude any duplication: items that included references to Islam and Muslims only in passing; or irrelevant data to the analysis. Then differences in media production in both media corpora were considered. Another stage took place which explored the "practical consideration" of conducting the research without affecting the "representative" characteristic of the collected data (Hansen et al., 1998, p. 104). Therefore, at this stage, some items were excluded from the analysis, namely brief items; such as news in brief that are less than a hundred words. During the timeframe of this research, the Muslim Brotherhood took of the power in Egypt, therefore a huge amount of data was published in the Egyptian media on this group, which had no relevant connection to this research's objectives. Thus, data published on the Muslim Brotherhood during this research timeframe was scrutinised and was only included if they had clear relevance to the research topic; such as references made to Muslim groups' activities post the Egyptian Revolution.

With regards to the British media, the researcher discovered that to gain access to the data stored on The Times' website, a subscription was needed due to the closed circle of the website. Hence, a subscription was taken for the whole period of the data collection, which allowed the

researcher to collect and review data relevant to this study from The Times website. A combination between searches on Factiva database and Google's search engine was followed to collect data from The Guardian website. Although, The Guardian has an open access archive with no need for subscription, the website archive is powered by Google, which only allows for limited results that do not go far back enough to cover the whole period of this research. Thus, a search for the keywords on Factiva yielded headlines regarding the research keywords in accordance with the research timeframe; then these headlines were taken to the Google search engine to collect their original texts from The Guardian website.

Following these procedures in collecting and sifting out data in this research has yielded 2500 items. This number includes articles published on both media, with 802 items from the British media alone; and 1698 items from the Egyptian media. To have a manageable and a "reasonably representative sample" (Hansen et al. 1998, p. 102) every fifth of these items were coded and included in the analysis of this research. In other words, a CDA analysis considered 499 articles or ten percent of these items in this research (for a breakdown of the number of items per media, outlet and period see table 3.1). The reason for having the same sample for CDA and quantitative analysis is that quantitative analysis is only used as a supplementary tool in this research. Thus, findings of this analysis will be used as indicators for comparing Islam and Muslim representations in both media outlets. Also, it will help in contextualizing qualitative findings of CDA.

Table 3.1. The number of articles of media sample

Year	The British Media		The Egyptian Media	
	The Guardian	The Times	Al-Ahram	Al-Youm7
2012	19	11	41	60
2013	10	15	15	89
2014	17	28	9	69
2015	30	29	6	50
Sub-totals	76	83	71	268
Media items totals	159		339	
Sample total	498			

This sample was chosen for two reasons. First, to have the advantage of a close reading to media sample (Ibrahim 2010) and to allow for a meaningful interpretation of data sample. In addition, this sample fits the requirements of undertaking a CDA and a qualitative research in general. Second, choosing articles randomly from amongst data across these four years will minimise subjectivity in this research. Put simply, CDA is a subjective approach that is based on a systematic reading of media texts; though the analyst ultimately builds it on a subjective interpretation and explanation of the studied texts. Thus, a random sample will help to avoid picking articles that fit with any predefined frames of Islam and Muslims in both media outlets.

3.4.4. Piloting and checking reliability

In this regard, the researcher tested ten percent of this research sample before starting the analysis to have some familiarity with the data at hand. In addition, another coder[1] double coded the same sub-sample to check the reliability of the findings; especially when defining media frames. Afterwards, each coder's notes were discussed and considered during the analysis to minimise the inherent subjective nature of CDA.

The two coders reached an overall agreement over the defined frames in both media contexts; especially, in the side of the Egyptian media. Yet, when it came to some of the reported cases in the British media, different interpretations arose. For example, during the discussion of the case of "China crackdown on religious cults" published on *The Times*, (12 June 2014), each coder interpreted this case in a different way. The first coder considering the use of the negative label 'Islamic extremism' and the assumption of growing 'Islamic extremism' in the region to be negative representations of Muslims.   The second coder, though, interpreted the case as a sympathetic towards Muslims. The second coder built his interpretation on the view that *The Times* provides a case for Muslims being repressed, instead of the common frame of Muslims as violent actors or trouble makers. The first coder though saw labelling

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[1] The second coder was a colleague from the Faculty of Media and Communication at Bournemouth University. Both coders read the ten percent sub-sample separately; then they got together and discussed each other notes. Differences and similarities in understanding of media articles were given special consideration. In case of various interpretations to the same case or article, each coder had to explain why his own or unique understanding to the discussed case or article was different. Differences between coders were considered during the analysis to not overlook any interpretation to the data.

Muslims negatively as a continuation of demonising Muslims demonization in the news. Both coders agreed on the problematic use of negative labels with Islam and Muslim actors in the British media outlets. They also disagreed whether labelling Muslims in negative way indicates bias towards reporting Muslims in foreign affairs; or due to media routine, profit considerations and marketing demands in the British market.

3.4.4.1. Subjectivity statement

As a result, the analysis considered all interpretations of the data at hand. With special consideration to the role of news values and media routines in the reporting of negativities concerning Muslims and Islam. Simply put, instead of taken the bias interpretation for granted, based on the previous literature; the research considered media routines as a salient factor in negative representations of Islam and Muslims in the British corpus.

Doing qualitative research is a subjective process. Given that, a researcher brings his/her "own interpretive strategies to their work" (Brennen 2013, p. 206). With regards to this, there are subjective that may of course influence the analysis. There is a risk that research follows "political preconception", instead of empirical evidence (Richards and Brown 2017, p. 20). The current research could not be an exception of this. Thus, the analysis might have been, unconsciously, influenced by concluding remarks of the previous research. For instance, there is a risk that, in some reported cases, especially, in relation to media representations of terrorism; the analysis might have followed the preconceived idea that Islam is represented in association with terrorism and extremism in the British media. Yet, by knowing this subjectivity, the research considered rely on multiple evidence to support the arguments and interpretations

provided by this research. Also, the analysis was open to different interpretations that might occur from the data and can even contradict some of the previous research; such as emphasising on positive representations of British Muslims in the studied British media sample.

Another subjectivity that could have influenced the analysis of the Egyptian media sample is the fact is the preconceived idea, that Islam will have favourable representations in a majority-Muslim context. The research, however, was open to and recognised in the analysis other political, social or cultural influences that might shape Islam and Muslims representations in this context. Also, media routines in different contexts, for example, professionalism, can shape representations of Islam in the British and the Egyptian media contexts. Media representations of terrorism and Muslim groups are few examples.

Finally, there is a risk that the researcher's background, might have influenced the analysis to the research corpora. Nevertheless, this risk has been minimised by sticking to the theoretical and methodological frameworks while taking forward this research.

3.5. Analytical stages and extracting of media frames

To conclude this chapter, this research will use Fairclough's approach (Fairclough 1992; Fairclough 1995a) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to capture similarities and differences and in the extraction of media frames of Islam and Muslims in comparison between the British and the Egyptian newspapers' websites post the Egyptian Revolution 2011 (1/25).

Using this approach, this research will apply foremost a qualitative textual analysis to news and opinion articles in both media outlets. This

will be helpful in conducting an inductive examination to media framing (Matthes 2009) and representations of Islam and Muslims, as discussed before. In this regard, the investigation of data will go through different stages (Matthews 2015; Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira 2008) and as highlighted by Fairclough (1995a) in his multidimensional approach to CDA.

In the first stage, the analysis will begin with reading through the whole articles, altogether, commencing with the British items, followed by the Egyptian ones. In this stage, a micro or in-depth analysis will take place. The focus in this phase will highlight lexical choices, over-lexicalisation, naming and referencing and presuppositions used in each media side in representing Islam and Muslims. This stage will conduct textual analysis as stated by Fairclough (1995a).

In the second stage, or the interpretation dimension of CDA, the interest will focus on highlighting and defining recurrent media frames of Islam and Muslims in both media outlets. Furthermore, a macro analysis will take place in this stage to highlight the role of institutional policy or ideology of each news corporation, news values and intertextuality or the role of media and background sources in the building of media frames.

Finally, in the last and explanatory stage, another reading of findings will take place from the angle of social and political situations or ongoing events during the research period studied. The interest in this stage will look to highlight configurations or implementations of media representations of Islam and Muslims for each society and its influences and relations to the cultural identity, for example, and the political matters.

In other words, a comparative analysis is essential to achieve the ultimate purposes of this research. Comparative analysis provides an approach that highlights the similarities and differences in media coverage of Islam and Muslims. Insights reached through this comparison will help in adding more understanding to the role of cultural differences in each society in Islam and Muslim representations.

For example, Cotter (2003) highlighted the purpose of comparative or cross-sectional studies of media outlets as figuring out the role of politics and media practices in the formation of news discourse, not only in Western contexts; but also in other several contexts. As she outlined:

> "Comparative/cross-cultural: Researchers in this area reveal an important understanding of the role of culture and politics in the production of news discourse and delineate the variable aspects of news practice not apparent in solely western media-focused treatments" (Cotter 2003, p. 419).

To sum up, the specificity of this research will focus on the similarities and differences in media discourse surrounding Islam and Muslims in the British and Egyptian media outlets. Not only regarding news sources, quotations, and frames within other aspects of media practices; but also, concerning ideological stands and viewpoints and cultural values; and how these affect their representations of Islam and Muslims in two entirely different contexts, i.e. majority-Muslim and Western-minority contexts. The following chapters, which explain the findings, will highlight Islam and Muslim frames and representations in each media outlets, commencing with the British media, followed by representations in the Egyptian media.

Thus, to commence the analysis, this research followed a unified method to approach the sample. First, an in-depth reading through each

article was conducted separately, or individually for each item. In the descriptive stage, great consideration was given to lexical choices; such as labels or descriptive words that might be used with Islam and Muslims. Also, lexicalisation: over-lexicalisation and assumptions that were made by the text was extracted to have an initial inference to any hidden ideology or ideas disseminated in this item. This process was repeated for each item, separately.

In a further stage, another reading was applied to the analysed items alongside each other to define the shared arguments or themes between these items. In addition, to figure out their newsworthiness; or why a choice has been made to publish such items in the studied media. In this stage, or interpretation stage, a prominent concern was also given to intertextuality, interdiscursivity or any noticeable insertion to some sources across the sample. This was significant to highlight who is given a space to shape the readers' minds concerning Islam and Muslims.

Finally, in the explanation, an overview was taken of the analysed data at hand; defined frames and how they fit with political and socio-cultural matters in the context of the studied media. This interpretation of the findings implementations in each society was based on a holistic reading of the analysed items; previous studies or literature in addition to recurrent events and those ongoing in each society.

Therefore, the analysis in this research followed Fairclough's CDA methods, as addressed in this methodology chapter. To define dominant frames in the studied corpora, an investigation to recurrent and noticeable descriptive words for Islam and Muslims was conducted. Furthermore, a

scrutinised analysis was applied throughout the data to highlight over-lexicalisations, assumptions and labels that represent a frame.

Subsequently, in the second phase of analysis, further investigation took place to address intertextuality and news values. Both are considered interpretative features in the explanation of Islam and Muslim representations in the studied media. Finally, the last stage of this analysis highlighted possible implementations or configurations for the defined frames in socio-cultural and political practices, whether in the UK or Egyptian society.

4. Chapter three: Islam and Muslim representations in the British newspapers' websites post 1/25

4.1. Overview to the British corpus

This chapter is based on longitudinal analysis of British newspapers' websites' corpus post 1/25, or the Egyptian Revolution in 2011. Before heading to discuss the findings of this examination, it might be helpful to take an overview of the included items in this research.

First and foremost, both studied journalism websites showed clear interest in reporting Islam outside the UK. More than two thirds of the included items in the analysis are published on international matters. Thus, coverage of the fast-moving events in Arab Spring countries, especially in Egypt and Libya, represented around one in eight of the included materials in this analysis. Furthermore, coverage of the political development in Iraq and Syria, or the war on Isis and its political and regional consequences, represented more than one fifth of the all studied materials; both events represent around one third of the whole data.

Moreover, another third of the studied items was allocated to coverage of different and dispersed events outside Britain. For example, the bombing attack in Turkey; the destruction of Timbuktu tombs; migration issues, especially in Germany; Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in addition to different dispersed cases in Iran, India, Pakistan, Bosnia and Burma.

Thus, one can see that most of reported international cases to Islam focused on terrorism, extremism, oppression to women and minorities, Islamism, with few references to violence and sectarian conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims, especially Buddhists, outside the UK.

The rest of the analysed articles, slightly less than one third of the corpus, focused on reporting different cases that are relevant to the condition of Muslims inside Britain. Around a quarter of these published on only one affair; namely, the Trojan Horse affair in Birmingham Schools. Another considerable amount of this corpus was also published following British Muslim women winning the GBBO award in 2015. The rest of the published articles highlighted different cases; such as UK government reaction to the threat of Islamophobia; tackling of extremism or counter-extremism policies; in addition to a few items which were published on dispersed matters concerning Muslim communities inside the UK.

Although this chunk of articles highlighted different representations of British Muslims, it is fair to say that reporting on Muslims in the context of extremism was also noticeable in this portion.

In the descriptive stage, textual analysis led to the extraction of two noticeably dominant frames for Islam and Muslims in the British media. A frame of otherness and threat and a frame of integration and multiculturalism. Considering the first frame, Muslims and Islam, on the one hand, are represented in a negative way. Representations of Muslims under this frame suggest an Islamophobic or Orientalist view of Muslims and Islam in the British media. This includes, for example, using references that connect Islam to terrorism or extremism. This frame also witnessed extensive reporting on international affairs in comparison to representations of Muslims resident within the UK.

On the other hand, the frame of integration and multiculturalism is featured with reports on British Muslims or Muslim communities. This frame highlighted, to some extent, the compatibility of British Muslims

with the domestic values or Britishness. The following sections will address separately each one of these frames as follows.

4.2. The frame of Otherness and threat

As far as the first frame is concerned, this frame is featured with a recurrent use of negative descriptions, e.g. nouns and adjectives, with Islam and Muslims. Therefore, it is noticeable, for instance, that these descriptions such as extremists or militants are used frequently to define Muslim actors. In addition, extremism or fundamentalism are examples of subjective descriptions that are associated with Islam.

Moreover, analysed items classified under this frame indicated that Islam and Muslims are often deemed newsworthy when associated with extremism or terrorism. Thus, the insertion for elite politicians' discourse, illegitimate or extremist ideologies or news agencies texts was perceptible under this frame. Overall, texts that represent examples of this frame, give an impression that Islam is represented as a threat to British society and worldwide. Also, the association of negative descriptions with Muslims and Islam indicated that Muslims are represented as the Other in the British media.

However, it is important to note that this frame is interpreted in a general sense. Thus, representations of Islam and Muslims in the context of terrorism or extremism, for example, gave the impression of representing Islam as a threat. Moreover, Muslim representations in the British media indicated that they are perceived as the Other in British media texts. Therefore, the frame is defined, as such, to be inclusive of the scattered representations of Islam and Muslims in the present sample, instead of being exclusive to them.

Thus, it is important to note that represented examples for this frame are based on holistic reading of the studied British corpus, which suggested the salience of represented arguments in this analysis in the studied materials. Therefore, features of this frame are based on these salient qualities of the frame, instead of other less recurrent representations of Islam and Muslims in the studied items. Therefore, these arguments are based on the researcher's holistic reading of the data and the salience of represented arguments in the studied materials.

4.2.1. Textual analysis: lexical choices for the frame of otherness and threat

The analysis of lexical choices recurring under this frame underlines repeated use of words that replicate, in a generalised manner, assumptions that demonise Islam. Labelling and descriptive words used in association with Islam and Muslims also perpetuates an Orientalist view of Islam.

4.2.1.1. Oppression and extremism

In this news item, provided by a news agency, published on The Guardian website (*The Gaudian*, 08 July 2012), Islam is represented as a cause of political repression to religious minorities. Also, as a basis of extremism. Under this headlines *"Higgs boson physicist shunned in Pakistan"*, the text reported on Abdus Salam, a Pakistani Scientist who won the Nobel Prize. However, his name has been prohibited from the school's textbooks, simply, as suggested by the news item, because of his religious affiliation or his belonging to a religious sect.

This could be the case. However, the text highlighted only one side of the issue, by emphasis on the religious affiliation of this scientist as the main reason of scorning his name in Pakistan. The text also made a clear

link to Islam in this case, by stressing this issue as "a sign of the growing Islamic extremism in the country" (ibid). The text, as such, neglects any other political or societal matters that could give further interpretations to such case. In addition, this generalised representation portrayed Islam as a religion that affords or maybe justifies extremism.

The only reference to politics, though, was to a law passed on by the country's parliament that considered Ahmadis, a religious minority sect in Pakistan, a non-Muslim group. Nevertheless, the text stated that Ahmadi and other minority groups are "persecuted by the government" and due to the growing of "hardline interpretations of Islam" in the country (ibid). The text, as such, suggested that other minorities, such as 'Ahmadi sect', 'Shiite Muslims' and 'Hindus' are also persecuted based on their religious affiliation. The text, though, highlighted that the plight of these minorities pertains to 'the growing *Islamic extremism* in the country' [emphasis added] and not to political or social matters. A portrayal that repeats one of the Orientalist views of the Muslim world, as a world where its political practices are reduced to the matter of religion; instead of the complex political, social or economic practices that are fertilised in the West (Said 1979; Kumar 2012).

What is also interesting in this text is that it indicates the echo of conflicts between different Churches, especially conflicts between Western and Eastern Christianity. This is apparently understood from the Guardian

use of the word *'heretics'*[2], a word that is used mainly in the context of Christian history, to describe the mismatch between Christian Churches[3].

However, it has been used in this context to highlight the conflict between Islamic sects. The use of such word has the power to influence a westerner reader's attitude towards Islam, considering that this word has some negative connotations that are understood by both the reader and text provider, based on their common-sense or shared history. Nevertheless, this could be deemed as a reductionist approach that reduces the practices of Islam to match their counterparts in Christianity, especially the projection of a historical legacy in an ongoing situation.

Some might argue that the use of this word is legitimate in this context, considering the text discussion on a political and religious matter. Yet, if one considered that this text, when published on the Guardian website, is based on an editorial choice, then one can see a subtle opposition between the history of Christianity and the presence of Islam. Which underlines a westernised approach in reporting on Islam in the Guardian outlet. However, the otherness of Islam is also evident in scattered assumptions disseminated by the text. In addition to the labels

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[2] The word heretic is a noun, which means: "a professed believer who maintains religious opinion contrary to those accepted by his or her church or rejects doctrines prescribed by the church". The word also denotes to "anyone who does not conform to an established attitude, doctrine, or principle" (http://www.dictionary.com/browse/heretic, accessed 09/10/2017). Although, this word is used predominantly in the context of Christianity, it is also used in other religious contexts such as Judaism or Islam (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heresy, accessed 09/10/2017).

[3] For broad discussion, please refer to: "Heresy in Christianity", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heresy_in_Christianity; and "Western Christianity", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_Christianity accessed 18/12/2017.

used to describe actors. For example, "the growing Islamic extremism in the country" ("Higgs boson physicist shunned in Pakistan", *The Guardian,* 08 July 2012). The use of this metaphor assumes that there is an *'Islamic extremism'* and that this extremism is also *'growing'* in Pakistan.

The text could have used extremism alone if the case is to show that there is an extremism growing in this country. Nevertheless, the text used a referential strategy to suggest that this extremism belongs to Islam, using the adjective *'Islamic'*, suggesting that this extremism is based on religious practices to Islam. This also suggests that the evidence of this extremism is known to the reader and there is no need for further evidence to support this claim.

Additionally, the use of this description strengthens and recalls the stereotype of Islam as a religion of violence and extremism that is practised abroad. Meanwhile, this generalised use of the word Islam or Islamic in association with extremism in that context, is simplified and could easily apply to other contexts to suggest that Islam is a religion that is mainly associated with extremism and violence.

This feature is further highlighted in the text by using the current suppositions:

"the Ahmadi sect that has been persecuted by the government and targeted by Taliban militants"

"Their plight … has deepened in recent years as hardline interpretations of Islam have gained ground and militants have stepped up attacks against groups they oppose ("Higgs boson physicist shunned in Pakistan", *The Guardian,* 08 July 2012).

In the first assumption, the text assumes that there is persecution to 'the Ahmadi sect' in Pakistan and that they are targeted by

'Taliban militants', a claim that needs evidence, instead of being supposed in such a generalised way. In other words, the use of the word *'persecuted'* suggests a frame of repression. However, the case also could be interpreted as neglecting the political rights of this sect, instead of being persecuted by the government.

However, what is significant is the assumption stated in the second extract, which assumes that the *'plight'* of this sect is caused and devastated by the strengthening of the *'hardline interpretations of Islam'*, which allowed for further attacks on this group by *'militants'*. Again, the text suggests that Islam is a religion where militant groups dominate its practices. Suggesting, thus, its dominance will cause further persecution to minorities. One can argue that such representation recalls and perpetuates a frame or a stereotype of Islam as a threat to minorities. Consequently, this can be easily generalised and understood by a Westerner reader or a reader that is unfamiliar with Islam, as a threat to the whole western culture or worldwide. In other words, the text made an implicit emphasis on the idea of 'them versus us' by reporting Islam as the main source of repression, if any, to minorities in a Muslim country. Subsequently, one can imagine a reader who gains knowledge about this religion, mainly from news reports, will hold an image to this religion as opposite to human rights and the freedom of religion.

What is also interesting in this extract, is the reference to this sect as *'groups they oppose'*; which suggested that this conflict is a political one, using the term *'oppose'* which is not religious as suggested earlier in the text. This use could recall in the mind of a westerner that the practices of religion, when it is interwoven with religion, always brings conflict and persecution to minorities.

Finally, the text also used different over-lexicalisations and labels to profile the nature of religious conflict in this event: *'religious affiliation';* *'religious minorities'; 'Shiite Muslims'* and *'Sunni Muslims'*.

Though the Guardian could have edited this text to use simple wording, such as affiliation or minorities, to refer to the case in terms of politics, the text made different choices to emphasise the religious nature of this conflict by using the references such as *'religious minorities', 'Shiite Muslims'* and *'Sunni Muslims'* to highlight the role of religion of Islam in this conflict.

4.2.1.1.1. Oppression to women

Evidence can be found in numerous articles by the British media which portray Islam in the context of repressing women's rights and freedom of religion. The Guardian website publishes an article, ("The road to London 2012: Somali athletes dare to dream of Olympics", *The Guardian,* 04 July 2012). The article, thus, featured the plight of "a female athlete" under the ruling of "the Islamist rebels"; and while living in a "Muslim nation" (ibid), as follows:

> And although the days of regular death threats are past [in reference to Islamists' ruling and their "impose a harsh form of sharia; as text stated], not everyone in this *Muslim nation* [emphasis added] approves of female athletes. Ms Mohamed laughed softly as her coach spoke of the comments she gets as she trains in the streets. "Some people clap and welcome [the athletes] and others say, 'Why? You are a woman. Why don't you go to bed and sleep because women don't need to do such a hard job?'" said Ahmed Ali.
>
> The 18-year-old has a quick retort: "I am a woman but I am also an athlete. I would be proud as a Somali girl to hold the flag of my country." ("The road to London 2012: Somali athletes dare to dream of Olympics", *The Guardian,* 04 July 2012).

The reference made in this quotation to Somali as a 'Muslim nation', indicates that women's athletes are repressed in Muslim countries. A generalised image can depict in a mind of a reader to suggest that Islam is the reason behind such oppression.

In addition to The Times website. Especially, concerning the Times emphasis on the role of *"hardline clerics"* in Saudi Arabia, who adopt "Wahhabism" and enforce *"the ultra-conservative brand of Sunni Islam"* [emphasis added], in forbidden the flourish of "women's gyms"; "women's sports" and "female athletes" in the Kingdom ("Olympic victory for Saudi women as they are allowed to join in the Games", *The Times,* 13 July 2012). Or the case of Meriam Ibrahim, "a Christian woman", who sentenced for "100 lashes for adultery" and threatened to be executed if *"renounce Islam"* [emphasis added] ("Meriam's family are just after her money, claims husband", *The Times,* 09 June 2014).

Although each one of these stories has its own context, collectively one can argue that they provide a typical type of information for the portrayal of Islam in the British media, as a religion that is associated with repression and extremism. Thus, a less-informed reader can easily develop a perception of Islam as a source of oppression for women and minorities. Or at the very least, against their human rights.

4.2.1.2. Terrorism and violence

The othering frame is also highlighted when associating Islam with terrorism or violence, especially when reporting on international affairs.

4.2.1.2.1. Labelling and use of Islamic terminology

What follows are descriptive words that work as labels used in association with Islam and Islamic terminology, for example: *'Islamic*

extremists'; 'Islamic State'; or *'jihadist army'* ("Obama 'urgently' considering air assault on targets in Syria and Iraq", *The Guardian,* 13 June 2014); *'Islamist fighters'* ("Boko Haram killed hundreds in north-east Nigeria, witnesses say", *The Guardian*, 05 June 2014); *'suspect jihadists'* and *'Islamic extremism'* ("Passports stripped from 50 suspect jihadists", *The Times*, 04 October 2015); *'jihadist group'* ("Russia strikes again and admits targeting anti Assad rebel groups", *The Times,* 01 October 2015) and *'Islamic insurgency'* ("Islamists' hold over Mali threatens Europe, diplomat warns", *The Guardian,* 13 July 2012).

Although some of these labels do not imply negative connotations in themselves, such as *'state'; 'jihadist'; 'Islamist'*[4] or even *'fighters',* the context of reporting and the use of these labels highlights their use to denote terrorism.

Throughout the samples, an example of these labels is the use of *'Islamic State'* which has become an icon which refers to the threat of this group, or when referring to countries combating terrorism internationally: "The Guardian view: the fall of Mosul threatens civil war in Iraq", *The Guardian*, 11 June 2014; "Russia strikes again and admits targeting anti Assad rebel groups", *The Times*, 01 October 2015; "Obama pledges US support to Iraq as Isis militants approach Baghdad", *The Guardian*, 12 June 2014; "Youngest terrorist was mentored from Syria", *The Times*, 02

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[4] The word 'Islamist', according to the Cambridge Dictionary online, means "a person who believes strongly in Islam, especially one who believes that Islam should influence the political system" (http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/islamist, accessed 11/10/2017). Thus, the word itself does not imply collocations of terrorism or violence; as any Muslim who believes in Islam as a dominant political system could be an Islamist in this regard.

October 2015; "Russian Orthodox church backs 'holy war' against Isis", *The Times*, 01 October 2015; "How an arrest in Iraq revealed Isis's $2bn jihadist network", *The Guardian*, 15 June 2014 and "Europe must unite to deliver Syria from Isis and Assad", *The Guardian*, 08 October 2015).

Accordingly, one can infer that by repeating this label, it recalls a stereotype that Islam is almost always practised in conjunction with terrorism; especially, abroad.

Meanwhile, the word 'jihadist' per se does not imply negative connotations, considering 'jihad' is a component of Islamic theologian and has different interpretations amongst Muslims in general (Karim 1996) or Islamic scholars. However, this word is being used on The Guardian website, in this context for example, as synonym to a terrorist group or the practice of terrorism. The following extracts will further support this feature.

> "Militants of Boko Haram, which wants to establish an *Islamic state* in Nigeria, have been taking over villages in the north-east, killing and terrorising civilians and political leaders as the *Islamist fighters* make a comeback from a year-long military offensive aimed at crushing them. The death toll from Monday's attacks was among the highest. Thousands of people have been killed in the five-year-old insurgency – more than 2,000 so far just this year – and an estimated 750,000 Nigerians have been driven from their homes." ([emphasis added] "Boko Haram killed hundreds in north-east Nigeria, witnesses say", *The Guardian*, 05 June 2014).

In this news item, The Guardian reported on the Boko Haram violent actions in Nigeria, and the killing of civilians as suggested by the text. In the leading paragraphs, though, the text referred to actors of this group as 'Boko Haram militants' or 'militants*'*. However, as the text proceeds,

another choice made by text provider profiles their identification as 'Islamist fighters'.

What is interesting though, in the above extract, is the dominant use of words that pertain, mainly, to the repertoire of terrorist and violent actions; and the text suggestion that such practices are based on an Islamic cause. This can be highlight by stating these words separately, as follows: 'Militants'; 'Boko Haram'; 'establish'; 'Islamic state'; 'taking over'; 'killing'; 'terrorising'; 'civilians'; 'Islamist fighters'; 'military offensive'; 'crushing'; 'death toll' and 'insurgency'.

This generalised use of this cluster of words in close conjunction with Islam, suggests that Islam is a religion of violence that encourages its followers to implement terrorist actions, such as "killing and terrorising of civilians", for the sake of building an "Islamic state". One would imagine that the repetition of such words in reporting about Islam will encourage the reader to build an image of this religion that is full of negative connotations. All of them which relates to terror and threat.

In this regard, the text could have referred to those actors as 'militants' as it did earlier; or 'fighters'. One could suggest that if Muslim or Islamic scholars reported/gave their opinion on the position of Islam in response to such actions, this would help in building a balanced reporting that could build an objective or, to some extent, an informed image of this religion in the mind of the readers.

However, the recurrent use of such references to the identity of actors in this matter, suggests their Islamic or Islamist affiliation is Islamophobic and perpetuates an Orientalist view towards Muslims and Islam. Using such generalised references to Islam in the context of violence

will create, recreate or emphasis a stereotype of this religion, associating it with terrorism. Furthermore, this reporting suggests media biases towards Muslims, that media outlets only provide a high profile to those who are acting violently in the name of this religion. Yet, some might argue that using these words are justified, considering that the text is reporting on a violent international affair, and reflects the intertextuality between news agencies and newspapers discourse about Islam. It should also be considered that news corporations are attracted to violence and abnormal actions to grab the attention of their readers.

However, this representation also portrays all Muslims as Islamists, and all Islamists as applying violence for the sake of their religion. It is a representation that homogenises Muslims and neglects the de facto that this is still reporting on a small margin of Muslims, which is not representative of the whole Muslim world.

The following extract will add further support to this feature of the otherness frame.

> "The Obama administration is urgently considering an air assault on *Islamic extremists* that officials told The Guardian could be directed at targets in Syria as well as Iraq.
>
> President Obama announced on Friday that in the "days ahead" he will decide on a package of military and diplomatic options to halt the rapid advance of the *Islamic State* of Iraq and the Levant (Isis)**,** as the *jihadist army*'s march from Syria through Sunni Iraq has upended Obama's achievement of extricating the US military from the Iraq conflict." ([emphasis added].

> "Obama 'urgently' considering air assault on targets in Syria and Iraq", *The Guardian,* 13 June 2014).

As highlighted earlier, this frame is featured with the repeated use of negative descriptions, in a generalised way that stigmatises Muslims as bad

doers, such as referring to actors in this context as *'Islamic extremists'*. By using this metaphor, the text also suggests that this descriptive noun is accepted or is common sense between the text provider and the reader and thus, is well defined.

However, this use dismisses the de facto that extremism does not always refer to violent actions, as it could also refer to those who are holding extreme ideas but do not apply violence to convey their ideas. Moreover, the use of the word *'urgently'*, also as suggested in the headline of this item, gives the impression that fighting *'Islamic extremists'* or the *'Islamic State'* is an urgent cause that encourages urgent and severe intervention from international actors. This is also suggested in the concluding paragraph when the US secretary of state, John Kerry, describes this threat as a *'challenge'* or *'the challenge'*. The use of this description assumes that the threat from those acting violently in the name of Islam is an urgent threat to the international affairs that requires coalition and working together to defeat such a *'challenge'*.

The second paragraph, though, in this extract, made a shift using a reference to Islamic State actors as *'the jihadist army'*, which is an interesting supposition that assumes that those actors are doing 'jihad', and that they are marching peacefully through the 'Sunni' parts of Iraq. Surprisingly enough, the text, as such, suggests that their actions are 'jihad' and are accepted by 'Sunni Iraq'.

This generalised use of Islamic references, such as *'jihadist'; 'Sunni'* and even *'Islamic State'*, in this context, suggests that Islam is congruous with terrorism. Some might argue that the *'Islamic State'* is the name announced by this group and, as such, it is the right of media reports to use

this reference. However, the repetition of this expression in the British newspaper website suggests an iconic use of it as synonym to terrorism. In addition, a balanced and responsible reporting would suggest that a distinction between this reference and the true meaning of an 'Islamic State', based on a proper Muslim understanding of it, should be reported as well (Mozaffari 2010). It must be highlighted, though, that some British media are conscious in using such references nowadays; therefore, they use the prefix 'the so-called' before it. However, the repetitive usage of this collocation could recall the same negative stereotype in the mind of readers.

Another feature published on *The Guardian* website: "Malian Islamists attack world heritage site mosques in Timbuktu" (02 July 2012), highlights that Islam became newsworthy in international affairs, predominantly in the context of conflict and terrorism. This is apparently understood from the recurrent use of negative labels with Islam in this text, for instance, 'Islamists attack'; 'hardline Islamists'; 'Islamist militants'; 'strict interpretation of Islam'; 'strict laws'; 'militant Islamists' and 'Islamist groups'.

One could argue that uses of these references 'Islamist' and 'Islamists' have become synonyms to terrorist and terrorists in this context. Although the use of label *'Islamist groups'* does not indicate negative connotations, the context of this use suggests that those groups are working violently and represent a threat to the whole region.

The same frame can also evidence on *The Times* newspaper website. Thus, recurrent use of negative labels with Islam is also evident on The Times samples. For example, repetitive use of descriptive references, such

as *'Islamic extremism'*, while reporting international Islam, represents this religion as a violent religion ("Thousands held in China crackdown on religious cults", *The Times,* 12 June 2014).

In addition, such representation also justifies *'religious repression'* (ibid) to followers of this religion, in comparison to other faiths, based on the claim that such repression is to prevent their extremism threat.

This is understood from the following extract from the Times website:

> "… the government's crackdown on cults fits into a broader trend of religious repression under President Xi.
>
> In some parts of the country, newly-built Christian churches have been bulldozed by local authorities, while the government's attempt to prevent Islamic extremism from developing in the far western Xinjiang region has seen attempts to force men to shave off their beards." ("Thousands held in China crackdown on religious cults", *The Times,* 12 June 2014).

In this extract, the text stand with the Christian churches that have been demolished using bulldozers, as a sign of religious repression in China. However, when it comes to forcing Muslims in some parts of the country to shave their beards as another sign of suppression to a religious minority, the text provides a presupposition which assumes that this action is justified, based on the assumed growing of *'Islamic extremism'* in the western region of Xinjiang. This example could highlight The Times' bias towards Christianity and against Islam in this context, while both are influenced by such practices of the Chinese government.

4.2.1.2.2.   Demonising Islamic symbols

Another feature for this frame can also identified in the studied British media representations of Islamic symbols. In this regard, the British

media often portray Islamic symbols in a way that could stigmatise all Muslims as being terrorists.

In this respect, in the aforementioned text: "Malian Islamists attack world heritage site mosques in Timbuktu" (*The Guardian,* 02 July 2012), The Guardian reported that those militants were shouting "Allahu Akbar", while they were "armed with pickaxes" [emphasis added] and broke down the tombs, as follows: "The militants broke it down. They were shouting 'Allahu Akbar'" (ibid).

It is interesting that Muslims use this catchphrase *'Allahu Akbar'* at least five times a day in their calling for prayers or Azan. It is also noticeable that Muslims worldwide use this motto frequently in their daily life. The Guardian, as such, are making no distinction between the use of this saying as a call for prayers, which is a religious ritual per se, and its misuse by some extremists.

Subsequently, one could assume a reader will associate one using this catchphrase in the call for prayer or habitually alongside one who misuses and associates it with violent actions. This representation can build a generalisation which suggests that this slogan is a call for war instead of a call for prayer.

The same feature is also underlined in The Times website ("Youngest terrorist was mentored from Syria", *The Times*, 02 October 2015). In this news item, The Times reported on the case of the schoolboy in Britain who was convicted, with lifetime sentence, for colluding with an Isis member to plot a terrorist attack in Australia. This text repeated some of the aforementioned features; such as using the following interesting over-lexicalisation: 'Britain's youngest terrorist' or this label: 'Islamic

State extremist' (ibid). It is interesting, in this regard, the identification of the actor as being from 'Britain'. One can see that the use of such label indicates that the threat of Isis is inside the UK. However, what is most prominent in this text can be highlighted through the following extract:

"As the authorities repeatedly tried to correct him, the youth was in constant internet contact with an Isis recruiter. He threatened to slit the throat of a teaching assistant "like halal" and formed an extremist network over social media" (*The Times*, 02 October 2015).

Surprisingly enough in this context, is the use of this metaphor "to slit the throat of a teaching assistant *"like halal"* [emphasis added] (ibid). One could see the implicit reference made in this text to the way Muslims slit their cattle. The use of this reference could stigmatise all Muslims in Britain as being vulnerable to radicalisation, such as those Muslims who are eating *'Halal'* meat.

4.2.1.3. Threat of radicalisation in the British Muslim Communities

Representing Islam in the context of extremism is also significant while reporting on domestic affairs. This can be seen in the following extract from a feature published on The Times website:

"The annual British Social Attitudes Survey comes as Michael Gove, the education secretary, has ordered schools to promote British values to combat extremism following the row over Muslim schools in Birmingham that appeared to be basing their teaching on conservative Islamic values." ("Public attitudes harden towards those who don't learn English", *The Times,* 17 June 2014).

This extract indicates, implicitly, that while British values are combating extremism, Islamic values support radicalisation. Put differently, the text implies an exclusion of 'Muslim schools' from the British texture of values, deeming these schools as promoting *'conservative*

Islamic values', which is not in line with *'British values'*. Although this could be justified based on the secular nature of British values; concerning their contrast with religious values in broad sense. Thus, conservative Christian values can be represented as such, as far as Britishness is concerned. However, by linking 'Islamic values' to extremism, the text demonises these values as promoting the threat of radicalism, instead of being merely in contrast with secular values. Moreover, the British media tend to portray Muslims negatively in comparison to Jews or Christians (Bleich et al. 2015).

Many features are interesting, though, in this extract. At first glance, the use of references to exclude Muslims from the British texture. This is implied from the text reference to 'schools' in Britain without specific identification, while referring to schools in Birmingham as 'Muslim schools'. It is also interesting that the use of the catchphrase *'Islamic values'*, although highlights positive connotations, it has been used unfavourably in this context to highlight their mismatching with *'British values'*, while connoting their corresponding with extremism.

4.2.1.3.1.   Muslim schools 'Trojan Horse'

The same representations are valid, concerning the British media reporting on the 'Trojan Horse' affair, or what has been described in The Times sub-headlines as: "an Islamist plot to take control of Birmingham schools" *("*The crescent in the classroom", *The Times*, 15 June 2014); or "…the Islamification of schools" (*"*Trojan Horses*"*, *The Times*, 04 June 2014).

This issue recognised noticeable coverage in both media websites (*"*Furious Cameron slaps down Gove and May over 'Islamic extremism'

row", *The Guardian,* 07 June 2014; "Is the Trojan horse row just a witch hunt triggered by a hoax?", *The Guardian,* 08 June 2014; "Gove told to launch 'dawn raids' on schools", *The Times,* 09 June 2014 and "Islam school extremism fears spread to Bradford", *The Times,* 11 June 2014).

The case itself highlighted a concern over an extremist plot of some educational governors in some Birmingham state schools to abort some secular aspects of the teaching curriculum, such as prohibition or restricting of music teaching, sex education and segregation of male and female pupils in educational activities. The case had been deemed on The Times website as an 'Islamist infiltration' (*The Times*, 09 June 2014); while recognised by The Guardian coverage as an 'Islamic extremism' attempt (*The Guardian*, 07 June 2014). Although both websites approached the issue differently, to some extent the same negative descriptions with Islam and Muslims were proliferated on both media outlets.

However, The Guardian took a noticeably opposite approach in tackling the political row over this crisis. This is highlighted, for example, when The Guardian acknowledges doubts regarding the truthfulness of the crisis, through publishing an opinion item written by the website education editor questioning "Is the Trojan horse row just a witch hunt triggered by a hoax?" (*The Guardian*, 08 June 2014). In addition, the website underlined the frustration of the pupils' parents and their concern over their children's future after this crisis "Parents at 'Trojan horse' schools fear row's effect on their children's lives" (*The Guardian*, 09 June 2014).

The Times, on the contrary, took a more conservative approach, by using an Islamic symbol to suggest the religious characteristic of the plot, through publishing the following headline "The crescent in the classroom"

(*The Times*, 15 June 2014); or highlighting 'Islam' as the main concern in this issue: "Islam school extremism fears spread to Bradford" (*The Times*, 11 June 2014).

However, this does not reflect a prototype over reporting such cases on The Guardian website. Considering that different texts also used negative labels to emphasise that "Islamic extremists" are implementing "the alleged infiltration of Birmingham's schools" ("Furious Cameron slaps down Gove and May over 'Islamic extremism' row", *The Guardian*, 07 June 2014).

Nevertheless, the text indicated the usage of different labels to highlight the plight and humanitarian state of Muslims in Birmingham, amid the rise of school inspections in Birmingham. In this regard, the following references were noticeable in the text: *'Muslim pupils'; 'religious leaders'; 'Muslim parents'; 'Muslim families'; 'Islamic faith school'; 'Muslim community'* and *'faith leaders'*. The recurrent use of such descriptions highlights *The Guardian* editorial interest in reflecting on the humanitarian face of the issue.

The Times coverage, in comparison, indicated a conservative approach in tackling the same issue. In this regard, the newspaper focused mainly on the threat of this plot to Christian education in state schools and to British values. Thus, The Times had an apparent tendency to use descriptions that associated negative references to the Muslim actors, as 'Muslim extremists'; 'Muslim fundamentalists' (*The Times,* 08 June 2014) or 'a hardline band of Muslim governors' (*The Times,* 15 June 2014). Meanwhile, The Times coverage named the plot, in different ways, that denotes to Islam as a manipulative ideology instead of being a religion;

such as 'Islamist infiltration' (*The Times*, 08 June 2014); 'Islamist plot'; 'Islamic agenda' (*The Times,* 15 June 2014); 'Islamist extremism' (*The Times* 09 June 2014); 'Islamic fundamentalism'; 'Islamist ideology' (*The Times*, 10 June 2014); 'Islam school extremism' and 'strict Islamic ideology' (*The Times,* 11 June 2014).

The recurrent usage of these labels was notable on The Times website, in comparison to The Guardian. This highlights that, although both media outlets followed the political description of the case as an extremism infiltration or a plot, The Guardian was aware not to repeat many of these stigmatising labels.

Moreover, as hinted previously, The Times representation of the issue highlighted, implicitly, an opposition between Islam and Christianity. In addition, the coverage represented Islam as a radical and fundamentalist religion that has been taught in the inspected schools, which holds a threat to a non-Muslim community.

For instance, in this news item, and under the following headline "Islam school extremism fears spread to Bradford" (*The Times*, 11 June 2014), The Times editor highlighted the spread of inspections to other state schools in Bradford. In this regard, the text highlighted the condition of some headteachers in the newly inspected schools as being forced "to promote Islam, abolish Christian assemblies". The text also highlighted the concern of the school teachers about the tendency "to remove Christianity from the curriculum" (ibid). The text, as such, used references to highlight the expertise and religious affiliations of those teachers as *'Staff members'* and *'non-Muslim governors'*. This can also be seen in the following extract:

"Staff members and non-Muslim governors have raised concerns about female pupils not being given equal access to school trips and alleged that efforts were made to remove Christianity from the curriculum" (*The Times,* 11 June 2014)".

One can assume that such representations widen the context of the case and recalls Islamophobic images to Islam that represents it as a prominent threat to Christianity in the state school education. Meanwhile, the text made a comparison between *'non-Muslim governors'* who have legitimate concerns regarding *'female pupils'* equality in education activities; and those *'hardline Muslims'* who are plotting to abolish Christianity from school education. One can argue that this text encourages a division between Muslims and non-Muslims, which can be assumed to be Christians in this context. In addition, the text represents Islam as a threat to Christianity in the Schools: a generalised and stereotyped image that can also recall historical anti-sentiment against Islam in the West. In other words, it sounds as if what this piece is trying to promote is that the threat of Islam is not just a threat of extremism, but a threat of abolishing Christianity in favour of converting to Islam.

These representations are problematic, especially concerning their role in promoting ideas of far-right groups in Europe, such as 'Pegida' in Germany or 'English Defence League' in the UK. This, in turn, can lead to more divisions between Muslim communities and hosting European societies.

4.2.1.3.2. Muslim convert

Another feature item published on The Times newspaper website highlights that Muslims often feature in the studied British broadsheets or became newsworthy in relation to extremism and terrorism cases.

For instance, in the following example, The Times highlighted a raid implemented by "armed police" to detain a group of people who were framed as "suspected of plotting an Islamist terrorist attack in Britain" (*The Times,* 06 July 2012). Although the three detained "suspects", as defined by the text, included "a man of 21 and a woman of 30", who had been defined neutrally as a man and a woman, a third of them, though, had been identified by the text editors as "a convert to Islam and a radical activist" (ibid).

The text, as such, used a generalised identity that could inform the reader that every convert to Islam can be a future suspect, or even plotting an "Islamist terrorist" threat to Britain.

4.2.1.4. Islamism

Another example highlights that the otherness of Muslims is most recurrent in relation to the media reporting on international affairs. This is salient, for example, through the media emphasis on the conflict between Islamists and secularists or *'secular liberals'* [emphasis added] based on the former 'fundamentalist interpretations' of 'Sharia' or Islamic law in Egypt *("Egypt: throwing the ballot box out the window", The Guardian,* 05 June 2014).

In this editorial, the Guardian made a comment on the current situation in Egypt, at the time, after the ousting of ex-president Morsi. The Guardian placed its argument on a liberal and democratic frame of reference, highlighting the ousting of Morsi as a "removal of Egypt's first democratically elected president", neglecting his 'Islamist' identification in this context. One can interpret this silence about the [Islamist] affiliation of

the ex-president in this context as a depiction of the event as an attack on democratic procedures in the country.

What is interesting, though, is how The Guardian had represented the event as a conflict between secularist or democratic ideas, on the one hand, and Islamist ideologies, on the other hand. Furthermore, how it profiled democracy as superior or better cause for the Brotherhood than their Islamism.

Thus, what is significant in this context is that the mentioning of *'Sharia'* and its *'interpretation'* and the catchphrase *'Islamic learning'* in this context only highlighted the unfavourable tone towards them. Moreover, the text put Al-Azhar and the Muslim Nour party in one pot, highlighting that their understanding of Shari will represent a challenge or a problem to any upcoming regime. Meanwhile, both sides have been represented as opposite to secular political actors in this regard.

Al-Azhar is an Egyptian Islamic association. However, it also holds a remarkable position in the Muslim world as a source of Islamic studies. The institution is also deemed a provider of what is called a moderate view of Islam. One will argue, as such, that The Guardian argument reflects bias towards any involvement of Sharia or Islamic law in politics, even by official institutions. In comparison, The Guardian has a clear support of secular and liberal actors in Egypt. This, per se, highlights an otherness of Muslims based on their religion. In other words, it perpetuates liberalism and democracy, which, per se, are Western components who are superior over any understanding or interpretation of Islam. This highlights an Orientalist view to Islam and Sharia (Runnymede Trust 1997; Albakry 2006).

However, some can see The Guardian's argument as valid and legitimate in this regard, concerning its liberal and secular view to politics. Nevertheless, one can also indicate that The Guardian is reporting on an international affair, while applying a westernised approach.

The following extracts will highlight the use of over-lexicalisation and presupposition strategies to represent actors from Islamic backgrounds in confrontation with liberals.

> "Two of them, Ahmed al-Tayeb, grand sheikh of al-Azhar, Cairo's highest seat of Islamic learning and the Salafist Nour party were the cause of the worst confrontation the ousted Muslim Brotherhood had with secular liberals over the interpretation of sharia in the new constitution. Now they are on the other side, their fundamentalist interpretations will become the new regime's problems." ("Egypt: throwing the ballot box out the window", The Guardian, 05 June 2014).

In this extract, two prominent assumptions are underlined. The first one is the reference to Al-Azhar Grand Imam and the Nour party as "the cause of the worst confrontation" (ibid) the Brotherhood had had with the 'secular liberals'. This sentence assumes that both actors are the main reason behind this disagreement. Moreover, the text suggests that this disagreement is "the worst confrontation" using these descriptive words to emphasise the severity of this situation.

The second conjecture, though, highlighted the reference to Sharia as a problem: "their fundamentalist interpretations will become the new regime's problems" (ibid). This sentence presumes that Sharia's interpretations by Al-Azhar and the Nour party are fundamental; besides, this fundamentalism is 'a problem'. The text, as such, highlights that there is a non-fundamentalist interpretation of Sharia, as it is understood from the

text. Also, it indicates that there are no accepted or problematic political practices, except the one that comes from the side of 'secular liberals'.

Moreover, the text highlighted this interpretation of Sharia as the main problem of the new regime; neglecting the de facto that Sharia in this context is discussed in a majority Muslim context. Besides, the problems to the new regime could, in real terms, be economic, political and social, instead of Sharia ones.

However, the salience of this argument about Sharia on The Guardian website could easily recall the stereotype of the application of Sharia in Muslim countries as in conjunction with fundamentalism and extremism. Additionally, it repeats an Orientalist view that the main problem in the Middle East or the Muslim world is that these societies are chained up with their religion (Said 1979).

Furthermore, the text highlights that liberalism or secularism are the main legitimate ideologies and actors in the political arena. This last argument will be highlighted further in the following extract:

> "The military coup has had one benefit. It has made it crystal clear on which side everyone now stands. The liberals, nationalists, Salafis and head of the Coptic church have joined sides with Egypt's unreformed and unreformable deep state. The ousted Muslim Brotherhood on the other hand have gained a cause even more potent than Islamism. They are now fighting for constitutional democracy" (ibid).

In this extract, the text made it salient that the ousting of the Brotherhood had given them a *'potent'* cause to fight for, instead of *'Islamism'*, as they are now fighting for the cause of *'constitutional democracy'*. This extract reflects on The Guardian's high profiling of democracy and its favourability or superiority than the involvement of

Islam in politics - a statement that reflects Islamophobia per se (Runnymede Trust 1997).

4.2.1.4.1. Militant Islamism

Although Islamism is interpreted as a political cause in The Guardian website, it has a different understanding in The Times' representations. In this regard, it is mostly associated with violence: "militant Islamism" ("Passports stripped from 50 suspect jihadists", *The Times*, 04 October 2015).

In this respect, The Times tends to feature Muslims in the context of conflict, violence or terrorism. This is evident in The Times' reporting on the ousting of Brotherhood from ruling power in Egypt in 2013. Although the same event was described in The Guardian website as a threat to the democratic process in the country, The Times reported the event as reflecting unrest, with 'violent clashes' between the Egyptian Army and 'the Islamist Morsi's supporters' ("Army blocks Morsi supporters from twin marches on defense ministry", *The Times*, 05 July 2013).

In this item, The Times used references and over-lexicalisations to highlight unfavourable attitudes towards Islamists. What is interesting, though, in this text is that The Times used the word 'Islamists' as a synonym reference to any actor from an Islamic background, whether someone uses violence, or is acting politically. This is apparent in the following examples.

First and foremost, in the leading paragraph of this text, The Times correspondents featured the event as "violent clashes between the Egyptian army and supporters of the ousted President Mohamed Morsi are feared …" (ibid); a statement which suggests that both sides are equal in

power and for the responsibility for this violence. Meanwhile, the text presupposes that these violent clashes "are feared" or an expected scenario to happen post the ousting of Morsi. One could infer from this statement that 'supporters of the ousted President' holds lethal weapons or power that could allow them to fight violently with the Egyptian army, which highlights a depiction of those supporters as militia that fight against an established institution in the country. However, the use of the word "supporters" does not imply a lot about the identity of those actors and, as such, could imply a neutral representation in this regard.

This depiction had been shifted as the text proceeded though, to express the identification of those actors as 'Islamist … supporters' and using a referential strategy to suggest a link between them and other 'Islamist militants' who were acting violently in the borders of the country. This is evident in the following extract:

> "The military published the statement on its spokesman's Facebook page as scores were injured in clashes between the Islamist Morsi's supporters and opponents in the Nile Delta region in advance of planned rallies coinciding with Friday prayers today.
>
> One soldier was killed in an attack by Islamist militants in the restive Sinai peninsula in the early hours when gunmen ambushed several army and police checkpoints with machinegun fire and rockets and attacked an airport." ("Army blocks Morsi supporters from twin marches on defense ministry", *The Times,* 05 July 2013).

In the first paragraph the text highlighted the case as a number were injured due to clashes between 'the Islamist Morsi's supporters' and their 'opponents' in increased demonstrations following the ousting of Morsi. This paragraph, however, assumed that assumes all of Morsi supporters are 'Islamists'. Although, the text does not imply responsibility for these injuries, the neutral use of the word 'opponents' and the over-lexicalisation

of 'Islamist Morsi's supporters' could make an explicit link between those injured and Islamists in the mind of a reader, to suggest their responsibility for these clashes.

The next paragraph, however, used a group of words drawn on a repertoire of violence and war to suggest that other Islamist actors are acting violently as follows: 'soldier'; 'killed'; 'attack'; 'Islamist militants'; 'Sinai'; 'gunmen'; 'ambushed'; 'army'; 'police'; 'machinegun' and 'rockets'.

In the first place, the intertextuality between military discourse and the media is apparent in this extract. However, the text used indirect reporting, which suggests that some interpretations of the reporters are interwoven with the military speech in these paragraphs. For example, it is not clear whether the references made to the actors as 'Islamist' in both clauses are mentioned in the original source or simply suggested by the reporter.

Furthermore, the use of the catchphrase 'Islamist militants' is still problematic, as it suggests an absolute link between Islam and violence and suggests that all Muslim actors are acting violently, even when it comes to politics, as mentioned in the first clause. This is problematic, considering that Islam is predominantly mentioned in international reporting in the context of violence and unrest, or even terrorism.

This is further highlighted in the text when it used over-lexicalisation to refer to Gamaa Islamiya, another Muslim political actor in the Egyptian scene, as "The former terrorist group", highlighting that 'opposition groups' are considering them 'the Islamists' military wing'.

This use of generalisations in this context highlights that Islam is only practiced through 'militants' and 'terrorist' actors and, as such, stigmatises this religion in a close relation to violence.

Moreover, in the concluding clause, the text highlighted unfolding unrest in Turkey, concerning 'protests' refusal to 'the creeping Islamisation' of the government led by 'the Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan', at that time. One could infer from a such example, i.e. this feature, that The Times put Islam's practices abroad as an absolute reason for violence and unrest, as suggested by this last conjecture "the creeping Islamisation of his Government" (ibid). The text as such assumes that 'Islamisation' is a thing, which does not need further explanation and is deemed, as such, a common sense between the reader and the text editor.

4.2.2. Discursive practices: News values and intertextuality for the frame of Otherness and threat

Islam and Muslim representations under this frame are featured predominantly with negative stereotypes. This is underlined through the recurrent use of labels and descriptive words or catchphrases that associate Islam and Muslims with extremism, terrorism or depend on the repertoire of criminology, in general.

4.2.2.1. News values

At first glance, this frame is featured in the British corpus interest in reporting on international affairs. This underlines the editorial policy of the broadsheet journalism. Therefore, both newspapers websites represented their interest in reporting on international events which provide the reader with extensive analysis of international events.

However, on the other hand, one could argue that reporting Islam in the context of international affairs is newsworthy for both media outlets. This is salient, considering both journalism websites are interested in reporting on the abundance of events that relate to terrorism and violence. Nevertheless, such reporting also reproduces the global discourse about Islam and Muslims, depicting them as a threat to the Western world and values. Meanwhile, perpetuating a negative image for Muslim actors, such as being terrorists.

This understood, for example, through the analysed British corpus' apparent interest in associating Islam in reported cases with extremism (*"Higgs boson physicist shunned in Pakistan"*, *The Guardian*, 08 July 2012; *"Thousands held in China crackdown on religious cults"*, *The Times*, 12 June 2014); or terrorism, violence and conflict (*"Malian Islamists attack world heritage site mosques in Timbuktu"*, *The Guardian,* 02 July 2012; *"The treasure trashers swarm into Timbuktu"*, *The Times*, 08 July 2012; *"Passports stripped from 50 suspect jihadists"*, *The Times* 04 October 2015; *"Boko Haram killed hundreds in north-east Nigeria, witnesses say"*, *The Guardian*, 05 June 2014; "Turkey bombings: innocent hearts beating for peace are brutally stopped", *The Guardian*, 10 October 2015; "Hague will boost hunt for the 200 girls seized in Nigeria", *The Times*, 13 June 2014 and "Battle for the road to hell", *The Times,* 12 October 2015).

The same argument is also valid, concerning reporting on British Muslims. This was apparent, for example, in the magnitude coverage of Trojan Horse affairs in the analysed data (*"Furious Cameron slaps down Gove and May over 'Islamic extremism' row"*, *The Guardian*, 07 June 2014; "Is the Trojan horse row just a witch hunt triggered by a hoax?", *The Guardian*, 08 June 2014; "Gove told to launch 'dawn raids' on schools",

The Times, 09 June 2014 and "Islam school extremism fears spread to Bradford", *The Times*, 11 June 2014). In addition to media reporting on individual cases ("Youngest terrorist was mentored from Syria", *The Times*, 02 October 2015; "Terrorism powers watchdog warns police ahead of London Olympics", *The Guardian*, 05 July 2012 and "Brothers arrested by anti terror police in dawn raid on a house near Olympic Park", *The Times* 06 July 2012).

Thus, one can indicate that Muslims often became newsworthy to the studied British media, in both international and domestic affairs, when it is represented in association with extremism, violence and terrorism (Elgamri 2005).

Nevertheless, this analysis also indicates some differences in reporting typologies between both media outlets. As highlighted earlier, both studied media showed some interest in reporting on the 'Trojan Horse' crisis, for example, and gave prominent interest to its political face. However, some differences occurred in relation to news values typology. For instance, the Guardian gave more weight to reflect on the human-interest facet of this issue, by reporting on and giving space to the counter argument to shed light on the societal nature of the case, instead of treating it as a problem which belongs merely to the Muslim community.

The Times, in comparison, underlined the religious aspect of this issue. Thus, it emphasised on politicians' methods in tackling extremism in state schools in Birmingham. In addition, for the need to spread 'British values' in school education to sustain secularism and liberal values and the threat of these practices to Christian activities in school education. However, out of media objectivity, The Times also reported on the counter

argument to the issue, though, which focused on the threat of extremism in school education.

Therefore, for example, in The Guardian website, the following headline "Furious Cameron slaps down Gove and May over 'Islamic extremism' row" *(The Guardian,* 07 June 2014), highlights the newsworthiness of the political aspect of this issue.

In this regard, The Guardian was interested in reporting on the political row that took place between Michael Gove, Secretary of Education and Theresa May, Home secretary at the time, over the responsibility of tackling extremism in schools. Although the use of catchphrase *'Islamic extremism'* also highlighted the newsworthiness of Islam in domestic affairs when it is associated with extremism, the text also reflected a tendency to use neutral references, such as *'to combat extremism'*; *'a small number of radicals'* and *'infiltrate schools'* (ibid). The use of such references indicates The Guardian's editorial concern sometimes to avoid repetition of labels that stigmatise the whole Muslim community in the UK.

In other words, it highlights an interwoven link between reporting on British Muslims in the context of extremism in this example and the echo of different discourse, which highlights The Guardian's emphasis on society cohesion and refusal of Islamophobic practices.

This is apparent, for example, in the sub-headline of this item "Adviser resigns and education secretary apologises *as* bishop and MPs urge respect for Muslim pupils" ([emphasis added] *The Guardian* 07 June 2014). In this utterance, the editors used the conjunction *'as'* to represent two different issues and reported them on an equal basis. Thus, the sub-

headline, on the one hand, highlighted the row in Westminster between Michael Gove, the Secretary of Education, and Theresa May, the Home Secretary, which urged David Cameron, the Prime Minister at the time, to force the former to apologise to May; meanwhile, forcing May to discard her closest adviser. This reflects a repertoire of news values that ranges from the interest in reporting on conflict and controversies, the proximity of the event and elite politicians involved in it.

However, the second part of this sub-heading, on the other hand, highlighted the community response to this affair, or counter-frame, and reported on "The Bishop of Birmingham, David Urquhart" and some other "Labour MPs Liam Byrne and Shabana Mahmood" community mobilisation to condemn the government rhetoric in tackling the issue, deeming it "bellicose rhetoric by ministers" in Westminster (ibid). This has reflected different news values, which indicated to the significance of the event and interest in its humanitarian influence on *'Muslim pupils'* and the Muslim community in general. Simply put, The Guardian discourse on this case highlighted its editorial policy that underlines salient concern towards humanitarian aspects to the issue that will affect the Muslim community in Birmingham.

4.2.2.2. Intertextuality

This research analysis also indicated that the studied British media reproduce international western powers discourse concerning Islam and Muslims. This is apparent in the intertextuality between the world power discourse about Islam and the British media reporting on them.

For instance, the next headline and sub-headline highlights such interdiscursivity, as follows:

"Obama 'urgently' considering air assault on targets in Syria and Iraq President will decide on military package 'in the days ahead' to halt rapid advance of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant" (*The Guardian,* 13 June 2014).

At first glance, this headline made an emphasis on the decision or strategy which was being studied by the Obama administration, on how to approach Isis (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) progress in the region. This is highlighted in the reference to 'Obama' by his name in the headline; or identifying him as a 'President' in the sub-heading. The text, as such, included different insertions of political sources, such as officials in the Obama administration, besides his own speech, to underline the US strategy concerning Isis.

In this regard, The Guardian editors used order of discourse, or interdiscursivity, to underline the threat represented by Isis or 'Islamic extremists' as identified by the text leading paragraph. Therefore, the text used a direct quote to report on Obama's caution that the group "could pose a threat eventually to American interests as well" (*The Guardian,* 13 June 2014). Meanwhile, the text emphasised the idea of 'them versus us', by reporting Obama saying that "… after enormous sacrifices by us, as soon as we're not there, people end up acting in ways that are not conducive to the long-term stability and prosperity of the country."" (ibid).

One can see a reproduction of the Orientalist view regarding the Middle East in this quotation. In other words, the text emphasises the need of the people in Iraq to rely on a Western country, or a global power, the US, to help sustain the "stability and prosperity of the country".

Meanwhile, the reference to the sacrifices made 'by us', in opposition to the irresponsible actions of the 'people', which 'are not conducive', one

can see a reproduction of the superiority of the Western nations over the Middle Easterners. Put simply, it sounds that The Guardian editors' interest in reporting on the international power discourse about Islam, helps, deliberately or unintentionally, in perpetuating and reproducing colonial discourse.

Considering the UK alliance with the US foreign policy, which is merely reflected in the coalition led by the US in 2003 in the Iraq invasion, it is justified to consider that this discourse is providing legitimisation to the UK foreign policy concerning intervention in global wars to defend the UK boarders from the threat of extremism. This is evident in the text, considering the text reporting on US officials highlighting the 'threat' of Isis to "the viability of the Iraqi government"; or its "current cross-border threat" (ibid), as reported indirectly by The Guardian.

Meanwhile, the text underlined the support to broaden military intervention in Iraq to defeat Isis, by quoting an expert who says that "Isis is just something we haven't looked at closely or not closely enough." (*The Guardian,* 13 June 2014). The same feature can also be seen in The Times website (*"US sets its sights on growing African terror threats as shadow war develops"*, *The Times*, 09 July 2012; "Passports stripped from 50 suspect jihadists*"*, *The Times*, 04 October 2015).

Thus, this texturing of quotations and reporting on sources, raises questions about who is giving the space to shape the audience's minds regarding the threat of terrorism (Richardson 2006). Meanwhile, what is salient here is the resonance of the global discourse about the war on terror, which is mainly defined as Islamic targets. However, what is dismissed in this coverage is the neglecting of the definition of terrorism. In other

words, it is not clear what should be deemed as terrorism on the British media websites; and what should not be defined as such. It is arguable, as such, that the threat of terrorism is predominantly represented as a threat of Muslim actors or ideologies. This is in addition to highlighting the need to defeat such threat as the main priority for international actors.

This is understood from the next extract, where the text reported on the US Secretary of State's emphasis on the 'challenge' that should be overcome by the US and its 'allies'.

> "In London, the US Secretary of State, John Kerry, told reporters Obama would move swiftly. "Given the gravity of the situation, I would anticipate timely decisions from the President regarding the challenge," he said. "I am confident the US will move rapidly and effectively to join with our allies in dealing with this challenge."" (ibid)

Thus, one can argue that one of the configurations of representing Islam in the context of terrorism is supporting the UK foreign policies or due to the reporting on political sources.

Apart from reproducing elite power discourse about Islam, it is noticeable in some of the studied texts that only the straightforward references to Islam came through illegitimate or extremist sources. For instance, in the following feature published in The Guardian website, the text suggests that this religion is supporting violence and holding *'strict laws'*. This is highlighted in the following extract:

> "Ansar Dine and the Tuareg separatist MNLA movement say the local monuments and distinctive sun-baked mosques renowned for palm trees protruding from earthen walls, sprinkled throughout Mali, are idolatrous and contrary to their *strict interpretation of Islam.* Sanda Banama, an Ansar Dine spokesman, said the monuments were "un-Islamic".

"In Islam, there are *strict laws* about the way and size in which tombs are built," Banama said." ([emphasis added]*"Malian Islamists attack world heritage site mosques in Timbuktu", *The Guardian,* 02 July 2012)

In this quotation, the text reporter used an indirect speech to report Sanda Banama, a spokesman of this group Ansar Dine, who was understood to be affiliated to al-Qaida, to suggest that the group holds a 'strict interpretation of Islam'. This suggests that a journalist intervenes in reporting this sentence as such.

One can understand that this is true, that this group holds misunderstanding and practice to Islam as a religion. In addition, some could assume that the text is trying to separate Islam from this group's understanding of it by assuming that their interpretation of it is different from the pure religion. However, one will also argue that considering a westerner reader who barely has a knowledge about the true practices of this religion; a reader who is taking his knowledge from media representations; he or she can easily associate such practices with the religion itself and can also make even worse generalizations that can lead to stigmatising all followers of that religion. The text made an emphasis on this argument by using a direct quote from the spokesman of that group suggesting that 'Islam' has a 'strict laws'.

Although this highlights intertextuality between illegitimate sources discourse about Islam, it also recalls a stereotype that 'Islamic law' or Sharia holds strict regulations and punishments in Muslim lives. Having said that, the word Sharia or Islamic law is not mentioned in the text, but this is a connection could easily come to the mind of a less well-informed reader, mainly considering the word 'law' when it is associated with Islam and referring to Sharia or Islamic law.

What is dismissed or silenced in the text though, is a quotation, a Muslim scholar voice or an Imam who can inform the reader what 'laws' are meant to be in Islam. The only report of an Imam comment in this regard came in the leading paragraphs to highlight his grievance and condolence for the demolition of these tombs. Something that suggests that Muslims are giving some space to comment on issues and events related to Islam on The Guardian website; however, the use of these sources, apparently, are to give them a space to reproach each other or to back their understanding or interpretation to Islam, instead of clarifying the position of the religion itself from such actions.

The same argument is also valid, concerning The Times reporting on the intention of this group "to impose an Islamic state on the area now under their control" (*"The treasure trashers swarm into Timbuktu"*, *The Times*, 08 July 2012).

4.2.2.2.1. Counter argument

Coverage to elite sources discourse concerning Islam is highlighted to be problematic across this analysed corpus in the British media. However, reporting political sources opinion in domestic affairs can also highlight a counter argument to be represented on an emphasised frame.

Thus, the following feature, published in The Guardian website, for example, witnessed the inclusion of the Labour MP Liam Byrne's comment on the Secretary of Education's treatment of the so-called Trojan Horse plot, considering such treatment discriminative towards 'Muslim families'. In this regard, The Guardian reported him indirectly saying "that Gove has treated Muslim families as "second-rate" citizens" ("Furious Cameron slaps

down Gove and May over 'Islamic extremism' row*" (The Guardian*, 07 June 2014).

Meanwhile, the editor reported his condemnation to "branding those who seek an education that accommodates their religious views as extreme." (ibid). Moreover, The Guardian also used direct speech to quote Bryan's comparison between the condition of freedom enjoyed by 'Catholic parents' in opposition to restrictions faced by 'Muslim parents' regarding their children's faith education. This can be highlighted as follows:

> "Muslim parents do not enjoy the same freedom as Catholic parents now to have their children educated in schools focused on their faith and that is one of the most basic freedoms we enjoy in this country," Byrne said. (*The Guardian*, 07 June 2014).

What is prominent in this extract is The Guardian's emphasis on the counter argument, which highlights that Muslims should be treated on an equal basis as other religious communities in Britain. The resonance of the Labour party discourse over the rights of minorities is also apparent in this context.

This is particularly highlighted in the use of words drawn on the repertoire of liberalism, such as 'freedom' and 'freedoms'. The text also used presupposition to recall the image of the freedom of faith or freedom of faith education as "one of the most basic freedoms we enjoy in this country" (ibid). This sentence also recalls an image of the UK as a country of freedom where everyone should enjoy the same amount of freedom. In other words, one can assume that a meta-theme or meta-frame has been used, which is drawn on common sense, to defend British Muslims' freedom and practices in society.

The resonance of political discourses in The Guardian's representations of British Muslims indicates as such, an interwoven between the frame of otherness, which is reflected predominantly in the use of negative labels, such as *'Islamic extremism'* (ibid); *'Islamist plotters'* and *'Islamist takeover'* (*The Guardian*, 08 June 2014), on the one hand, to report on the threat of extremism in Muslim community.

However, a counter argument is also reflected through intertextuality of opposite politicians' discourse, as highlighted earlier and other community sources, such as reporting on the condition of Muslim parents who have their children involved in this affair (*The Guardian*, 09 June 2014). This theme will be developed in the second week of the sample and reflect a frame of integration in a way that highlights Islamophobic practices that can be pointed out under this affair (*The Guardian*, 17 June 2014).

4.2.3. Context: Political and socio-cultural practices for the frame of otherness and threat

The analysed Islam and Muslim representations under this frame indicated the demonization of them. In this regard, Islam is represented in association with terrorism, a view that not only reproduces Orientalist and Islamophobia discourses towards Muslims (Said 1979), but could also serve to support and legitimize the foreign policy of the UK governments, especially after the Iraq War (Shane 2007).

It is fair to say that the media are influential tools to apply such aims, considering the media's powerful role in the realm of public opinion and foreign affairs (Soroka 2003; Wanta et al. 2004). In addition, British media representations of British Muslims could also serve to perpetuate the

state of "cultural racism" (Modood 2005) or "otherness" (Modood 2005) towards Muslims in the UK, based on the perceived notion that Muslim culture is deterrent to their integration and social cohesion in Britain (Modood 2005).

Accordingly, it is a legitimate right for the media to report on negative issues such as extremism and terrorism, concerning its newsworthiness (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). Moreover, the British media still abides by the requirements of marketization. Thus, it is controversial whether the media should report on such atrocities that are done in the name of Islam, for the sake of media circulation and benefits (Richards and Brown 2017; Hafez 2000). Meanwhile, to avoid such reporting could stigmatise this religion with negative depictions (Moore et al. 2008; Poole 2002; Hafez 2000).

However, this noticeable use of negative descriptions with Islam and Muslims, besides stigmatising Islamic symbols, could also indicate biased reporting on Islam and Muslims. To name the least, the magnitude of negative coverage to Islam might indicate that, though a religion, Islam is only newsworthy when it comes to violence. Meanwhile, such coverage still also perpetuate an Orientalist (Said 1981) and Islamophobic view to Islam and Muslims in the British media (Runnymede Trust 1997).

A questionable matter, considering that this is not typical on the British media, concerns the reporting other minorities and religions (Bleich et al. 2015). Thus, one can assume that the studied broadsheet websites are applying a reductionist approach in their coverage to Islam and Muslims, that produce and reproduce negative stereotypes and stigmatise these entities.

The next section, though, will indicate different types of Islam and Muslim representations in the studied British newspapers' websites.

4.3. The frame of integration and multiculturalism

This frame witnessed the use of lexical choices that are different from the previous frame. Articles classified under this frame indicated, for instance, the British newspapers' interest in emphasising policies to defeat Islamophobia or anti-Muslim sentiment in society. Meanwhile, this frame highlights relevant representations of multiculturalism or integration discourses. Thus, this frame is featured, occasionally, with favourable reporting of British Muslims.

4.3.1. Textual analysis: Lexical choices for the frame of integration and multiculturalism

Therefore, cases analysed under this frame highlighted, to some extent, Muslim integration in Britain. Consequently, using references, such as 'British Muslims', was noticeable in texts represented this frame. In this regard, the British media websites used to focus on issues concerning British Muslims' lives in Britain, such as hate crimes and government efforts to tackle extremism. Therefore, this frame has seen a different tone in reporting about British Muslims, a tone of preference and integration, although, this frame has also witnessed repetition of some ideas highlighted in the previous frame, especially, associating terrorism with Muslims who live in Britain.

4.3.1.1. Muslim integration and Islamophobia in the UK

The following cases will highlight some different features to this frame. Apparently, the frame of integration and multiculturalism tend to

focus on Muslims who live in the UK, instead of reporting on international practices of Islam.

For example, this feature "How can housing help migrants integrate into communities?*" published on *The Guardian* website (03 July 2012). This item reflects an argument over the issue of accommodating new migrants in London, and the government's responsibility over the standards of life for those newcomers. Meanwhile, the text reflected on some cases of *'racist attacks'* against *'Muslim tenants'* in Dudley.

In this regard, one can argue that words such as *'migrants', 'integrate', 'communities'* and *'community integration'* were noticeable in this text, for example, which highlights a lively discussion over multiculturalism and the integration of residents from different backgrounds in the UK. This is understandable, considering the domestic debate over multiculturalism or interculturalism policies in the UK (Umunna 2017; Casey 2016).

What is interesting, though, in this text is the use of the catchphrase *'Muslim tenants'*, which depicts Muslims living in Britain as ordinary people and doing normal activities like other citizens: renting houses, for example. The text also indicated the difficulties Muslims are facing post 'the 2005 London bombings' in the form of 'racist attacks'. Thus, the use of references that portray Muslims as British citizens could trigger an empathy with British Muslims. Meanwhile, this representation counters the image that demonises them as being a threat to the UK, by another one showing <u>them</u> being threatened by racism and hate crimes. This last argument is apparent considering the use of the word 'tenants', which is drawn on people's daily activities.

The following instance will elaborate further aspects of this frame. Thus, this feature published on The Guardian website, *"Police told to treat anti-Muslim hate crimes in same way as anti-*Semitic attacks*"* (*The Guardian,* 13 October 2015), highlighted discussion over anti-Muslim hate crime in the UK. This is in addition to the UK Prevent program to tackle extremism.

At first glance, what is prominent in this text is the use of words that highlight an echo of political and societal discussion over Islamophobic hate crimes, such as *'anti-Muslim'; 'hate crimes'* and *'Islamophobic crimes'*. This is also apparent in the usage of words that refer to the government's efforts to balancing counter-extremism strategy by also recording anti-Muslim hate crimes and offences; such as *'Government's'; 'commitment'; 'record'; 'offences'; 'Muslim communities'; 'strategy'; 'balanced'* and *'counter-extremism strategy'*. What is prominent in this grouping of words is the use of references to Muslims that are drawn from the repertoire of multiculturalism, such as *'Muslim communities'* and *'British Muslims'*, which were also mentioned in the text.

These references give an impression that Muslims are a part of British society. However, uses of labels such as 'community' or 'communities' and even 'British Muslims' highlight the perception of Muslims as a single community under the umbrella of the wider society. This suggests that there are also other communities in society, such as Pakistani, Sikh or Bangladeshi communities. In addition, these labels also signify that this community is unified with specific characteristics. A frame that highlights the case of Muslims living in Britain as part of this society however, they are still pointed out as having their own culture or identity.

This item, one can argue, came in this context after a critique to the government counter-terrorism program that was criticised for being over-concentrated on Muslim communities (Thomas 2010). Therefore, media reporting on the government amendment to this counter-terrorism strategy, one can interpret as a supportive covering for the government's new strategy. In other words, The Guardian, in this context, is trying to bring the community together, especially from the side of British Muslims, to support the Tories' counter-extremism strategy, by assuring that Muslims will be defeated against hate-crimes. Besides, to reassure that they will no longer be under the focus of the government's policy.

This is understood from the text's uses of the following presuppositions: "The commitment to record anti-Muslim offences as a separate category of hate crime …" and " the government's strategy will be balanced …" (*The Guardian,* 13 October 2015).

In the first assumption, the text presupposes that the government committed to record anti-Muslim offences in separate category, similar, to 'anti-Semitic attacks'. However, the use of the word *'commitment'* is surprising in this context, as one can argue that it is a government's [*duty*] to record and defend different citizens and communities inside society from any offences against them. Yet, the use of the word 'commitment' in this regard implies a type of promise and is used to reassure British Muslims' trust in the government policy. This is also understood from the second supposition, which indicates implicitly that the previous government strategy to defeat extremism was not *'balanced'*, though the new release of this strategy *'will be balanced'* (ibid).

One can assume that such reporting of government policies towards British Muslims could foster their integration in society. This frame also indicates that the government policies of Muslim integration in the UK are salient in The Guardian coverage of British Muslims during the sample timeframe. Also, such coverage signposts the government's efforts to have back the Muslim communities' trust in its policies for tackling extremism. Concerning denial Muslims solely responsibility for countering-extremism.

4.3.1.2. Counter extremism policies

This frame also witnessed reporting on Muslim communities' effort, in Australia, for example, in tackling extremism "without demonising Muslims" ("Extremism must be tackled without demonising Muslims, cleric tells Q&A", *The Guardian,* 12 October 2015).

In this regard, The Guardian emphasised in this report the condition that Muslim communities live in western countries, concerning the governmental policy to tackle extremism. This can be highlighted through the following headline and sub-headline of this news item:

> "Extremism must be tackled without demonising Muslims, cleric tells Q&A
>
> Sheikh Wesam Charkawi says problems of identity among young Muslims must be dealt with by the whole community" (ibid).

It is apparent from this item headline, the interest of The Guardian's editorial policy in reflecting on the rights of the Muslim communities to live in western countries and to feel safe regarding governmental policies for tackling extremism. In other words, one can argue that reporting about experiences in other western countries, such as Australia, in tackling extremism, became newsworthy at that time. Also, such reporting signposts

the interest in western societies to assimilate Muslim communities while tackling extremism problem, without demonising Muslims.

Another feature, clearly apparent in this headline, is the space given for Muslim imams to deliver their response concerning issues of interest to whole society and Muslim communities in the first place. This is obvious in The Guardian's references to the speaker as *'cleric'* and *'Sheikh'*. Both references underline the editor's interest in emphasising the religious affiliation of the speaking persona. Using these references in this context, one can see is helpful in lifting the concern amongst Muslims in the first place, as Muslims could simply feel the speaker is representative of them and their religion. In addition, these references highlight the representation of Muslims as religious personas living within us, instead of being represented as a threat to their society. In other words, it places an emphasis on humanising Muslims, instead of demonising them and their religion.

4.3.1.2.1.   Use of generalised labels

Another interesting feature of this frame came in this text as well. This is the use of general references to extremism as a 'violent extremism' or 'a human problem' (ibid). One can see that these references pertains more to responsible journalism reporting, in a way that can help in lifting fear amongst Muslims of being stigmatised with prescribed prototypes and clichés.

Although, it is still problematic that Muslims, in this regard, also are reported under the category of extremism; this type of reporting can afford more informed reporting to shed light on issues concerning extremism,

without holding stereotypes that paint all Muslim communities with this criminality.

4.3.1.3. Modelling 'British Muslims'

Another interesting example that signposts some other features to this frame is found on The Times newspaper website, under this headline *"*Nadiya's sari wedding cake wins Bake Off*"* (*The Times*, 08 October 2015). This item underlined the case of Nadiya Hussain, a Bangladeshi woman who won the Great British Bake-Off award in 2015 (GBBO).

What is significant in this example is that the GBBO is a popular TV show in the UK; which broadcasts on Channel 4 (previously on the BBC network). Thus, it is a popular show amongst Britons, with an estimation that 12 million have seen the show in 2015 (*"*Bake Off is the recipe for all of Great Britain", *The Times,* 02 October 2015). This event perceived reporting interest within the studied British newspapers websites, whether The Times, which depicted the show as a product of multiculturalism or a reflection of Britishness ("Bake Off is the recipe for all of Great Britain*"*, *The Times*, 02 October 2015); or The Guardian, which portrayed Nadiya after she won the show competition, as "a role model for British Muslims" ("Nadiya Hussain: despite winning Bake Off, I am a mother above all else", *The Guardian*, 12 October 2015).

Thus, The Times, in the aforementioned feature "Nadiya's sari wedding cake wins Bake Off" (*The Times,* 08 October 2015) used descriptive words that have the power to trigger sympathy with Nadiya and other Muslims in Britain. In this regard, the use of words such as *'praised'; 'cool'; 'pressure'; 'overcome'* and *'fear'* all have a common ground of being drawn on humanitarian repertoire. This representation highlights Muslims

who live in Britain as human beings who live with emotions. In other words, this representation has the power to humanise Muslims living in the UK, instead of dehumanising them. This is apparent in the place given to Muslim individuals, Nadiya Hussain in this regard, to speak about themselves, instead of reporting Muslims as homogenised group of people.

Furthermore, the text has used two catchphrases in this feature, *'a wedding cake'* and *'the colours of the Union flag'*. Both expressions symbolised being interwoven between the national identity of Britain, represented by the *'Union flag'* of the United Kingdom and the family life of Muslims, signified by the *'wedding cake'* of Nadiya. One can argue that such a representation will recall an image for Muslims living in Britain as loyal citizens that hold dear the flag of their country as other Britons.

This positive modelling of Muslim personas is promising; concerning its opposition to negative profiling of Muslim celebrities in tabloids, for instance (Altikriti and Al-Mahadin 2015). It provides some other examples of representations of controversial Muslim celebrities in the sample (*"Muslim factions in first UK clash"*, *The Times,* 07 July 2013 and *"Abu Qatada in Jordanian jail, but could be out on bail in time for Ramadan"*, *The Times*, 08 July 2013). Therefore, the depiction of British Muslims as winners of national awards, such as the reported case of Nadiya Hussain, or in a context representing them as 'Muslim athletes' *("Moeen Ali benefits from tweaks and talks"*, *The Times*, 11 June 2014), can afford for another representation of 'British Muslims' as involved personas in society.

4.3.1.4. Insertion for negative depictions

This frame indicated a few positive depictions to British Muslims. However, interwoven between discourses of integration, the discourse of extremism is also apparent in some examples reported under this frame. This is significant, for example, in the reference made to other running stories about extremism. Such references can recall in the reader's mind some negative connotations associated with Muslim communities. The following extract will shade more light on this argument:

> "The commitment to record anti-Muslim offences as a separate category of hate crime was first made in the Conservative party manifesto and is designed to reassure Muslim communities that the government's strategy will be balanced, and not just focus on clamping down on potential sources of Muslim extremism, such as its announcement that madrasas will be subject to Ofsted inspection." (*"Police told to treat anti-Muslim hate crimes in same way as antisemitic attacks" The Guardian,* 13 October 2015).

At first glance, the use of the description 'Muslim extremism', in this context, still recalls a frame in which Muslims are stigmatised as being extremists; or that extremism is a Muslim brand in British society. Moreover, this sentence, 'its announcement that madrasas will be subject to Ofsted inspection', could be interwoven with other texts concerning the case of 'Trojan Horse' of state schools in Birmingham.

Some will argue that this type of reporting is part and parcel of journalism reporting. Thus, the media tend to link different stories and makes connections in the readers' minds in order for the readers to understand the current instalments of stories (Bell 1991; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). Moreover, this reporting is abiding by different typologies of news values, such as proximity or relevance; in addition to significance or prominence and controversy (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). In other words,

it makes sense to highlight issues that are of interest to different segments of readers, to ensure they are all connected by one text, or that this item has newsworthy appeal to multiple readers.

However, one also can argue that such reporting is problematic. On the one hand, it reveals that reporting on British Muslims is not significant, unless their reports are highlighting some aspects of terrorism or extremism. Although this type of reporting highlights some types of integration policies to integrate Muslims living in the UK with the wider society, it still recalls some types of othering of Muslim communities, depicting them as holding extremism threats to the whole society, especially the threat that comes from Muslim education or *'madrasas'* (ibid). Uses of such generalised catchphrases, such as *'Muslim extremism'*, stigmatises the whole community with this stereotyped cliché.

4.3.2. Discursive practices: News values and intertextuality for the frame of multiculturalism and integration

Different typologies of news values can be highlighted concerning this frame.

4.3.2.1. News values

For example, reporting on the condition of anti-Muslim sentiment or hate crimes in the UK and highlighting government policies to tackle the problem became newsworthy. This is apparent from the following extract:

> "Police told to treat anti-Muslim hate crimes in same way as anti-Semitic attacks;
>
> Government's commitment to record anti-Muslim offences as hate crime is designed to reassure Muslim communities that strategy is balanced" (*The Guardian*, 13 October 2015).

In this headline, the Guardian indicated that police have been ordered or *'told'* to deal with *'anti-Muslim hate crimes'* on an equal basis as they treat *'anti-Semitic attacks'*.

Thus, the representation of British Muslims in this text underlines the intertextuality between media and political discourse about Muslims. In other words, one can argue that Muslims became newsworthy concerning the government policies to regulate their condition in the UK. This is understood from the use of this grouping of words: *'Government's'; 'commitment'; 'strategy'; 'balanced'; 'David Cameron'; 'the Conservative party'* and *'manifesto'*.

4.3.2.2. Intertextuality: Media and political discourses about Muslims

This high profile of government sources regarding reporting on British Muslims, however, indicates that there is interweaving between the frame of otherness and multiculturalism in the British newspapers. This can be assumed from the following extracts:

> "I want to build a national coalition to challenge and speak out against extremists and the poison they peddle. I want British Muslims to know we will back them to stand against those who spread hate and to counter the narrative which says Muslims do not feel British. And I want police to take more action against those who persecute others simply because of their religion." ("Police told to treat anti-Muslim hate crimes in same way as anti-Semitic attacks"; *The Guardian,* 13 October 2015).

The Guardian's editor in the previous quotation has used a direct report to include ex- prime minister, David Cameron's speech on the case. In this text, the use of the words 'national coalition' and 'challenge' are an interesting choice of descriptive words to highlight the government's policy to defeat the threat of extremism.

The use of the word 'challenge' in this context signifies a unified aim or purpose that the whole country is collaborated and is working together to react to this challenge. In this context, it is understood that repetition of the words 'British' and 'British Muslims' are used to build a trust inside the British Muslim community that they are perceived as British citizens and as such they will be defeated against hate crimes. In addition, they are, as Britons, stakeholders with the government and police in defeating terrorism.

One can see that the headline and sub-headline, mentioned earlier, of this text are reflected in these quotations. In other words, one can argue that British Muslims also become newsworthy when they are salient in the political discourse, or government agenda.

Therefore, the text provided some statistics from the police and the Home Office to broaden the picture behind the government's tendency to record anti-Muslim offences as a separate category. This is noticeable in the next extract:

> "In 2013, 14 police crime statistics showed that religious hate crimes had increased by 45% and race hate crimes by 4%, with new statistics being published by the Home Office this morning being expected to show further rises. Creating a separate category will enable police, prosecutors, local authorities and the communities they serve to have a better understanding of the prevalence of anti-Muslim hate crime and allocate resources accordingly. It will provide the first accurate picture of the extent of anti-Muslim hate crime in England and Wales" (*The Guardian,* 13 October 2015).

One can argue that providing such statistical information can convince the reader about the importance of this new policy. Moreover, it also indicates a tendency from The Guardian to support its representation to the issue of Islamophobia, with evidence and proof.

However, in this representation one can also see a reflection of the political discourse on British Muslims. This is noticeable in the text concerning its reporting on this case, interchangeably with reporting on Downing Street or the Prime Minister's reassurance on the counter extremism strategy.

This is apparent from the text's direct quotation from the Prime Minister who encourages to the government to be "bold in delivering social reform"; whilst also reassuring that the principle 'social problem' that should be tackled to "rebuild Britain as an even greater country is extremism" (ibid).

Thus, one can argue that the government or political discourse about them in this case abides the British media representations of Muslims. It sounds that the political elite set out the discourse lines and the media are working to present them.

This is also apparent from a series of direct quotations to the Prime Minister and the Home Office Secretary reported in this text, which is provided to set up the roles for everyone in the British society to face the prescribed 'challenge'; and to combat hate-crimes. This can be underlined through the following extract from the text:

> ""We all have a role to play in confronting extremism. … "I want to build a national coalition to challenge and speak out against extremists …. I want British Muslims to know we will back them to stand against those who spread hate and to counter the narrative which says Muslims do not feel British.
>
> Theresa May, said: "Hate crime has no place in Britain … "Working with police to provide a breakdown in religious-based hate crime data will help forces to build community trust, target their resources and enable the public to hold them to account." (*The Guardian,* 13 October 2015)

4.3.2.2.1. Insertion for Muslim sources

Although the previous example indicated the salience of government ideologies concerning Muslims in the UK, the following example will underline different type of representations in this regard. Therefore, in the aforementioned item *"Extremism must be tackled without demonising Muslims, cleric tells Q&A"*; The Guardian gave a space to Muslim experts to add their say regarding tackling extremism in western societies.

Thus, what is necessary to be pointed out to in this text, is the intertextuality between media discourse and Muslim sources discourse on the issue. This can be highlighted through the following extract:

> "Sheikh Wesam Charkawi, a Sydney-based cleric and school chaplain, took the brunt of early questions, beginning with why Muslims were apparently so susceptible to "radicalisation".
>
> "In reality it's a human problem," Charkawi said. "And it requires a whole community effort, a holistic effort."
>
> One driver was "identity issues" among young Muslims, who regularly told Charkawi: "We don't belong … we are not part of the Australian society."" ("Extremism must be tackled without demonising Muslims, cleric tells Q&A", *The Guardian*, 12 October 2015).

A first glance, it is apparent from this extract that The Guardian has provided another interpretation of the issue of extremism in western societies, in this case, Australia. In this regard, the problem has been described as a *'human problem'* that needs a shared effort between the *'whole community'* to be tackled. Meanwhile, some of the reasons provided to rationalise this issue is *'identity'*.

In other words, this text underlined the idea of *'young Muslims'* as being victims of their lack of identity and affiliation inside the Australian

society, instead of representing them as not loyal to that society or as being driven by their religion to be radicalised. The text, as such, is delving into the discussion of Muslim integration in western societies (Norris and Inglehart 2012), instead of representing them as a threat to these societies.

This counter narrative had provided in this context by reporting on Sheikh Wesam Charkawi's view (an expert in Muslim affairs) of reasons for radicalisation in western societies. The text, as such, defined the speaker as a *'cleric'* or a *'school chaplain'* to prime the reader, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, about his expertise in religious affairs.

Another example can also highlight on The Times website. In this matter, The Times gave a space to Nadiya as a representative of Muslims in the UK, to reflect on her experiences within British society. This is apparent from the dispersed direct quotes reported for Nadiya in this text. This is clear in the following extract:

> "Before the series, Ms Hussain, 30, was nervous that her ethnicity would count against her. "I was a bit nervous that perhaps people would look at me, a Muslim in a headscarf, and wonder if I could bake," she told the *Radio Times*." (ibid)

In this extract, The Times has given a space for Nadiya to reflect on her feelings; by quoting her saying that she was nervous from the reactions of the show viewers considering that she is *"a Muslim in a headscarf"*, and whether they are going to wonder if she can bake or not. Nadiya, as such, is reflecting on one of the Orientalist stereotypes that demonises Muslims as being backward; and representing herself as part of the British culture. This idea is literally represented in the text as follows:

> "I'm just as British as anyone else, and I hope I have proved that," she said last month. "I think the show is a fantastic representation of British society today. The feedback I have had reveals how accepting

people are of different cultures and religions" ("Nadiya's sari wedding cake wins Bake Off", *The Times,* 08 October 2015).

In this regard, The Times' editor used direct quotes to report Nadiya's emotions, highlighting that she is "as British as anyone else" (ibid). Moreover, this extract also underlines her perceptions towards the people in Britain as being "accepting … of different cultures and religions" (ibid).

One can declare that such reporting is helpful in showing Muslims as being accommodated within British society and as being integrated and interactive within that wider community.

4.3.3. Context: Political, socio-cultural practices for the frame of multiculturalism and integration

Based on the features of this frame, one can see that the British newspapers' websites are involved in the preparedness process for Muslim communities in the British society for government policies concerned with tackling extremism (Shane 2007). Moreover, British newspaper outlets showed some interest in reporting on Islamophobia (Runnymede Trust 1997) and integration policies for Muslims, inside and outside the UK (Umunna 2017; Modood and Mee, 2012). Thus, this frame denotes to some sorts of favourable coverage to British Muslims, in addition to covering issues that are relevant to Muslims living within western countries.

Reporting on Islamophobia, for example, is salient in the following Guardian text "Police told to treat anti-Muslim hate crimes in same way as antisemitic attacks" (*The Guardian*, 13 October 2015), as highlighted earlier. The text, as such, sheds light on the current situation of British Muslims and the optimal state that they will reach in the future. Put simply, this item's headline implies two different installs to British society. On the

one hand, the text is approaching the Muslim communities in Britain, to deliver a guarantee message that they will be treated equally with other religious minority groups. On the other hand, the text sends a cautionary message to the wider community, trying to abort prospective Islamophobic insults or attacks on Muslim communities.

One can understand that such representation and reporting is justified based on the increasing concern over Islamophobia and its threat to British Muslims and integration in European societies in general (von Rassismus 2006).

In this regard, it is apparent also the interdiscursivity between the political and media discourses about Muslims in Britain. Meanwhile, this frame also witnessed some thematic representations of Muslim communities, which focuses on the background information and provides an informative reporting to some cases (*The Guardian,* 13 October 2015).

Nevertheless, it is still valid that this frame installs and reinstalls political agenda regarding Muslims in the UK. This is present in the high profile of political discourse about British Muslims. On the one hand, this is understood as being based on the idea that Muslims are citizens in Britain. Therefore, reporting on regulating policies concerning them has some newsworthiness for British newspapers. Though, such reporting is problematic, as it still recalls some negative representations of Muslims in the UK; as discussed before.

Having said that, this frame also highlights some types of British Muslims integration in the British society. Therefore, this frame, likewise, reflects on the condition of multiculturalism and British Muslim identity in Britain (Modood 2005; Modood and Meer 2012). Moreover, this frame

witnessed an interest in giving a space for Muslims to reflect on their identity and religion (Modood and Ahmad 2007; Khan 2000), in addition to having their say on radicalisation and extremism (Mozaffari 2010).

One can see that such practices are salient on The Times website reporting when Nadiya Hussain won to the GBBO award in 2015 (*The Times,* 08 October 2015), in addition to The Guardian's indication of the case of countering extremism in Australia (*The Guardian,* 12 October 2015).

4.4. Inter-comparison remarks: Differences between The Guardian and The Times representations of Islam

Throughout this chapter, distinctions between representations of Islam and Muslims in *The Guardian and The Times* were occasionally highlighted. It is significant though before concluding this chapter to underline few differences between both media. These differences can be interpreted based on variations in their editorial policy. It is important to note first that both newspapers are classified quality journalism, this can justify their interest in reporting and cover international news in comparison to national ones. Veltri (2012) revealed that both outlets were the most quoted by other European elite newspapers. Moreover, that, *The Guardian* was among the "top monitors of information", while *The Times* is "the leading producer of information" (Veltri 2012, p. 368).

This conclusion about the different orientation of both newspapers can justify their noticeable distinction in the magnitude of coverage of Islam and Muslims' events across the studied period. With regards to this, while *The Times* news stories about Islam and Muslims increased across the studied sample; *The Guardian* coverage, on the contrary, fluctuated and

peaked at 2012 and 2015. However, there were more news stories in both newspapers during 2015. This indicates that, *The Times* to some extent value the magnitude of coverage; while *The Guardian* instead value the quality and influence of events. This was apparent for instance, in *The Guardian* clear interest in covering elections in Arab Spring countries during 2012; while the same events overlooked in *The Times* coverage of the same period.

With regards to this, *The Guardian* showed more interest in reporting ongoing events in Arab Spring countries, in particular the elections in Egypt and Libya in 2012. *The Times,* in comparison, was more concerned with clashes and conflicts that took place in Egypt post the ousting of the Brotherhood in 2013. In this regard, although both media covered the same event, *The Guardian* represented the event in accordance with its liberal standpoint as an attack on democracy; *The Times*, alternatively, represented the event in a more sensationalized way, emphasising conflicts between protesters. This indicates that, although *The Guardian* could report Islamism as a political cause, *The Times* presented it as an act of violence or extremism. In other words, this shows, while *The Guardian* value political change, *The Times* in contrast focused on the conflict. One possible explanation is that *The Times* is behind a paywall and consequently circulation is dependent on magnitude of coverage and providing the reader with attractive news stories. In comparison, *The Guardian* is open accessed and value informing the reader in contrast to circulation.

Another distinction can indicate in relation to both newspapers' representations of British Muslims is linked to their coverage to Trojan Horse affair, for instance. With regards to this, although both outlets

showed clear interest in reporting the event, it was represented differently. *The Guardian*, for example, reported the plight of Muslim families and their concerns over children at the investigated schools and avoided repetition of negative labelling of Islam and Muslims when reporting the issue. Moreover, *The Guardian* presented counter arguments to illustrate how Muslims should have the right to practice religious education on an equal basis as other religious minorities.

The Times, in comparison took a more conservative approach in tackling the same issue, highlighting how religious practices in state schools can represent a threat to Christian education and British values. This again can be interpreted based on differences in the editorial policy between both outlets, *The Guardian,* therefore, adopted a more liberal-leaning stand behind minorities and supporting their rights in a multicultural society. *The Times,* with a more conservative stance in comparison, works as a safeguard for societal values; in addition, it emphasizes religious differences and focused on conflicts to safeguard social stability and to maintain status quo.

5. Chapter four: Islam and Muslim representations in the Egyptian newspapers' websites post 1/25

5.1. Overview to the Egyptian corpus

This chapter will present findings about Islam and Muslim representations in the studied Egyptian newspapers' websites. It is better, though, to start with a brief introduction about the recurrent events in this corpus.

In this regard, the dominant event that erupted different discourses across this sample is the rise of Muslim groups[5] or the Brotherhood to the political arena. This event reached its peak with the election of ex-president Morsi of the Brotherhood and the dominance of Muslim factions in the elected Egyptian Parliament in 2012. Different issues evolved and dominated the media discourse based on that event, prominently, discourses over Sharia or Islamic law and its place, or formula, in the Egyptian constitution. These discourses highlighted, for instance, a conflict between Muslim figures and other actors in society, notably, secularists, and the intervention from Al-Azhar institution in Egypt to afford its input over Sharia formula in the new constitution.

Furthermore, and significantly, the rise of Muslim groups and the issue of Sharia were also interwoven with discourses about relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, mainly Christians, in Egypt. This was prominent in some media articles who emphasised the Islamic identity of

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[5] Using references such as 'Muslim groups', or alike 'Muslim factions' for instance, in this chapter are referring to groups that adopt Islam as a political ideology or view. Thus, 'Islamism' or 'political Islam' are interpreted across this chapter as normal political practices of Islam; that are separate from violence or terrorism.

Egypt. In other words, Egyptian identity was prominent in different discussions over, for example, Islamic practices in Egypt and the society mismatch with radical practices. Furthermore, different discourses highlighted cohesion and unity between Muslims and non-Muslims in Egypt, based on their Egyptian identity.

With the proceeding of corpus, Islam's representations occurred, noticeably, as a religion, such as covering issues of interest to all Muslims, as followers of Islam, instead of issues that connect Islam to political or cultural matters in Egyptian society, such as issues of Islamic fatwa.

Interest in international affairs were also dominant in both media outlets in the Egyptian corpus. For instance, both media websites were interested in reporting on international responses to the election and the ousting of the Brotherhood rule in Egypt. In addition, in different ways, the rise of the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and its influence on political and international affairs. Meanwhile, in this regard, the media in this corpus showed an interest in reporting on the persecution of the Muslim minority in Burma and anti-Muslim sentiment in some western countries. These events and issues also highlighted different types of utterances and arguments related to Islam in political and international affairs.

Thus, the scrutinised analysis of data in this sample revealed two dominant frames of Islam and Muslims in the Egyptian media. A frame of religion and a frame of cultural and political affairs or national and political identity. The first frame highlights Islam as a religion. This frame, on the one hand, is characterised by the extensive use of words drawn from Islamic tenets, such as *'Sharia'; 'Alaijtihad'* [ijtihad] and *'Qaeidat 'usulia'*

[fundamentalist principle] ("dwabit al'iifta' fa alwaqie almueasir <<7>> altiysir wamuraeat 'ahwal almustaftaa, *Al-Ahram,* 13 June 2014); in addition, purely, to highlight Islamic matters and issues.

On the other hand, a frame of cultural and political affairs or national identity was salient in this sample. In this regard, reporting on national and international affairs relating to Islam and Muslims was one of the main features of this frame. In terms of used word clusters, this frame depended on different repertoires of words, such as *'altayarat al'iislamia'* [Islamist movements]; *'almuqawamat alnnasiria'* [Nasserian Resistance] ("biat alnaar(1)", *Al-Ahram,* 02 July 2012) or *'alearas aldiymuqratiu'* [Democratic wedding or celebration] ("bied maqtal talab alhindisata:alghadab yajtah alsawis"" *Al-Ahram,* 05 July 2012).

The following sections will separate discussions over each one of these frames. The discussion will draw on CDA addressed methods in the Methodology chapter, to highlight the features of each frame.

5.2. The Frame of religion

This frame is featured with a recurrence of words drawn from Islamic theology, in addition to an extensive use of quotations cited from Islamic scriptures, such as Prophetic Hadith [teachings of Prophet Muhammad] or Quran. Meanwhile, this frame presented extensively and, in a favourable manner, different over-lexicalisations and presuppositions that reflect the high profile of representations of Islam as a religion in the Egyptian media.

Furthermore, this frame was characterised, in the first place, with reports on issues of concern regarding Muslims in general sense, such as fatwa or Islamic rituals. It is understood, though, considering the resonance

of Islamic identity in the Egyptian society that Islam will be represented in a positive and favourable manner as a religion in the Egyptian corpus. Nevertheless, what is interesting is the interwoven and interdiscursivity between media and theologian discourses in different places under this frame. The following section will shed light on examples of this frame.

5.2.1. Textual analysis: Lexical choices for the frame of religion

This frame, as discussed earlier, is featured with the use of lexical choices that are drawn on Islamic scripture or theology.

For instance, in this opinion article published on Al-Ahram website, under the following headline *"Regulations of fatwa in contemporary world simplifying and consideration of respondent [almustaftaa] circumstances"* ("dwabit al'iifta' fa alwaqie almueasir <<7>> altiysir wamuraeat 'ahwal almustaftaa, *Al-Ahram*, 13 June 2014); word choices represented under this item pertains dominantly to Islamic repertoire.

Thus, what is interesting in this example is the drag of words from the Islamic repertoire, such as, *'fatwa'; 'Sharia'; 'ijtihad'*; or *'Hadith'*, and their texturing with the media discourse about Islam. Surprisingly enough is the use of the word *'fundamentalists'* [الأصوليون *al'usuliuwn*] in this item to denote positive connotations. In this regard, it refers to Islamic scholars or theorists that theorizes to Muslims based on their study to Islamic scriptures.

5.2.1.1. Islamic values

Furthermore, this frame also witnessed extensive use of over-lexicalizations to represent the religion of Islam. This is evident, for example, in the use of this over-lexicalization [دين الرحمة والرفق *din alrahmat walrifq*] or 'faith of mercy and kindness' in this context to refer to

Islam as a religion of *'mercy and kindness'* ("dwabit al'iifta' fa alwaqie almueasir <<7>> altiysir wamuraeat 'ahwal almustaftaa", *Al-Ahram,* 13 June 2014).

Although, both words could have the same meaning, the author had made a choice to add an equivalent word to confirm his statement. The use of this over-lexicalization assumes also a common ground between the text provider and its consumer, regarding their understanding of Islamic values. This is noticeable through the extensive use of assumptions in the rest of articles to shed light on the representations and understanding of Islam as a religion in this context.

Hence, in the aforementioned article (("dwabit al'iifta' fa alwaqie almueasir <<7>> altiysir wamuraeat 'ahwal almustaftaa, *Al-Ahram,* 13 June 2014), the author underlined that Sharia aims at the easiness of the life of Muslims to abide by its rules, through using the following supposition: [الشريعة الإسلامية بنيت على اليسر *alshryet al'iislamiat buniat ealaa alyusr*] or Islamic law is built on simplifying. This sentence states in certain ways that Sharia is built on easiness or simplicity in its rules or principles. The use of this supposition assumes that the reader has a common understanding of the same statement as the author of the article.

Additionally, the text also referred to Islam as [الإسلام هو دين الفطرة] or 'Islam is the religion of instinct' (ibid). This presumption suggests that Islam is accepted in this context as a natural religion, or as a religion that is in congruent with the human nature. This is understood from the context of this statement as follows:

"ولما كان الإسلام هو دين الفطرة فإننا نجد نصوصه وقد امتلأت بالدعوة لرفع الحرج عن هذه الأمة، إلى الحد الذي وصلت به لدرجة القطع كما يقول بعض الأصوليين."

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Translation: As Islam is the religion of instinct, we find its texts have been filled with the call to lift the embarrassment of this nation, to the extent that it reached the point of cutting, as some fundamentalists say (("dwabit al'iifta' fa alwaqie almueasir <<7>> altiysir wamuraeat 'ahwal almustaftaa", *Al-Ahram*, 13 June 2014).

What is interesting in this extract is how the theologian discourse about Islam is interwoven with its representations in the Egyptian media. The statement also presupposes the reader's understanding of Islamic scripture and their emphasis on "lift the embarrassment of this nation [or Ummah]", as suggested by the text. Meanwhile, this extract refers to Muslims as a one nation or Muslim Ummah, suggesting that all Muslims have something in common, considering their abidance by Sharia or Islamic law; or Islam in general.

5.2.1.1.1. Labelling Islam as a religion

Furthermore, the recurrent use of the word *'fundamentalists'* as a noun, adds another emphasis on its acknowledged positive connotations in this context. This opinion item also provided different descriptions with Islam to highlight its religious nature. To name the least, '[التراث الفقهي الإسلامي *alturath alfuqhiu al'iislamiu*] or heritage of Islamic jurisprudence or fiqh' and '[قواعد الإسلام *qawaeid al'islam*] the rules or principles of Islam'. The use of such labels adds more emphasis on the referential representations to Islam as a religion that has its jurisprudence or principles that regulate the lives of its followers.

5.2.1.1.2. Sharia or Islamic Law

Another feature can be highlighted concerning this frame through the following example from Al-Ahram's website *'manahaj al'islam fi muharabat alfasad'* [The approach of Islam in the fight against corruption] (*Al-Ahram*, 04 October 2015). At first glance, the headline of this opinion

article highlights a favourable tone towards Islamic law or Sharia by using the reference *'manahaj al'islam'* or what can be interpreted as [Islamic approach or method].

In this regard, this piece highlighted the problem of corruption in modern societies and shed light on Islam's way of approaching and defeating this issue. In this matter, the text used over-lexicalisation in the leading paragraph to underline that Islam is far more than a religion, by over-describing its system as follows: *'al'islam din wadunia, eaqidat washriet wa'akhlaq wasaluk wamueamalatan'* [Islam is a religion and life, doctrine, Sharia, ethics, behaviour and treatment]. The text editor as such used different descriptions to underline that Islam does not only cover religious matters, but also covers lifetime or daily life activities between people and each other. The text also used presumption to presume that these characteristics of Islam are understood in terms of Islamic theology, as follows:

"من المقرر شرعا: أن الإسلام دين ودنيا, عقيدة وشريعة وأخلاق وسلوك ومعاملة, وأنه جاء ليصلح الدنيا, ويهدى الناس إلى سبل الخير والفلاح فى الدنيا والآخرة"

Translation: it is understood according to Sharia: that Islam is a religion and life, doctrine, Sharia [law], morality, behaviour and treatment, and that it came to correct the world, and guide people to ways of goodness and prosperity in this world and the Hereafter (*'manahaj al'islam fi muharabat alfasad'*, *Al-Ahram*, 04 October 2015).

It is understood, apparently, from this extract, that the editor of this text assumes that his readers share the same ideas, considering Islam is more than a religion and acknowledging that it does represent a way of life. Moreover, the text provider supposes a shared ground of understanding of Sharia between him and his readers. This example highlights, to some extent, Al-Ahram as a representative of the Egyptian semi-official media in

this study and the role of cultural values in representations of Islam in Egyptian media. This is understandable, considering that journalists in Muslim-majority countries, such as Egypt, consider Islamic values as "the prism through which [they…] approach their profession" (Pintak 2014).

Thus, the influence of the shared Islamic values between journalists and readers in the Egyptian media is also apparent in the intertextuality between Quranic verses, or Islamic scripture in general, such as Hadith or Prophetic teachings and media texts. The following section will shed more light on this argument.

5.2.2. Discursive practices: News values and intertextuality for the frame of religion

As highlighted before, this frame witnessed lexical choices that draw on Islamic repertoire; or that have shared values between readers and text producers. It is also noticeable that reports on Islamic rituals, such as fasting Ramadan or Friday sermon became newsworthy under this frame.

5.2.2.1. Newsworthy of religious rituals

Features of this frame can be found in the following news item, published on Al-Youm7 under this title: *"Imam of Mecca prays for Egypt crying in Friday prayer in the presence of "a million prayers"* ("'imam alharam almakaa yadeu limisr bakiaan fa salat aljumeat bihudur "mliun musalana"" *Al-Youm7,* 12 July 2013).

At first glance, the lexical choices in this headline emphasis on Islamic repertoire, this is noticeable in the use of words: '[إمام الحرم المكى *'imam alharam almukaa*] Imam of Mecca' and '[صلاة الجمعة *salat aljumea*] Friday prayer'. However, what is significant, though, in this headline is that it highlights a different angle of newsworthiness, in this regard the

invocation of *'Imam of Mecca'* to Egypt in the presence of *'a million prayers'* deemed as newsworthy in this item.

In other words, it is noticeable in this item the emphasis on the Islamic Egyptian identity, in addition to the high profile of Islamic rituals, i.e. prayer and fasting of Ramadan as suggested by the proceeding paragraphs, as newsworthiness. This item, as such, suggests the resonance of Islamic culture in reporting about some international affairs as well.

This can further be highlighted through the next extract's headline and leading paragraph of a news item:

"إمام الحرم المكى يدعو لمصر باكيا فى صلاة الجمعة بحضور "مليون مصلى"

دعا إمام الحرم المكى الشيخ عبد الرحمن السديس لمصر أرض الكنانة فى خطبة الجمعة اليوم بالمسجد الحرام، حيث كان يصلى خلفه نحو مليون مسلم فى أول جمعة لشهر رمضان المبارك."

> **Translation:** Imam of Mecca prays for Egypt while crying in Friday prayer in the presence of "a million prayers"
>
> The Imam of the Holy Mosque Sheikh Abdul Rahman al-Sudais called for Egypt's secured land [or the land of kinana] in the Friday sermon at the Grand Mosque, where he was praying behind him about one million Muslims on the first Friday of the holy month of Ramadan. (*Al-Youm7,* 12 July 2013).

One can assume that the newsworthiness of this item comes through the different interwoven aspects; most of them are led by religious features; as highlighted earlier. However, a deep analysis of it should indicate the symbolic use of the reference to the 'Imam of Mecca' and his praying to Egypt, as an attempt to link the local events in Egypt with its relations to Saudi Arabia, as a representative to the Muslim world. In other words, the text reference to Mecca, with consideration to its position in Muslim world,

suggests that the text is making a hidden emphasis on the importance of what was happening in Egypt to other Muslim countries, Saudi Arabia in this context. Thus, one can see a political use of religious symbols in this matter as well as an emphasis on Egypt Islamic identity, as part of the wider Muslim world.

Nevertheless, the text reference to this event as coming *'on the first Friday of the holy month of Ramadan'* indicates another type of newsworthiness, in this regard, the synchronicity between the Imam invocation and the seasonal time of the approaching month of Ramadan.

In the next paragraph following to the leading one, the text used indirect quotations to report on the Imam prayers to Egypt indicating that he asked his Almighty God "to protect Egypt and its people from all evil and bad …"; meanwhile to bring together Egyptians "on a common word on the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Prophet" (ibid). It is important to indicate that this text came after the ousting of the Brotherhood in Egypt. This time it witnessed some tensions in society, where some refused such ousting. One can argue that this text was published to place emphasis on the Islamic identity of Egypt.

However, the rest of this item was dedicated to publishing extensive quotes from Hadith and Quran to underline the specialty of the time Ramadan in Islam. One can argue that these quotations underline a tendency to educate the public about this ritual. Something that can enhance their religious and Islamic identity.

Another example published on Al-Youm7's (02 October 2015) website (*"mazhar shahin fa khutbat aljum'ah: alsihat 'aghlaa ras mali wal'iislam haram 'iihdariha"* [Mazhar Shahin in the Friday sermon: Health

is the most precious wealth, and Islam has deprived its waste], emphasis on this feature. This headline also highlighted interdiscursivity between media and public or religious discourse in Al-Youm7. In this regard, the text identified the source of this item as drawn on *'khutbat aljum'ah'* [the Friday sermon] or the speech given by "Mazhar Shahin Imam and Sheikh of the Mosque of Omar Makram" (ibid). This highlight different types of news values in the studied newspapers' websites in Egypt. Therefore, although *'Friday sermon'* is a religious ritual per se, the journalist found it interesting and newsworthy to report on this sermon and include it in the text production.

5.2.2.2.   Intertextuality: Reporting on Muslim sources

As highlighted earlier, this frame witnessed discussions of Islamic issues, whether inside or outside Egyptian society. Therefore, this frame is featured with intertextuality between Islamic theology, or scriptures and media discourse. In this regard, it is understandable that the salience of this frame of religion in the Egyptian media websites is synchronised with media reporting on occasional Islamic rituals, such as fasting Ramadan, Hajj or the commencement of the new year in the Islamic calendar.

For example, in this feature *"hataa la yatakarar hadith Mina 'ada' almanasik .. darurat shareiatan"* [So that not to repeat the accident of Mina rehabilitation of pilgrims before the performance of rituals .. legitimate necessity] (*Al-Ahram*, 02 October 2015); Al-Ahram provided some Muslim

experts to advise over regulations of Hajj, to avoid future accidents, as a response to Minh accident in 24th September 2015[6].

In this regard, the text used different references to highlight the unity of different states in the Arab and Muslim world, based on their religion, as follows: *'al'umat al'iislamia'* [Islamic Nation or Ummah]; *'alduwal al'iislamia'* [Islamic States] and *'dualu alealam aleurbaa wal'iislamaa'* [World Arab and Islamic countries]. Using such references, this highlights in the first place that Islam became newsworthy when reporting on events or issues concerning Islamic rituals or belief; and underlines their relevance to different Muslim countries around the globe.

Nevertheless, another significant feature in this matter is the text emphasis on the expertise of reported background sources in Islamic studies. In this regard, for example, the text defined one speaker as a 'Professor of Sharia [Islamic Law], Faculty of Law, Cairo University', while identifying another speaker as a 'member of the Islamic Research Assembly and a member in the Senior Scholars [Ulama] Association'.

One can see Al-Ahram's interest in reporting on Muslim sources interpretation or comments on issues of relevance to Islam. One can argue that such practice pertains to the societal culture, concerning the justified prevalence of Islamic studies and experts in this type of study in society. Meanwhile, it also reflects Al-Ahram's editorial policy in supporting its

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[6] During Hajj time in 2015, "an overcrowding situation caused more than 2,000 people to suffocate and be crushed to death while injuring 934 others during the annual Hajj pilgrimage in Mina, Mecca."
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mina,_Saudi_Arabia#2015_stampede accessed 02/11/2017).

credibility when informing the reader about Islamic issues, by reporting what some say to experts in Islamic studies.

However, another feature can be interpreted from giving a space for those speakers in this text is that they are all representative to the official institutions in the country. In other words, Al-Ahram, is one of the main semiofficial newspapers in Egypt; and as such considers one of voices that reflect governmental views (e.g. Hamdy and Gomaa, 2012, Adlan-Ayad, 2001). Thus, although, Al-Ahram was interested in reporting experts' utterances about Islam, it also focuses on the official narratives in this regard. Therefore, is salient in this text the official identification of those speakers; whether from 'Cairo University', a senior Egyptian public university; or *'majmae albihwth al'iislamia'* [the Senior Scholars [Ulama] Association], a recognised Islamic institution in Egypt. Thus, one can argue that Al-Ahram; as a reflector to the political view of government in Egypt, is also promoting to Islam in a way that does not exceed the limits set on by the regime.

It is also significant to note that, such reporting on Muslim sources is justified; considering the pervasiveness of Islam in every part of society from culture to politics (e.g. Perreault, 2014).

However, it is arguable that this type of media reporting is also aiming at marketing an accepted version of Islam in Egyptian society. This is apparent from the comparison made in the text, using the following references, to differentiate between fatwas that are abide by *'wasatiat wataysir alsharae'* [moderation and facilitation of Sharia]; and other fatwas that are disseminated by *'almaghalun walmutashadidun'* [radicals and hardliners]; which lead pilgrims to harm in their journey to Hajj. In this

regard, the text used references to Prophetic teachings; that emphasis on the importance of facilitating Hajj to Muslims. The text as such considers releasing fatwas that burden pilgrims while doing this religious ritual as opposite to the moderation and facilitation characteristics of Sharia or Islamic law.

5.2.2.3. Insertion for Islamic scriptures

Another feature to this frame, as indicated earlier, can be made clear by the following extract ('manahaj al'islam fi muharabat alfasad' [The approach of Islam in the fight against corruption], *Al-Ahram*, 04 October , 2015):

"والأعمال الفاسدة مجمع على حرمتها، وتضافرت نصوص الشرع بحرمتها، ومنها: قوله تعالى: «وَلَا تُفْسِدُوا فِى الْأَرْضِ بَعْدَ إِصْلَاحِهَا»، وقوله جل شأنه: «تِلْكَ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ نَجْعَلُهَا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِى الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فَسَادًا»، ... «وَلَا تَبْغِ الْفَسَادَ فِى الْأَرْضِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ»، ... «وأَصلِحْ ولا تَتَّبِع سبيل المفسدين »"

> **Translation:** "And the corrupt acts there are an agreement over its prohibition, the texts of the Sharia were combined with their sanctity, this includes: the revelation from [Allah] the Almighty: "And do not do mischief on the earth, after it has been set in order", and the revelation by him the Almighty: "That home of the Hereafter (i.e. Paradise), We shall assign to those who rebel not against the truth with pride and oppression in the land nor do mischief by committing crimes." … " and seek not mischief in the land. Verily, Allah likes not the *Mufsidun* (those who commit great crimes and sins, oppressors, tyrants, mischief-makers, corrupts)." …" act in the Right Way (by ordering the people to obey Allah and to worship Him Alone) and follow not the way of the *Mufsidun* (mischief-makers)."[7]

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[7] The following online index has been used for the translation of these Quranic verses translation: http://www.noblequran.com/translation/index.html accessed 02/10/2017.

What is interesting in this extract is the grouping of these verses by the text editor by quoting them directly from Quran. This suggests the habituality of such behaviour in Egyptian society. In other words, one can assume the reader's familiarity with such drawn-on evidence from Quranic speech to support the ideas of a speaker who has the same knowledge or understanding to this discourse. This also suggests the high profile and interdiscursivity between Islamic scripture and media discourse in the studied media. Therefore, one can conclude that extensive reporting of Islamic scriptures to support the editor's arguments or ideas was common under the tent of this frame.

Another news item published on Al-Youm7 website (02 October 2015) underlines the same characteristic, or the intertextuality between Islamic discourse and media discourse under this frame. Accordingly, under this aforementioned headline *"mazhar shahin fa khutbat aljum'ah: alsihat 'aghlaa ras mali wal'iislam haram 'iihdariha"* [Mazhar Shahin in the Friday sermon: Health is the most precious wealth and Islam has deprived its waste]; Al-Youm7 reported on a Friday speech or sermon on the position of Islam about health.

The text, though, has given a space to report on some Islamic scripture pieces quoted by the Imam and made them salient in the text. This is highlighted in the following extract from the leading paragraph:

"قال الشيخ مظهر شاهين إمام وخطيب مسجد عمر مكرم، إن الله عز وجل خلق الإنسان للقيام بمهمتين جليلتين، وهى تحقيق العبوديه فى الأرض، مستشهداً بقول الله "وما خلقت الإنس والجن إلا ليعبدون"، والمهمة الثانيه هى تحقيق الخلافة فى الأرض، والخلافة تعنى إعمار الأرض، وذلك لا يتم إلا من خلال الصحة الجيدة. ... وأن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم قال "إن لبدنك عليك حق""

Translation: Sheikh Mazhar Shahin Imam and preacher of the Mosque of Omar Makram said that Allah the Exalted created the man to perform two great tasks, namely, the fulfilment of slavery in the earth, citing the words of Allah "And I (Allah) created not the jinns and humans except they should worship Me (Alone)" The second task is to achieve succession in the land, and this is done only through good health. … and that the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) said "Verily your body has a right over you" (*Al-Youm7*, 02 October 2015).

This extract highlights further the intertextuality between media and religious discourses in the Egyptian newspapers' websites in representations of Islam. Obviously, this can be interpreted based on the dominance of Islamic thoughts in the Egyptian society and the common sense that accepts Islam as its core religion. This is salient in the studied Egyptian media interest in the reporting of religious talks and includes them in media production. Also, this highlights the newsworthiness of reporting extensive quotes from Islamic scripture within the text.

However, it is surprising, though, that the same approach is not recurrent while representing Islam in terms of politics. In other words, the use of Muslim sources is more salient when discussing Islam as a religion. On the contrary, the same practice is hidden when discussing Islam in terms of politics. This argument may be explained further while discussing Islam's representations in terms of politics and cultural affairs in the Egyptian media.

5.2.3. Context: Political and socio-cultural practices for the frame of religion

This frame witnessed predominant representations that are drawn on the repertoire of religion in Egyptian society. One of the main feasible implications for this frame is that it is used for the creation and recreation

of the religious or Islamic identity of the Egyptian society. In other words, one can argue that this frame is used as a morality reference for the accepted manners and behaviours in society.

Meanwhile, this frame witnessed some political references to Egypt as an 'Islamic state', as a Muslim country or a nation. One can see that such references are used to perpetuate the society's political and cultural identity in the minds of the readers. Furthermore, it is crystal clear, especially on Al-Ahram website, that Islam is represented and interpreted according to the official narratives. This is apparent in the extensive report on official Muslim sources in Al-Ahram website.

Another feature that can be argued to be concerned with this frame is that representations of Islam as a religion increased noticeably across the Egyptian sample. For instance, congregation representations to this frame were less recurrent in 2012, in comparison to their recurrence in 2014 or 2015. One can argue that such salience of this frame's features is parallel or synchronises with reporting on Islamic rituals, such as fasting of Ramadan or Hajj.

However, it is also arguable that such salience of the frame in these two years of the sample indicates a deliberate choice from the media journalists to deliver a message of societal stability. This stability is built, in media discourse, on the habitual reporting of normal practices of Islamic rituals. Moreover, this can also indicate that Islam, as a religion, becomes more newsworthy when there is stability in society, to associate its practices with religious, instead of political matters. In other words, it is crystal clear that Islam is represented in a favourable and a positive way in the studied Egyptian media, which indicates to the cultural aspects of this

frame or the resonance of Islamic values in Egyptian society. However, one can argue that representations of Islam as a religion in the Egyptian newspapers' websites hold socio-cultural implications to society, and that they are not free of political charge.

Thus, the next section will indicate some political features of Islam and Muslim representations in the studied Egyptian media.

5.3. The Frame of cultural and political affairs

This frame featured with use of a repertoire of words that are drawn, mainly, from the store of politics to highlight echoed and contested ideologies in the Egyptian society. Meanwhile, this frame highlighted the interwoven cultural and religious aspects of Islam in Egypt, as a core component of national identity.

In addition, the use of over-lexicalisations and assumptions highlighted sometimes favourable, and in other times unfavourable utterances towards the represented objects. Moreover, issues addressed under this frame reflected ultimately different newsworthiness choices in comparison to the previous frame.

Although this frame highlights, predominantly, political and cultural affairs in Egypt, what was most noticeable were the utterances emphasised implicitly and explicitly on the Egyptian identity; articles classified under this frame, to a less extent, have also witnessed interdiscursivity or have interwoven this frame and the frame of religion. Thus, the classification of the frames in this regard were based on the dominant occurrence of a frame, based on the stated lexical choices, over-lexicalisations and stated suppositions. Furthermore, intertextuality was also prominent in texturing discourses of this sample with international media and news agencies

discourses about Islam and Muslims. Examples for this frame will be discussed shortly.

5.3.1. Textual analysis: Lexical choices to cultural and political frame

Lexical choices under this frame prominently underlined an unfavourable tone or confliction with Muslim movements' practices or ideologies. However, this did not prevent an occurrence of a contested argument that calls for "[المصالحة الوطنية *almusalahat alwatania*] National reconciliation" with Islamists[8]; especially the Brotherhood (**…**" بيان "استكمال الثورة" [the Statement of "Revolution Completion"], *Al-Youm7*, 16 July 2013). This was mainly noticeable after the ousting of ex-president Morsi. Moreover, these choices highlighted an emphasis on the Egyptian national, religious and cultural identities.

5.3.1.1. Contested ideologies

In the aforementioned example 'bayt alnaar(1)' [Fire House] ("'bayt alnaar(1)", *Al-Ahram*, 02 July 2012), the author of this opinion item[9], draws on a cluster of words that represent mainly Nasserism ideology to highlight the confliction, in broad sense, between different political parties, including Islamist, liberal and *'yasariin'* [or left] rivals.

Therefore, this text depended extensively on a repertoire of words that belongs largely to communist, Nasserism or Naser's ideology. For

[8] As highlighted before, the word 'Islamist' or 'Islamists' is used in this thesis, apart from its meaning in media sample, as a reference to Muslim groups that apply Islam as a political ideology.

9 Jaber Asfour is a featured writer of Al-Ahram newspaper and an ex-Minister of Cultural ministry in Egypt.

instance, 'التيارات [tanzim shuyueiun] Communist group'; 'تنظيم شيوعي [tanzim shuyueiun] Communist group'; 'المقاومة الناصرية [altayarat al'iislamia] Islamist mainstreams'; 'المقاومة الناصرية almuqawamat alnnasiria] Nasserian Resistance'; 'القومية واليسارية [alqawmiat walysaria] Nationalism and leftism'; 'الوضع الطبقي [alwade altubqiu] Class situation'. Using such words highlights a frame of reference that draws directly on the ideas and values dispersed in Egyptian society during the era of President Gamal Abdel-Nasser, one of the principle Presidents of Egypt, mainly in the 1950s and 1960s. The repetition of these words in the article is justified, concerning the de facto that this article represents an analysis of a novel published post the Egyptian revolution 2011; while its events belongs to the 1970s during the era of President Sadat in Egypt. This highlights the texturing of media and literature discourses in this opinion article.

However, what is interesting in this cluster of words is that it associates Islam implicitly and explicitly with political terms. This is prominent in the use of collocations *"iislam alnaft'* [Petrol Islam] and *'altayarat al'iislamia'* [Islamist movements]. Although the use of the description 'Islamist movements' is justified based on the prominent role of Muslim groups in politics post-Egyptian revolution, this metaphor connotes to Muslim movements as if they all belong to the same venue and abide to typical values or homogeneous ideologies.

Nevertheless, what is interesting is representing the same phrase as used in the previous paragraph *"iislam alnaft'* [Petrol Islam]. This metaphor is used implicitly in this context to refer to the Gulf countries, mainly to Saudi Arabia, in relation to their alliance with Sadat's administration during the Sinai war in October 1973. This argument of alliance to defend the

leftist group is obvious, with the recurrent use of the following presuppositions in the article:

Assumption 1:

"وبعد أن تحالف السادات مع التيارات الإسلامية، وساعدها كما ساعدته علي الخلاص من المقاومة الناصرية القومية واليسارية بكل أطيافها"

> **Translation:** And after Sadat's alliance with the Islamist movements, who [Sadat] helped them, as they [Islamists] helped him to get rid of the Nasserite national resistance and leftist in all its spectrum ("'bayt alnaar(1)", *Al-Ahram*, 02 July 2012).

Assumption 2:

"ويقاوم البطل إلي أن يتزايد شعوره بالقمع السياسي الذي تزايد مع تحالف السادات مع أعداء الناصرية وحلفاء الولايات المتحدة وإسلام النفط"

> **Translation:** The hero is resisting the growing sense of political repression that has grown with Sadat's alliance with the enemies of Nasiriyah, US allies and petrol Islam] (ibid).

In the first supposition, the author presupposes that there was a certain alliance between the Sadat administration and 'Islamist movements' (ibid). Meanwhile, he assumes that this alliance was for the sake of getting rid of leftist group. It could be stated, partly, that 'Islamist movements' witnessed some liberty during Sadat's era, after their repression during Naser's era in Egypt. However, the argument that there was an alliance between these groups and Sadat's regime negates the de facto that he was assassinated by some extremist actors belonging to Muslim groups in Egypt, at the time.

In the second assumption, though, the author made an interesting claim when he put different actors in one pot and highlighted their enmity to Leftists[10]. In this regard, the author grouped the Sadat administration, Muslim groups - referring to them as *'the enemies of Nasiriyah'*, US allies and Gulf countries - connoting them as *'petrol Islam'* - led by Saudi Arabia, in one pot; and claiming that they were the reason behind *'the growing sense of political repression'* to leftist during Sadat's era (ibid).

What is prominent in this extract is the clearly unfavourable tone while representing Muslim groups, always referring to them as being in conflict with leftist ideology and in alliance with the political regime. This could recall a stereotype that those groups are exploiting religion for the sake of politics. Meanwhile, representing them in clear distinction with other political spectrums in Egyptian society, for the sake of their own political interests.

This last argument has emphasised the article conclusion when the author made a comparison between the novel finale and the present situation of the Egyptian revolution after the Brotherhood won the presidency election in Egypt. This is evident through the following extract:

"ويشعر القارئ, في النهاية, بأن الخاتمة الحزينة للرواية تبدو كما لو كانت موازاة رمزية الدلالة، تصل ما بين الانكسار اليساري في الزمن الروائي والانكسار اليساري المدني، فضلا عن التشرذم الذي انحرف بمسار ثورة25 يناير. وها هي مصر الحزينة نفسها، مثل بطل بيت النار تتشرذم قواها الليبرالية واليسارية، فلا يبقي في المشهد سوي تيارات الإسلام

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[10] Leftists in Egypt used to refer to supporters of Naser era or communist ideologies in its broad meaning. Especially, the support of principles of social justice and the fight against dominant class in society.

التي تضخمت، صاعدة بشهوة السلطة لتحكم كل شيء، مقابل قوة ضاربة لا تكف عن تذكيرنا بالاستبداد السياسي الذي كان. تري هل فرض واقعنا الحالي نفسه علي مسار بيت النار فانتهي بالرواية إلي ما انتهت إليه؟ الأمر ممكن."

> **Translation:** At the end, the reader feels that the sad conclusion of the novel seems to be a symbolic parallelism for the break to leftist in the novelist time, and the civilian break to leftist; apart from the fragmentation that deviated the path of January 25th revolution. Here, [we have] the sad Egypt itself, like the hero of the House of Fire, whose liberal and leftist forces are fragmented; the only [forces] that remains [in the political scene] are the streams of Islam [or Islamist mainstreams], which have been inflated, while rising with the lust for power to control everything; in opposition to a powerful force that does not stop reminding us of the political tyranny that was [in the past]. Does our current situation impose itself on the path of the house of fire, and end in the same way as the novel had ended with? It is possible ("'bayt alnaar(1)'", *Al-Ahram*, 02 July 2012).

In this concluding paragraph, the author came up with another supposition assuming that the rise of *'the streams of Islam'* is based on their *'lust for power'* and with the intention of controlling everything. This again homogenises Muslim groups and recalls the stereotype that those groups are all one, with no differences in practice between them. In addition, this assumption excludes Muslim movements from the desire of working politically for the sake of good for the whole society.

In other words, it is inferred from that quotation that, *'liberal and leftist forces'* in Egypt are the only legitimate powers that should have led the Egyptian revolution. Meanwhile, the paragraph implicitly stated that these forces are the only groups that have been influenced and are still oppressed by *'the political tyranny'* in Egypt, as the text claims. This unfavourable tone in representing Muslim groups was prominent and represented in different ways across the Egyptian corpus.

5.3.1.2. Islam and national identity

As highlighted before, this frame witnessed prominent discussions regarding politics and public affairs in Egypt. Reasonably, this is due to the fluctuating state of Egyptian society since 2011 revolution; in addition to the impact of the election of the Brotherhood in 2012. One of the issues that witnessed remarkable discussion in the Egyptian media is the Egyptian constitution. Considerably, the second article of this constitution, or what is sometimes called in media texts 'the article of Sharia', witnessed considerable discussion over its formula.

This article was debated between different groups in society whether to change its formula to state that *'Sharia is the main source of legislation'*; or to leave it as it is, stating that *'Sharia's principles are the main source of legislation'*. This idea erupted different discourses about the Egyptian identity, where Islam is at the core of it. Meanwhile, another side of this issue was a discussion about the position or location of Copts 'Christian Egyptians' or non-Muslims, in general, according to new changes which were taking place in society. Needless to say, that all of these discourses highlighted different aspects of the nature of Islam in the Egyptian society and how the media represented it in different contexts, whether historical, political, cultural or on societal-level or daily life affairs.

This feature is presented more effectively by a group of opinion articles published on the Egyptian corpus in 2012, shortly after the election of Morsi. For example, in this opinion article *"huiat misr fi dustur aljumhuriat alththania (2)"* [The Identity of Egypt in the Constitution of the Second Republic (2)] (*Al-Ahrah,* 08 July 2012), the text provider presented his suggestion to form the new Egyptian constitution under the title of *"al'umat almisria"* [the Egyptian Nation or Ummah].

What is interesting in this item is that it represented Islam regarding its cultural, historical and political involvements in Egyptian identity. Nevertheless, this item also reflected the presence of contested ideologies in society to define Egyptian identity; not to mention the least, Egyptianism[11]; Nationalism; Islamism or Islamic Caliphate and Globalisation. Yet, the text showed favourable emphasis on the Egyptianism identity to Egypt, which was made salient in the text, considering the recurrent use of words such as *'the identity of Egypt'*; *'the Egyptian nation'*; *'the Egyptian State'*; *'Egypt's people'*; *'Egyptians'* and *'Egypt'*. What is interesting, though, is that the author has used assumption and over-lexicalisation to highlight the congruent and accepted nature of *'Islamic values'* with Egyptianism. This can be highlighted in the extract below:

"وأما مسألة الهوية الإسلامية لمصر – في ارتباطها بدعوة الوحدة الاسلامية – فهي مشروع سلفي مثالي؛ يستهدف إقامة دولة خلافة دينية عالمية تتمايز وتتناقض فيها القوميات واللغات والمصالح. ويقيني أن إعلاء راية الأمة المصرية لا يتعارض مع مباديء ومقاصد وقيم الإسلام، كما لا يتناقض مع دوافع وأهداف وحقائق العروبة."

> **Translation:** The question of the Islamic identity of Egypt - in its association with the call for Islamic unity - is an exemplary Salafi project; it aims to establish a state of universal religious caliphate, in which nationalities, languages and interests differ. It is my conviction that upholding the banner of the Egyptian nation is not contrary to the principles and values of Islam, nor does it contradict

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[11] Egyptianism is a concept that is used to refer to "a quality or group of qualities characteristic of Egypt, its people, or its language" (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Egyptianism accessed: 23/10/2017). In other words, it is a reference to the pharaonic history of Egypt as shared roots of modern Egyptians.

the motives, objectives and realities of Arabism (*″huiat misr fi dustur aljumhuriat alththania (2)″*, *Al-Ahrah*, 08 July 2012).

For instance, the author has used different over-lexicalisations in this extract that highlights an acceptance of Islam as a core aspect to Egyptian identity. This is salient in the use of descriptions: *'the Islamic identity of Egypt'*; *'Islamic unity'* and *'the principles and values of Islam'*. Although the context of these words represents the *'exemplary Salafi project'*, as described by the author, their use and representations in this context as something which must be taken in consideration while defining Egyptian identity, there is emphasis on the resonance of these ideas in society and for their broad acceptance by Egyptian people. This argument is highlighted in the following assumption:

> "It is my conviction that upholding the banner of the Egyptian nation is not contrary to the principles and values of Islam" (ibid)

In this sentence, the author clearly stated that he is convinced that Islamic values and principles are matching the characteristics of an Egyptian nation or Ummah. A supposition that highlights the common sense of this Islamic identity in the society and reflects on the historical and cultural legacy shared between the author and his readers. Furthermore, the author made another assumption by using these descriptions: *'mabadi wamuqasid waqim al'islam'* [Principles, purposes and values of Islam].

This sentence presupposes that these purposes, principles and values are common sense and easily defined and shared by the audience. This highlights an intertextuality between the representation of Islam as a cultural and political component of Egyptian identity in this context and its religious nature as another component of it. Simply put, Islam is represented in this context as a core component of Egyptian identity;

however, it is not the main or only component of it, according to the author's argument.

The text, as such, highlighted an acceptance of Islam as a feature of this identity. As the text highlighted: *"Egypt is an Arab country in the language of its people and the fact that it is an Islamic state with the majority religion"* (ibid).

In this regard, the author used the label *'dawlat 'iislamiat'* [Islamic state] to emphasise the Islamic characteristic of Egypt, considering that Islam is the dominant religion of society. However, in the concluding paragraph, the author represented Muslim movements or what it deemed in the text as *'qwa alaslam alsiyasii'* [the forces of political Islam] in Egypt as holding a threat to Egyptianism using the following presupposition*: "thum sar muhadidaan mae himanat qwa alaslam alsiyasii eali lajnat wade aldustur almurtaqab"* [And then became threatened with the dominance of the forces of political Islam on the Commission to draft the expected constitution].

In this regard, the author used strong words, such as *'muhadidaan'* [threatened] and *'himanat'* [dominance], which recalls a stereotype that holds unfavourable connotations with these groups. Thus, the text depicted them as a threat to politics and Egyptian identity.

One can argue, based on this representation, that Islam holds a favourable and accepted image in Egypt; however, its political practices by Islamists or Islamist movements are questionable and do not have the same favourable attitude in society. This also highlights that questioning Egyptian identity was a prominent feature of media representations of Islam post the election of the Brotherhood in 2012. This questioning of

Egyptian identity is reasonable and justified in this context; considering the transition stage the society passed through post the Egyptian revolution in 2011.

Debating this identity was also featured in Al-Youm7's website representation of Islam. For instance, in this opinion item *"almarjieiat al'iislamia"* [Islamic reference], under this headline published on Al-Youm7 (07 July 2012), the author debated that Egypt Islamic identity is a must and, thus, it is futile to broaden the discussion of the *'Sharia article'* in the Egyptian constitution. In this regard, some of the recurrent words in this article matched their counterparts in the previous example. There was also a shift in interest in this article to place emphasis on the need to build a new political regime following the collapse, post the uprising on Mubarak regime, and to defeat political corruption.

Therefore, lexical choices in this item reflected representations of Islam in the context of debating the political situation in Egypt post the revolution. In other words, one would argue that reporting Islam in the context of politics was prominent in the studied Egyptian media; post-Egyptian revolution. In this regard, some words can explicitly indicate this in this item, such as: *'wade siasaa jadid'* [A new political situation]; *'suqut altaaghut wanizamih'* [The fall of the tyrant and its regime]; *'althawra'* [revolution]; *'sulta'* [Authority]; *'tahtarim alqanun'* [Respect the law]; *'alsultat altanfidhia'* [Executive Authority] and *'sultat lilqada' almustaqili'* [Authority for an independent judiciary].

Using such words is understandable, considering the political transition of the whole of society post 1/25. However, the author also placed a strong emphasis on the Islamic identity of Egypt using the

following supposition: *'wahuiat misr earabiat 'iislamiat samima'* [The identity of Egypt is a solid Islamic Arab], assuming that it is an acceptable idea in society to underline the Arabic-Islamic affiliation of Egypt. In the concluding paragraphs, the author added further emphasis on the same argument, as follows:

"هوية مصر، فهى مسألة محسومة، الأغلبية فيها مسلمة ودين الأغلبية وشريعتها يجب أن يتم احترامها"

> **Translation:** The identity of Egypt is a settled issue, the majority of which is Muslim and the majority religion and its Sharia [Islamic law] must be respected (*"almarjieiat al'iislamia"*, *Al-Youm7*, 07 July 2012).

> What is significant in this extract is the emphasis made on the acceptance and respect to Sharia in Egypt as part of the religion of the majority Muslim society. In this regard, the author underlined that this Sharia is part of the identity of the majority Egyptian people, by using the noun 'Sharia' with the pronoun or determiner 'its' in the word *'sharieatuha'* [Its Sharia], to highlight that this Sharia belongs to this majority; a statement which presupposes that Muslims in Egypt are holding dear Sharia as part of their religion.

What is also important in this article is the reference to *'Islamists'*, not only as political actors, but also as religious ones in society, as well as the use of the label *'almadaris al islamia'* [Islamic schools] to denote to different Islamic thoughts. This is highlighted in the concluding paragraph of this opinion item, as follows:

"وعلى مستوى المرجعية المؤسسية فإننى أدعو أن يكون الأزهر هو المرجعية بحيث لو تنازع إسلاميون حول قضايا معينة فى الفقه والفتوى والتقدير للمصالح والمفاسد فإنهم

يعودون للأزهر، لأن مدرسة الأزهر فى الفهم مهمة جدا لو تلاقحت معها المدرسة السلفية الحنبلية والمدرسة الإخوانية والمدارس الإسلامية الأخرى."

Translation: On the level of institutional reference, I call for Al-Azhar to be the reference, so that if the Islamists dispute about certain issues in fiqh [jurisprudence] and fatwa and estimation to the benefits and damages, they return to Al-Azhar, because Al-Azhar school of understanding is very important if the Salafist school of Hanbali and the school of Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic schools have combined with it. (ibid)

This quotation highlights how the representation of Islam as a religion is interwoven with its representations in political affairs. This is prominent, considering that the use of words *'fiqh'*, *'fatwa'* and *'almasalih walmufasid'* [the benefits and damages] are mostly recurrent in the discourse of Islamic theology. The use of these words in media discourse also highlights their echo in people's life. In other words, this extract indicates that Islam's political applications by Muslim groups require an institutional religious reference that can balance different interpretations of Islam between different groups. Although, these explanations are mainly political, they are based on religious interpretations of the Islamic scripture. Thus, the text assumes that such political practices will require Islamic justification, where Al-Azhar can play a key role in this concern.

Therefore, one can assume that the author's usage of the aforementioned words indicates the audience's familiarity with them. This highlights that these words [*'fiqh'*, *'fatwa'* and *'almasalih walmufasid*] are common in the daily lives of Egyptians. This could also indicate, to some extent, the power of culture in media representations of Islam.

5.3.1.3. Representations of Muslim groups

Another feature of this frame highlights an unfavourable tone in the representation of Muslim groups' political practices of Islam in Egypt, or [political Islam]. In this regard, a campaign or series of media texts published on the Egyptian media, especially, on Al-Youm7's website, concerns Salafists' reaction to Helmy El-Nmnem, Egyptian Minister of Culture, as he said that *"misr dawlat eilmaniat bialfitra"* [Egypt is a secular state by nature] (*Al-Youm7,* 03 October 2015).

In this regard, Al-Youm7 framed this case as an attack by Salafists on the Minister of Culture in Egypt; depicting them in the headline as: *"salafiun yuhajimun wazir althaqafat ealaa tariqa "klah baldastur"* [Salafists attack minister of culture applying the rule "everything by constitution"] (*Al-Youm7*, 03 October 2015). What is prominent in this headline is the use of label *'Salafists'* to highlight that those groups of people are considered to have some shared characteristics. Meanwhile, the headline indicates that they are exploiting the constitution for their interests. This is understood from the use of inverted commas, which highlights that their *'attack'* is abided by the constitution. Although, this is a positive sign to indicate that someone acting politically is to abide by the country's constitution; however, the headline, as such, highlights that those groups only use the constitution for their interests and not respectful of the constitution per se.

This depiction is also reflected in the text, regarding its representation of the 'Islamists' as in ongoing conflict with the established institutions in the country. This is understood from the following headline *"maearik al'iislamiiyn mae wizarat althaqafa"* [Islamists battles with the Ministry of Culture] (*Al-Youm7,* 04 October 2015).

In this regard, this headline depicts *'Islamists'* as always in disagreement and conflict with the successive government representatives, represented here by *'the ministry of culture'* (ibid). Although, the headline does not emphasise this idea: it suggests it implicitly. This depiction, as such, can recall in the readers' minds a stereotype to those groups in conflict with established bodies or governments.

The text also recalls a stereotype for *'Islamists'* as backwards. This is indicated by referring to them as in *'battles'* and *'attack'* with the ministry of culture. The symbolic use of the words *'Islamists'* in contrast to something relates to *'culture'* highlights that those people are against cultural ideas, which always denotes to the meta-frame of enlightenment and modern ideas. This is highlighted in the following extract:

ويعتبر طرفا منهم "الإسلاميين" أن رأى رجال الدولة "وزراء الثقافة" مخالفا لصحيح الدين، بينما يعتبر الطرف الآخر "المثقفين" رأى الإسلاميين بأنه راجعى ومتشدد ويختلف تماماً مع الإسلام الوسطى.

> **Translation:** On the one side, "Islamists", consider that the opinion of the men of the state "ministers of culture" is contrary to the correct religion; while the other side, "intellectuals", consider the Islamists to be strict and radical and completely different from moderate Islam. (*"maearik al'iislamiiyn mae wizarat althaqafa ..."* Al-Youm7 04 October 2015).

The previous argument is clearly highlighted in this extract. Thus, one can argue that the text grouping and reference to Islamist actors as *'Islamists'*, and the reference made to 'ministers of culture' as *'intellectuals'*, associates negative connotations with the former and positive ones with the later. In other words, one can assume that 'intellectuals', as the leaders of enlightenment in any given society, are holding open and progressive ideas.

Therefore, their opponents, on the contrary, should hold ideas that are opposite to openness and progress; in this context 'Islamists'.

Nevertheless, one should indicate that the text in this extract is reporting on how each of the aforementioned actors reproach one another. However, the journalist used an indirect report to narrate such an idea. Therefore, one can assume that such reporting is not free of journalist intervention, or choice, to reflect personal views or editorial selection.

The text, as such, recalls two negative stereotypes almost always associated with Islamists; the first one implicitly highlighting their exclusion of other political factions based on the former claim that those actors hold ideas and practices that are *'contrary to the correct religion'* (ibid). One can see that such representation recalls a frame of religious totalitarian in the readers' minds and associates this image with Muslim groups.

The second stereotype, though, has it made clear in the text by explicitly highlighting that intellectuals think that Islamists' opinion is *'strict and radical and completely different from moderate Islam'* (ibid). Although the text editor has used narrative techniques to report on the argument of each side; this technique per se, as mentioned earlier, allows for intervention from the text provider in the interpretation of the issue. This interpretation is highlighted in the label *'moderate Islam'*. The text, as such, recalls in the mind of the reader that although Muslim groups could be right that ministers or intellectuals do not apply the right Islam, Islamists' practices also do not match with Islam as a *'moderate'* religion practiced in Egypt.

At its best, one can see that such representation excludes Islamist actors from political work in Egypt, highlighting that they are always in conflict with other political actors (Pasha 2011). Meanwhile, they are exploiting religion for the sake of their political interests. One can assume such representations can, at least, depict mistrust of Islamists in the minds of the reader, suggesting that they work for the sake of their own interests, instead of working for the sake of society prosperity and development.

5.3.1.4.   Representations of Muslims abroad

This frame is also characterised by reporting on international affairs. Mainly, in this regard, through publishing texts which report on Muslim minorities and communities around the world. This characteristic highlights the salience of Islamic identity in the Egyptian corpus. This is present through the choices made in this corpus to report on the conditions of international Muslim communities. This feature also is characterised with dominant choices of words and over-lexicalisation that underlines the presence of the notion of Muslim Ummah, in the mind of the media reporter or editor in the Egyptian corpus.

This characteristic is better represented through this item, which was published in Al-Youm7 under this headline: *"Muslims of Myanmar "killing" and "torture" and "displacement" amid inattention of media and world" ("مسلمو ميانمار "قتل" و"تعذيب" و"تشريد" وسط غفلة إعلامية وعالمية", Al-Youm7*, 14 July 2012). At first glance, it has made an explicit reference in the headline to the article condemning Muslims condition of persecution or cleansing in Myanmar. This is evident from the over-lexicalised description of this condition as a state of 'killing', 'torture' and 'displacement' (ibid).

This statement became more evident when considering the group of words recurring in the leading paragraph of this article, which emphasized the humanitarian situation of Muslims in Myanmar, as follows: '[مسلمو ميانمار *muslimu Myanmar*] Muslims of Myanmar'; '[أجواء الديمقراطية *'ajwa' aldiymuqratia*] The atmosphere of democracy'; '[أوضاع المسلمين *'awdae almuslimin*] Conditions of Muslims'; '[اضطهاد وقتل وتشريد *aidtihad waqutil watashrid*] Persecution, murder and displacement'; '[تطهير عرقى *tathir eurqaa*] ethnic cleansing' and ' [الناشطة الديمقراطية *alnnashitat aldiymuqratia*] Democratic activist'.

This cluster of words made a metaphoric comparison between the state of torture of Muslims in Myanmar and its contradiction with the assumed of the democratic regime in the country. In this regard, the first cluster, which referred to *'the atmosphere of democracy',* assumed that ethnic minorities, in this instance Muslims, are expected to be secure under the umbrella of a presupposed democratic government. However, the other cluster showed that this is not the case, using over-lexicalisation again to place emphasis on the humanitarian situation of Muslims, representing them in a state of *'Persecution, murder and displacement'* (ibid).

What is surprising in this leading paragraph is that it addressed the condition of Muslim minorities based on presupposed expectations of democratic values and their expected role in solving this condition. This is surprising when considering the rest of the prominent words in this article; which placed a different emphasis on the nature of unity between Muslims; presenting them in the sense of a united nation or Muslim Ummah; demanding Muslims to intervene to solve this crisis. This is interesting, considering the smoothness of the transition made by the article from a frame of politics, where democratic ideology is salient, to a religious

theme, where the idea of Muslim Ummah is salient. Thus, the text dragged some words from the religious repertoire to highlight the unity between Muslims wherever they are in the world.

Therefore, what is interesting in this text is the interwoven between domestic or national and international discourses regarding the situation of Muslims in Myanmar. For example, the presence of international discourse is inferred from the presence of words, such as *'Amnesty International'*; *'Human Rights Watch'*; *'genocide'*; *'Ethnic minorities'*; *'United Nations'* and *'persecution'* (ibid). These words give an impression that this cluster of words draw on the discourse of International organisations, especially those working in the field of human rights.

However, the text has also used a different repertoire of words that is drawn mainly on the shared Muslim identity between the Muslims of Myanmar and the rest of the Muslim population around the globe. This is best reflected through the current grouping of words*: 'massacre'*; *'Muslim population'*; *'Muslims of Myanmar'*; *'Islamic religion'*; *'World Muslims'*; *'Spread of Islam'* and *'Muslim Arakan'* (ibid).

What is interesting in this cluster is the use of a referencing technique to profile the proximity of this crisis to every Muslim, by highlighting the sense of Muslim Ummah. This feature is characterised through the emphasis on the Islamic identity of Rohingya minority, by using descriptions such as *'Muslim population'* and *'Muslim Arakan'*; while addressing the call to what is labelled, metaphorically, in the text as *'World Muslims'* (ibid). The use of these labels gives the impression that Muslims are united, especially in helping or looking after issues of their fellow Muslims.

Moreover, this emphasis on Islamic identity in the text is also inferred when the analysis considered the use of this over-lexicalisation when describing Rohingya as *'the Muslim Rohingya ethnicity'*. Although, another reference to this group has referred to them as *'Rohingya'* or *'Ethnic minorities'*, one could argue that the reporter used the previously mentioned description to emphasise their Islamic identity and to recall sympathy for them in the mind of readers from a Muslim background.

Surprisingly enough, the text also used assumptions to profile the Islamic identity of this group and to urge action from Muslims. This feature is underlined by using the following suppositions in the text:

"فى تلك الدولى التى تقع جنوب شرقى آسيا يواجه مسلمو ميانمار يوميا عمليات إبادة جماعية للدين الإسلامى من قبل الجماعات البوذية الحاكمة"

Translation: In that country, which is located in southeast Asia, Myanmar Muslims face daily genocide of Islamic religion by ruling Buddhist groups

This premise uses metaphor to present the crisis as a *'genocide of Islamic religion'*, not simply to Muslims. Meanwhile, the next paragraph uses another presumption to feature the threat of this crisis to Islam in that region. This can be highlighted as follows:

أعلنت الحكومة البورمية أنها ستمنح بطاقة المواطنة للعرقية الروهنجية المسلمة فى أراكان، فغضب البوذيون كثيرا بسبب هذا الإعلان لأنهم يدركون أنه سيؤثر فى حجم انتشار الإسلام فى المنطقة

Translation: The Burmese government announced that it will grant citizenship cards to the Muslim Rohingya ethnic minority in Arakan, thus, Buddhists have become angry because of this announcement as they realise that it will affect the size of the spread of Islam in the region.

What is interesting in this second assumption is that, on the one hand, it assumes that this attack by Buddhists on Muslims in Myanmar is based mainly on their willingness to prevent the spread of Islam in the region, which could be true considering the situation of Muslims as a minority in this region. Therefore, the text used this conjecture again to profile the threat faced by Muslims in Myanmar.

Thus, this statement considers or recalls a common sense between the reader and reporter that a threat to the spread of Islam is newsworthy in the mind of the Muslim reader.

What is also noticeable in these statements is the interwoven themes between political, cultural and religious representations. In other words, while the crisis of Rohingya is represented as a humanitarian crisis that is under the interest of international community, they also represent and recall a religious identity by choosing of words that reflect Islamic identity, such as: *'Islamic faith or religion'*; *'Muslim scholars'*; *'Umrah'*; *'martyred'*; *'Mosques'* and *'Prayer'* (ibid).

One can argue that the presence of each one of these words is justified based on the context of the reported event, as a military precaution to prevent Muslim demonstration after the prayer. Yet, the use of these words also suggests their echo in the culture or shared values between both media outlet and the text reader. This highlight, to some extent, the role of culture in representations of Islam in this corpus.

5.3.2. Discursive practices: News values and intertextuality for the frame of political and international affairs

This frame indicated a different typology of reporting of Islam and Muslims in the studied Egyptian media. In this respect, the coverage of

Islam and Muslim national and international affairs which was deemed newsworthy under this frame. Also, intertextuality and texturing of different discourses in the studied corpus was also apparent in the studied materials.

5.3.2.1.   News values

Thus, the studied Egyptian newspapers corpus were predominantly interested in representing Islam relating to local affairs, where Islam is placed at the core of such affairs. One can argue that this recurrent reporting on national affairs in the studied Egyptian media is due to the relevance of these cases. Meanwhile, it is also due to the transition stage the society passed through across this longitudinal sample for four years post the 2011 revolution.

Therefore, one can recognise that Islam represents a natural case to report on in Egypt, instead of being foreign issue to this society.

5.3.2.1.1.   Islam in politics and public affairs

Consequently, both studied Egyptian media were interested in reporting on Islam in different cases concerning political and public affairs (e.g. *" baed maqtal talab alhndst:alghdb yajtah alsuways"* [After the death of engineering student: Anger sweeps Suez], *Al-Ahram*, 05 July 2012; *"huiat misr fi dustur aljumhuriat alththania (2)"* [The Identity of Egypt in the Constitution of the Second Republic (2)], *Al-Ahrah*, 08 July 2012; *""hryt al'ibdae" tadeu liwaqfat aihtijajiat ghadaan 'athna' muhakama "Adel Imam""* ["Freedom of Creativity" calls for a sit-in tomorrow during the trial of "Adel Imam"], *Al-Youm7*, 03 July 2012; *"nasi haythiat alqada' al'iidaraa bialqahirat fa qadiat aldubbat almultahayn .. ..."* [Text of the Administrative Judiciary in Cairo in the case of bearded officers .. …], *Al-*

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Youm7, 05 July 2012; *"'iislamiuwn yadeun liltakatuf limuajaha "altharsh".. waqiadaa bialdaewat alsalafiat: yjb altaweiat bialmanazil walmdars.. ..."* [Islamists call for solidarity to confront the "harassment" .. And leaders of the Salafist call: Education must be homes and schools .. …], *Al-Youm7*, 10 June 2014; *"al'iinjiliat tadeam kharitat altariq"* [Evangelical support of the road map], *Al-Ahram*, 05 July 2013 and *"<<taqisim aleml>> aleunfa lil'iislam alsiyasaa"* ["Divides work" violently of political Islam], *Al-Ahram*, 14 June 2014]).

Perhaps this feature was salient in reporting on the case of changing Sharia article formula in the Egyptian constitution (e.g. *"siasiun min wuque fitna hal taghyir almadat alththaniat min aldustur"* [Politicians warn of sedition if the second article of the Constitution is changed], Al-Ahram 03/07/2012]). In addition to reporting on Islamism or Muslim groups views and presence in political arena (e.g. *"muthaqafuna: knna natamanaa 'an yaraa "almsiraa" thawrat yanayir alta 'ususu laha"* [Intellectuals: We would like if "al-Mseri" seen the January revolution that he found] and *""alasal": ln natanazal ean aistimrar alshryet al'iislamiat msdrana liltashrie"* ["Asala": We will not relinquish the continuation of Islamic law as the source of legislation], *Al-Youm7*, 02 July 2012).

Conceivably, this presence of Islam in political and public matters in Egypt is justified, based on the apparent religiosity of this society (Lipka 2016). Also, taking into consideration the existence of religious values in the Arab and Muslim world in conjunction with political matters (Hamada 2001). In addition, the salience of Islamic identity among journalists in Muslim majority contexts, such as Egypt (Pintak 2013). Thus, it is not surprising to find that reporting on politics and religion are salient in Islam's representations in English-media texts (Perreault 2014).

However, one should also justify this newsworthiness of Islam in politics in current research based on the uniqueness of this sample. Thus, regarding the rise and presence of Muslim groups in a political scene post 2011; especially the Brotherhood in Egypt (Salem 2015), it is understood that such salience incited media outlets in Egypt to follow up the involvement of these groups in political activities, as an interesting phenomenon.

Nevertheless, although, the presence of Muslim groups in politics in Egyptian society is not a new case to this society (Pasha 2011); undoubtedly holding the power post the Egyptian Revolution in 2011 was a new presence for these groups in Egypt.

5.3.2.1.2. Muslims in world affairs: Islamophobia; Muslim minorities and radicalisation

Furthermore, the interest in reporting on international affairs is not dismissed in the studied Egyptian media. In this regard, some media texts highlighted an interest in reflecting on Muslims' conditions abroad. For example, some articles reported on the issue of Islamophobia in some western countries (e.g. *"fwryn bwlysa: daeawat limuzaharat musalahat munahidat lilmuslimin fa alwilayat almutahada... ..."* [Foreign Policy: calls for demonstrations against armed Muslims in the United States .. …], *Al-Youm7*, 10 October 2015). Additionally, reporting on the condition of Muslim minorities also witnessed the studied media texts' interest in Egyptian corpus (e.g. *"munazamat 'iislamiat 'amrikiat tarfae shakwaa dida rayiys burma bituhmat 'iibadat alruwhinjia"* [American Muslim organizations file a complaint against the President of Burma for the genocide of Rohingya], *Al-Youm7*, 06 October 2015 and *"jarimat qatl jamaeaa limuslim bituhmat dhubih baqarat fa alhind tuhadid khutat rayiys*

alwuzara''' [Mass murder of a Muslim on charges of slaughtering a cow in India threatens the prime minister's plans], *Al-Youm7*, 06 October 2015).

This presence of reporting on issues concerning Muslims' conditions abroad, underlines different features. On the one hand, it reflects on the idea of Egyptian media outlets and journalists' interest in broadcasting such cases; as a reflection of their Islamic identity, as discussed earlier. However, on the other hand, reporting on international affairs in general pertains to media routines. In other words, it is a noticeable practice in the studied Egyptian media texts that reporting on international affairs comes through either news agencies such as A.F.P. (Agency France Press) or Reuters. In addition, the translation of some international media texts, such as Foreign Policy, in the aforementioned text, or editors of foreign affairs.

Therefore, it can also indicate that studied Egyptian media, as other professional journalism, are seeking circulation through reporting on different cases that are of concern to different readers.

Consequently, reporting on terrorism or radicalisation also witnessed some interest under this frame, when considering that reporting on violence and conflict is newsworthy to different media outlets (Galtung and Ruge 1965). In addition, with the presence of extremist actors that are acting in the name of Islam, with respect to Egypt as a Muslim-majority country, some of the studied Egyptian media texts showed interest in reporting on violence and terrorism. While other items took a step forward to deny the relation of such practices to Islam.

In this respect, the following reports indicate to the studied Egyptian journalism websites' interest in reporting on radicalisation (e.g. *"dumue tmbuktu .. wahimjiat altataruf"* [Tambuktu tears .. and the barbarism of

extremism], *Al-Ahram*, 07 July 2012; *"qabl 3 'asabie min al'uwlimbyad: aietiqal 7 'iislamiiyn mushtabah fihim bibritania"* [Three weeks before the Olympics: 7 suspected Islamists arrested in Britain], *Al-Ahram*, 08 July 2012; *"safqat tabadul al'asraa takshif .. qatar .. humazat alwasl bayn washintun waealam altushadud al'islama"* [The prisoner exchange deal reveals .. Qatar .. the link between Washington and the world of Islamic extremism], *Al-Ahram*, 07 June 2014; *"aikhtifa' rijal aldiyn bimadinat jus alnayjiriat khwfaan min hajamat bwkw haram"* [The disappearance of clerics in the Nigerian city of Jos, fearing attacks of Boko Haram], *Al-Youm7*, 08 July 2012; *"tazahurat munahidat lil'iislamiiyn fa madinat jwndam bishamal malaa"* [Anti-Islamists demonstration in Gondam city, northern Mali], *Al-Youm7,* 14 July 2012 and *"bwku hram" binayjiria tadeu harakat alshabab fa alsuwmal litakid alwala' lidaeish"* ["Boko Haram" in Nigeria calls on the youth movement in Somalia to confirm loyalty to Da'ash], *Al-Youm7,* 14 October 2015).

Some of these items witnessed an avoidance of repetition of negative descriptions with Islam while reporting on such issues (e.g. *"dumue tmbuktu .. wahimjiat altataruf"* [Tambuktu tears .. and the barbarism of extremism], *Al-Ahram*, 07 July 2012). Thus, using such a generalised depiction *' the barbarism of extremism'*, is helpful in avoiding the association between Islam and terrorism. Although, such responsible reporting, the text also witnessed some references to those actors as *'Islamists'* (ibid). A reference that is still problematic in this context.

Moreover, in another item provided by news agencies "Three weeks before the Olympics: 7 suspected Islamists arrested in Britain" (*Al-Ahram,* 8 July 2012) the text referred to those suspected as *"linked to Islamic extremism"*. Thus, one can see that some of the studied Egyptian items still

repeat some of the negative stereotypes of Islam broadcasted by news providers.

It is significant to note, though, in this context that the receiver in this context is a Muslim reader who holds some knowledge about Islam or may be well-informed about this religion. Consequently, he or she is not taking their views about this religion from media texts. Therefore, it is not likely that such texts will demonise Islam in Egyptian society; instead, such texts might either condemn such practices or at least demonise its actors, Muslim groups or political practices of Islam in general.

Nevertheless, one can see the hegemony of western news agencies in disseminating knowledge to non-westerners. In addition to the studied Egyptian journalism, there is an occasional dependence on news agencies and foreign media to cover some international matters.

Yet, in Al-Youm7 website, for instance, some items (e.g. *"al'ifta': daeish shawahat surat aldiyn wasafakat aldima' bimanhajiha altakfiraa almutatarif"* [Iftaa: Daesh distorted the image of religion and bloodshed through its extreme takfiri approach], *Al-Youm7*, 13 June 2014 and *"mirsad al'ifta': harakat al'iirhab 'ihda 'adwat alaistiemar fa suarih aljadida"* [Ifta Watch: Terrorist movements are one of the tools of colonialism in its new form], *Al-Youm7*, 06 October 2015), provided different angles when reporting on this issue, i.e. terrorism.

Accordingly, these texts reported the official Islamic institution in Egypt; the Egyptian House of Ifta', denial to the linkage between Daesh (*Al-Youm7*, 13 June 2014) or the co-called [Islamic State] and Islam. Surprisingly enough, this text used different labels to describe the threat of terrorism of this group, depicting it as *"its extreme takfiri approach"* (ibid).

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The same description can also be underlined in the second item, which used the following labels *'jamaeat aleunf waltakfir'* [Groups of violence and takfir] and *'altanzimat altkfyry'* [Takfir organizations], as a reference to the threat of extremist groups; such as Isis, to *'almintaqat alearabiat wal'iislamia'* [Arab and Islamic region] (*Al-Youm7*, 06 October 2015).

Thus, considering the religious Islamic affiliation to the Egyptian House of Ifta', one can assume that this label *'takfiri'* is an authenticated reference; that is accepted in accordance with Islamic theology to refer to extremist or terrorist groups.

Those items indicate that reporting on terrorism and violence in international affairs is deemed newsworthy in the studied Egyptian newspapers websites. Though they also indicate interdiscursivity between national and international discourses on Muslims in the studied texts.

5.3.2.2. Intertextuality

Analysis of the studied Egyptian media texts indicated an insertion of different ideologies concerning representations of Islam in politics and public affairs, such as Islamism; secularism and leftism. This is apparent, for example, in the presented opinion articles published in the studied journalism websites' texts (e.g. *'bayt alnaar(1) '* [Fire House], *Al-Ahram,* 02 July 2012; *"huiat misr fi dustur aljumhuriat alththania (2)"* [The Identity of Egypt in the Constitution of the Second Republic (2)], *Al-Ahrah*, 08 July 2012 and *"almarjieiat al'iislamia"* [Islamic reference] *Al-Youm7.* 07 July 2012).

Thus, one could infer the presence of such contested ideologies in Egyptian society. Although this was salient, especially, post the election of the Brotherhood, this contestation is still valid across the sample. For

instance, the row that erupted between the minister of culture and some representatives to Muslim groups in 2015, as depicted on Al-Youm7, post the former press release that *"Egypt is a secular state by nature, and that the political stream of Islam has brought ruin to Egypt"* (*Al-Youm7,* 03 October 2015). It is interesting that Al-Youm7 represented this case as *'Salafists attack on the Minister of Culture'* (ibid).

However, this text has given plenty of space to report on direct and indirect quotations from Al-Nour party figures to support their argument against the minister. Nevertheless, one can see that some experts' and Muslim sources' quotations would have provided a more balanced and informed coverage to this issue.

In this regard, the text directly reported the response of "Dr Yasser Borhami, Deputy Chairman of the Salafist Dawa Council" to the minister of culture claim that *'Egypt is secular by nature'* (ibid). Accordingly, the text reported his refusal to such claim, by highlighting that it is "Contrary to the book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah and the Egyptian Constitution*"* (*Al-Youm7*, 03 October 2015). Moreover, the text also reported, indirectly, the response of "Dr Younes Mkhion, head of the Nour Party" about the same issue, by addressing some questions to the minister, such as: *"Is it acceptable for a minister who swore to respect the constitution to declare what contradicts the constitution?"* (ibid).

At first glance, the text has given space for Muslim activists to represent their views; however, the headline deemed this response as an *'attack on the Minister of Culture'* (ibid).

Therefore, one can argue that Al-Youm7 only gave this space for Muslim activists to use it for the sake of its ideological stance. This is

apparent from the text's silence about any other quotations from a Muslim source, for example, to discuss whether the minister's press release is against Islamic traditions or not. Or a quotation from a constitutional expert, for example, on whether the minister is against the Egyptian constitution or not. In other words, it sounds that the text reported the issues as a chorus of activists of Muslim groups who are attacking the minister.

Thus, one can assume that Al-Youm7 has given this space to Muslim factions only to help them isolate themselves from the political arena, by showing that they are in continuous conflict with government persona.

However, Islam is not just existing as an issue in national matters. This corpus also witnessed interdiscursivity between national and international affairs; in addition to the insertion from international news giants' discourse about Islam. This was apparent, for example, in the following items (e.g.*"qabl 3 'asabie min al'uwlimbyad: aietiqal 7 'iislamiiyn mushtabah fihim bibritania"* [Three weeks before the Olympics: 7 suspected Islamists arrested in Britain], *Al-Ahram*, 08 July 2012; *"tazahurat munahidat lil'iislamiiyn fa madinat jwndam bishamal malaa"* [Anti-Islamists demonstration in Gondam city, northern Mali], *Al-Youm7*, 14 July 2012 and *"bwku hram" binayjiria tadeu harakat alshabab fa alsuwmal litakid alwala' lidaeish"* ["Boko Haram" in Nigeria calls on the youth movement in Somalia to confirm loyalty to Da'ash], *Al-Youm7*, 14 October 2015).

Although this interdiscursivity accounts for presence of some negative descriptions of Islam in the studied media texts in this corpus, it

also indicates that Islam is not only a national phenomenon to Egyptian media, but also an international one.

It may be that this argument can evidenced more clearly through the following extract:

أكد الدكتور إبراهيم نجم- مستشار مفتى الجمهورية- أن تنظيم داعش قد ضلل الكثير من الشباب بفكره المتطرف بعد أن غرر بهم تحت اسم الدين واسم "الدولة الإسلامية" التى يزعم داعش سعيه لتأسيسها، بينما هى فى الحقيقة محاولة لتشويه الدين وتدمير البلاد وسفك دم العباد.

> **Translation:** Dr. Ibrahim Najm, consultant to the Mufti of the Republic, said that Daesh's organization has misled many young people with its extremist ideology after being tricked by them under the name of religion and the name of the "Islamic state" which it claims is seeking to establish it; while in fact it is an attempt to distort religion, destroy the country and shed the blood of slaves. (*"al'ifta': daeish shawahat surat aldiyn wasafakat aldima' bimanhajiha altakfiraa almutatarif"* [Iftaa: Daesh distorted the image of religion and bloodshed through its extreme takfiri approach], *Al-Youm7*, 13 June 2014).

At first glance, what is interesting in this indirect quotation is the text reporting on an Islamic adviser or official Muslim figure who comments on the threat of extremist ideology of Isis. In this regard, although an international affair, the text highlighted the relevance of this issue to Egypt; as a Muslim-majority society, concerning this group misleading the Muslim youth in the name of religion. In addition to its distortion to religion, based on its fake claim that the killing of innocents is the path to establish an 'Islamic State'.

Thus, one can see that the insertion of a Muslim expert's view to international issues, especially those matters that concern religion, is a salient practice in the studied Egyptian corpus. This is justified, concerning the presence of Islamic practices in the society cultural and political affairs.

5.3.3. Context: Political and socio-cultural practices for the frame of political and international affairs

This analysis showed that Islam and Muslim representations are salient in the studied Egyptian media. Thus, the reported cases under this frame underline that Islam is represented as more than a religion and deemed newsworthy in cultural and political affairs. It is fair to say that in different ways such depictions indicated the pervasiveness of Islam as a core component to Egyptian identity. Something that might influence journalists' choices and media editorial policies while reporting on Islam.

However, one could also state that such multifaceted representations of Islam, whether nationally or internationally, indicate that Islam is represented as a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous phenomenon in Egypt. This might be salient in the contested ideologies while reporting on Islam. In addition, representations of Islam, in terms of politics, could indicate that it is influenced by the relation between media and the Egyptian regime or Egyptian national and international policies.

In other words, representations of Islam in terms of politics and cultural affairs in Egypt help to satisfy the secular state of the country's regime. Therefore, it helps, for example in some cases, in the exclusion of Muslim actors from the political arena. Meanwhile, it gives some space to those actors to represent themselves through the intertextuality of their comments on different issues with media texts. However, one can see such interdiscursivity is also used for political interests.

Regarding the studied Egyptian media representations of Islam in international affairs, it is justified that Egypt is a Muslim country, where Islam represents the religion of its majority. Therefore, media

representations of the condition of Muslims around the globe can not only help in showing the media care about Muslims in general but can also depict an image of Egypt as a leading Muslim country in the international arena.

In other words, it can show that Egypt shares the same concern with other Muslim countries about the image of Islam in western countries. Meanwhile, it shares the same interest about the condition of *'Muslim Ummah'* as highlighted in different ways in the Egyptian media.

Thus, one can see that this interest is based on the Egyptian Islamic identity, which assumes that Egypt is a leading country concerning international Islamic issues. However, reporting on such issues per se depicts a frame to the country amongst its population as a strong nation that defends Islam and Muslims worldwide. Consequently, this can be used politically to build societal unity and support to political regime by building a strong Islamic identity amongst Muslims in Egypt.

5.4. Inter-comparison remarks: Differences between *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Youm7* representations of Islam

It is worthwhile before concluding this chapter to refer to differences between the studied Egyptian media in their representations of Islam and Muslims. It is important to note though, that both newspaper websites disseminated to some extent similar image of Islam and Muslims. This can be due to the cultural context they are both working in or because of the less fluid media environment that both media are working within; which does not afford many differences in media reporting. In this regard, it should be noted that *Al-Ahram* is a state-run newspaper (Hamdy and Gomaa 2012) and *Al-Youm7,* although, owned privately, they are both state

controlled newspapers; this control can take the form of relationships with political regime or direct financial restrictions, which all limit their journalism liberation (e.g. Cottle 2011 and Shoemaker and Reese 2014). But, this could also be due to the sensitivity of the issue reported.

However, one of the noticeable differences between both media representations of Islam is the magnitude of reporting. With regards to this, *Al-Youm7* reported more about Islam and Muslim events in comparison to *Al-Ahram*. This reporting reached its peak at 2013, post the ousting of Morsi then decreased systematically throughout the subsequent years. Conversely, *Al-Ahram* coverage of the same phenomenon reached its peak at 2012, with a remarkable decrease henceforth. This indicates that, although, both newspaper websites treat Islam as newsworthy, it has more newsworthiness on *Al-Youm7* website.

Considering the longitudinal sample and the breath of events studied it is also noticeable that *Al-Ahram* website often reported Islam as an internal or local phenomenon, more than its focus on representations of international stories. In *Al-Ahram* few references were made to international affairs, such as ongoing events in Arab Spring countries, extremism or counter-extremism policies and international community comments on internal events. However, Al-*Ahram* interest in covering international issues was more noticeable in 2012, it decreased afterwards, and the website became more focused on covering national and religious affairs in 2015. Several factors can interpret this orientation of *Al-Ahram* website. First, Al-*Ahram* is a state-run corporation, thus, its editorial policy values events of interest to political regime. Consequently, it is arguable that *Al-Ahram* overlooked gradually reporting about international and political affairs and focused instead on national and religious affairs, post

the presidential election of Sisi in 2014. One possible explanation is that the ideological function of the newspaper is maintaining a society that favours stability in comparison to conflict or political change.

On the contrary, *Al-Youm7* treated Islam both as an internal and external phenomenon. This is evident in the newspaper reporting on several national and international events. It is also noticeable that it relied on translated reports from international media and often wire reports provided by international news agencies. Surprisingly enough, *Al-Youm7* provided balanced reporting on national and international events but skewed towards international affairs, in comparison to *Al-Ahram.* Again, editorial policy and news values can provide an interpretation to this difference between both newspaper websites. In this regard, *Al-Youm7* is a private owned corporation and this could indicate that the newspaper uses extensive reporting as an attraction to stimulate the interest of its readers. Although, both outlets revealed noticeable differences regarding representations of Islam and Muslims, both newspaper websites showed an interest in reporting official views about Islam. This can either through overlooking covering political practices of this religion, which is more obvious in *Al-Ahram* website or through criticising these practices, which is more evident in *Al-Youm7* website. Thus, one can argue that, although both outlets represent a different ownership type within Egyptian media landscape, they are both recreate official discourse and serve political interests in different ways.

5.5. Why Islam and Muslim representations are distinguished in Muslim-majority in comparison to Muslim-minority contexts?

The Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) hierarchy of influences model can provide an explanatory tool for the differences in Islam and Muslim

representations in the studied Egyptian newspaper websites in comparison to the studied British newspaper websites discourse about them. Reese (2001) indicates that journalists and their organisations work within their cultural context. As Islam is the majority religion in Egypt (Hackett et al. 2015) and that Islamic values are salient in cultural and political practices in this society (Lipka 2016 and Lugo et al. 2013), it is possible to assume that reporting stories about Islam in huge volume is driven by the fact that Islam is the majority religion in Egypt.

With regards to this, Pintak (2013) study revealed that, "Islamic values" in Muslim-majority contexts "are the prism through which journalists view what are generally accepted "as fundamental values for journalistic professionalism (Pintak 2013, p. 499). Specifically, Perreault (2014) reported how Egyptian journalists view Islam "so intertwined with culture and politics"; and that, "because Islam is everywhere … anything related to politics and culture will in some way tie into Islam" (Perreault 2014, p. 105).

Thus, the social context in Egypt, which journalists are working within, provides a fundamental explanation to the pervasiveness of reporting Islam in the context of politics and culture in the studied Egyptian media. In this regard, Islam appears naturally in Egyptian society, thus, the magnitude of reporting on this religion reflects the professional practices of journalism. In other words, Islam, as a religion, is newsworthy in a Muslim-majority context. Meanwhile, references to Islam in news stories can appear naturally through media sources self-reporting on their faith. As Perreault (2014) reported one journalist saying:

> "If the source is outspoken about his faith, it would be inaccurate to not include it as part of the story" (Perreault 2014, p. 106).

Another explanatory factor is news sources. In accordance with Shoemaker and Reese (2014) second level of analysis, media are connected to several social institutions in society, that can influence media content. News sources can represent "systematic, patterned, and ongoing ways media are connected with their host society" (Reese 2001, p. 182). They can "exert great influence on the news agenda" (ibid). Therefore, journalists' noticeable quotations from Islamic scripture or text emphasis on sources expertise in religious matters can provide another explanation for reporting Islam in a distinguished manner in the studied Egyptian media.

On the contrary, Muslims represent a minority in the British society (Hackett 2016). Although a minority, Muslims are accepted in the UK in comparison to other European nations (Lipka 2016). Thus, the multicultural climate that media are working within in the UK gives rise to integrated and multicultural representations of British Muslims. The imperial heritage in Britain (Kumar 2012) and the media tendency to apply Orientalist and Islamophobic approaches when reporting Islam (Said 1979 and The Runneymede Trust 1997), can explain the negative representations of Islam in the studied British media. Yet, the highly marketized British media environment which values negative stories in comparison over positive ones, for the sake of media circulation (Richards and Brown 2017). In addition to media dependence on official institutions, such as government or security institutions as news sources may explain why news media favour reporting international events over national ones. In addition to, the overall negative representations of Islam and Muslims in studied British media.

In conclusion, the differences which appear in the studied Egyptian media representations of Islam and Muslims, in comparison to their

counterparts' British media, can be seen in view of differences in cultural and ideological values resonant in each society. Moreover, these distinguished representations can be judged in view of differences in journalistic practices in Muslim-majority and Muslim-minority contexts.

6. Conclusion and further discussion

This thesis set out to compare Islam and Muslim representations in the British newspapers' websites, with their counterparts in the Arabic-Egyptian newspapers' websites. The main reason behind this comparison was to investigate these representations in two different contexts. A context where Islam represents a minority religion, i.e. in the UK compared to a context where Islam represents a majority religion, in Egypt. This research used Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) to undergo this analysis to extract Islam and Muslim frames in both media studied corpora. The time frame for this dissertation was set out post the Egyptian revolution in 2011. In this concern, a longitudinal study was conducted across four years post this revolution, namely from 2012 to 2015.

6.1. Islam and Muslim representations in Muslim-minority and Muslim-majority contexts

This research's findings indicate that Islam is represented differently in the studied British newspapers' websites in comparison with their counterparts in the Egyptian corpus.

In this regard, the study indicates that Islam and Muslims were represented primarily in the British media in contexts that show them as a threat or a problem to the British society. For example, representing Islam in the context of terrorism and extremism was noticeable in reporting Islam abroad or within reporting on international affairs.

Moreover, British Muslims were represented in the British media, frequently, under the frame of othering. This is understood from the depiction of them as a threat to state education, in the case of Trojan Horse, for example; or as a problem that needs tackling, concerning counter-

extremism approaches. Yet, this research's findings also indicate that although British media disseminate unified and homogeneous images for Islam and Muslims internationally, this is not the case for domestic Muslims.

Consequently, British media newspapers have shown some positive depictions of British Muslims. These images highlight a dominant frame of multiculturalism and integration. This frame indicates the multicultural state of the British society. Thus, Muslims represented as part of the British society, and as British as other Britons. This was noticeable in the case of Nadiya Hussain, who won the GBBO in 2015. In this regard, Nadiya was represented as a model for British Muslims, highlighting her abidance by Britishness or British values.

The study argues that Islam is mostly represented in the British media as a manipulative ideology that represents an international and domestic threat that can infiltrate the British society, especially British Muslims. Nevertheless, this research also argues that Muslims, not Islam are accepted in the UK. In other words, there is a state of separation between Islam as a religion practiced by British Muslims. Islam as a religion practiced abroad and as such represents a foreign phenomenon and not British per se (Poole 2002).

On the contrary, in the studied Egyptian media, Islam is represented in many cases as a religion. Considering the shared culture and history between Egyptians, Islam is represented mainly as a religion for the majority in this society. Thus, different references are made in the Egyptian newspapers websites to Islamic values as a morality umbrella for the whole society. Moreover, extensive quotations from Islamic scriptures and

Muslim sources were also salient in representations of Islam in the studied Egyptian media sample.

However, this thesis' findings indicate that Islam's representations are pervasive in Egyptian media and cannot confined to religious practices (Perreault 2014). Subsequently, Islam was presented, largely, in terms of political and national affairs in the studied Egyptian media sample. Therefore, although Islam is continuously represented in a favourable manner in Egyptian media texts, its political representations concerning political practices of Muslim movements in that media indicates some negative connotations associated with them (Pasha 2011; Perreault 2014). To say the least, some texts depicted them as being strict or radical. Yet, those groups have also given a space to represent themselves in the studied Egyptian media. This can highlight either their prominence in society, or as newsworthy to media outlets.

In this regard, representations of Islam under the frame of politics and cultural affairs highlighted noticeable discussion to Egyptian identity. Although Islam is represented as a core component to this identity, discussions over this identity per se indicates an unstable conception to it in Egypt or at least multiple aspects for this identity (for broad discussions: Adlan-Ayad 2001; Bassiouney 2012; Pintak 2014).

Thus, this research indicates that framing Islam and Muslims in the studied Egyptian media have some links to cultural values echoed in society. Moreover, it also has some implications to how national identity is represented in media outlets (Bassiouney 2012). Besides, Islam and Muslim representations in the studied British media also have some

implications regarding Muslim presence in the UK, in addition to foreign and domestic policies (Shane 2007; Modood 2005).

In other words, this research argues that Islam and Muslim representations in both media contexts have some relationships to national identity in both societies. In addition, these representations also have some political implications, such as legitimize government domestic and foreign policies in the UK, i.e. promoting British government counter-extremism polices or provide a legitimate cover for the UK intervention in international affairs. Moreover, Islam's representations in the studied Egyptian media texts perpetuates the status quo of a secular regime in Egypt.

Likewise, negative representations of Islam in the studied British media could fit with the typology of news values, such as media tendency to report on negativities and elites (Shoemaker and Reese 1996), they are also reproducing Orientalist and Islamophobia discourses towards Muslims (Runneymede Trust 1997; Said 1981). This is not the case when reporting Islam in the studied Egyptian media. Thus, different typology of news values is indicated in Egyptian texts. In this regard, extensive reporting on Islamic scriptures, Muslim sources or Islamic rituals highlights that Islam per se or its religious values are considered newsworthy in the studied Egyptian media. Also, in some cases where Egyptian national identity was discussed, Islam was provided as a core component to this identity. This is contradicting Islam's representations in the studied British media where Islam is often represented as a problem or a threat to society.

Finally, this research highlights that Islam's favourable representations in Egypt is understandable based on the shared Islamic and

Arab history of the society. However, these representations could also serve legitimising the political status quo in Egypt. To understand differences in Islam and Muslim representations in both media outlets, the following section will provide some comparison remarks between both media contexts.

6.1.1. Islam and Muslim representations in the British and Egyptian newspaper websites: comparison remarks

The following sections will highlight further discussions of apparent differences in reporting and representing Islam and Muslims in both studied media contexts.

6.1.1.1. Geographical scope

At first glance, one of the main differences in the British and the Egyptian newspaper websites concerning Islam and Muslim representations is the geographical focus of both studied media outlets. In this regard, Islam is mostly represented as a foreign phenomenon and less as a national one in the British media. On the contrary, the studied Egyptian media showed more interest in reporting on local political and public affairs in Egypt where Islam is at the core of them.

Nevertheless, the studied Egyptian media also witnessed noticeable interest in reporting on Islam and Muslims regarding international affairs. However, the studied Egyptian media not only included fewer texts which covered Islam abroad in comparison to the coverage of domestic affairs, but also it is prominent that many of these items are provided by international news agencies, or through the translation of reports and articles published in international media outlets.

6.1.1.2. Insertion for background sources

Another significant feature in the studied British media, concerning the recurrent reporting on Islam in relation to international affairs is that representations of Islam were often associated with terrorism and extremism. Thus, the inclusion of political sources, whether from leading world powers such as the US government sources or UK politicians, were salient in this coverage. Additionally, the insertion of illegitimate sources, such as extremist groups, stating their views about Islam in the studied British media texts, was also noticeable in the studied British media. This indicates, either the newsworthiness of those sources in the British media texts or the value of presenting their views about Islam in media texts.

On the contrary, the Egyptian media texts focus on domestic affairs, which explains a prevalent coverage of political and public affairs in Egypt. Therefore, reporting on Muslim movement practices for Islam, for example, witnessed noticeable coverage in this corpus. Moreover, focusing on domestic Islamic practices in Egypt justified, to some extent, representations of Islam as a religion. In addition, it also explains the noticeable insertion of Muslim sources or the extensive use of quotations from Islamic scriptures in the studied Egyptian media texts. Finally, this interest in the studied Egyptian media texts in the reports on domestic affairs, explains the obvious discussion over the Egyptian identity and national interpretation of Islam in Egypt. This was salient, for example, in the media reporting on the societal discussion over the new Egyptian constitution and the article of Sharia. In addition to the discussion over Egyptian Islamic identity and the relation between Muslims and Copts in society.

6.1.1.3. Labelling and assumptions

Another feature of comparison in this research is lexical choices, including over-lexicalisations, labels and assumptions. In this regard, the analysis of lexical choices recurring in the British media, under the frame of otherness and threat, underlines the repetitive use of words that replicate, in generalised manner, stereotypes that demonise Islam.

For instance, the recurrent use of negative descriptions with Islam or Muslims were noticeable in both studied British newspapers' websites; especially concerning covering Islam abroad. Thus, labels such as: *Islamic extremism; hardline interpretations of Islam; Islamist infiltration; Islamic extremists; Islamic State; Islamist fighters; hardline Islamists*; *Islamist militants; militant Islamists*, *Muslim extremists*; *Muslim fundamentalists; a hardline band of Muslim governors; Islamist plot*; *Islamic agenda; Islamist extremism; Islamic fundamentalism* or *Islamist ideology*, all indicate negative connotations that recalls stereotypes of manipulative, violent and extremist religion.

Although such labels were noticeable in both studied quality newspapers websites, The Guardian website tended to use other repertoires of words, especially when covering British Muslims, such as *Muslim pupils; religious leaders; Muslim parents; Muslim families; Islamic faith school; Muslim community* and *faith leaders*. Using such descriptions highlights a counter frame of representing British Muslims, which was most prominent in The Guardian's discourse.

In other words, using such labels indicates to two different discourses being interwoven in The Guardian website when reporting on British Muslims. Therefore, while The Guardian depicted Muslims under

the frame of otherness, it also used salient labels that emphasised society cohesion and a refusal of Islamophobic practices. Moreover, The Guardian website also had a tendency to use neutral references while reporting sensitive issues, such as extremism within the British society. Thus, using references such as *to combat extremism*; *a small number of radicals* or *infiltrate schools*, all indicating an editorial concern to avoid the repetitive use of negative descriptions with Islam or Muslims that stigmatise the whole Muslim community in the UK. One can argue that such a type of coverage is justified based on The Guardian's liberal leaning that is supportive of minorities and anti-racist policy.

On the contrary, in the studied Egyptian newspapers' websites concerning the frame of religion, this frame witnessed noticeable use of words that are drawn from Islamic theology. Meanwhile, this frame used, extensively, different over-lexicalisations and assumptions that highlighted representations of Islam as a religion in the studied Egyptian media.

For instance, the following labels and suppositions were visible in this sample: *din alrahmat walrifq* [faith of mercy and kindness]; *alshryet al'iislamiat buniat ealaa alyusr* [Islamic law or Sharia is built on simplifying]; *alturath alfuqhiu al'iislamiu* [heritage of Islamic jurisprudence or 'fiqh']; *al'umat al'islamia* [Islamic Nation or Ummah]; *alduwal al'islamia* [Islamic States]; *wasatiat wataysir alsharae* [moderation and facilitation of Sharia]; *manahaj al'islam* [the approach of Islam]; *al'islam din wadunia, eaqidat washriet wa'akhlaq wasaluk wamueamalatan* [Islam is a religion and life, doctrine, Sharia, ethics, behaviour and treatment]; *qaeidat 'usulia* [Fundamentalist rule] and *al'usuliuwn* [Fundamentalists].

One can see that these descriptions represent Islam as a religion that has its own values and jurisprudence laws, or Sharia. This is interesting, considering that Sharia or Islamic law is always labelled with fundamentalist or strict interpretations in the studied British media texts. Also, it is mostly represented as a justification for extremist and terrorist actions, not as an umbrella for religious practices, as represented, comparatively, in the studied Egyptian media.

Surprisingly enough are the different interpretations of *'Islamic state'* in both of the studied media corpora, in addition to the word *'fundamentalist'* or *'fundamentalists'*. In this regard, although Islamic State is often used in the analysed British media as a reference to an extremist or a terrorist group (Isis) it is used in the Egyptian media differently. Sometimes to refer to countries with a Muslim majority, or even in historical context to refer to Islamic Caliphate: mainly, the state during the time of the Prophet of Islam. Furthermore, although the word *'fundamentalists'* permanently have negative connotations when associated with Muslims in the analysed British media texts which refer to extremists, it has a different use in the Egyptian media texts that refers to Muslim scholars, especially pioneering Islamic scholars.

Additionally, another type of lexical choice was also found concerning Islam and Muslim representations in both media outlets. Thus, Islam represented differently, whether in relation to multiculturalism and integration frames in the British quality journalism websites, or regarding the frame of cultural and political affairs in the studied Egyptian media.

Apparently, the following words were noticeable in representations of Muslims living in the UK: *Muslim tenants; Muslim communities* and

British Muslims. One can argue that such descriptions indicate different type of discursive representations of Muslims in Britain; representations that pertain to a frame of cohesion and integration.

In other words, this frame witnessed some positive representations of British Muslims. Thus, reporting on positive examples of British Muslims; such as Nadiya Hussain, the winner of GBBO in 2015; or Moeen Ali, a British cricketer was salient under this frame.

Therefore, for example, reporting on David Cameron's praise for Nadiya Hussain, using the following words: *praised; cool; pressure; overcome* and *fear* indicates a frame of humanising Muslims, instead of dehumanising them. However, using other descriptions under this frame such as: *Muslim communities* or *British Muslims*, also underlines that Muslims are still segregated in the British society, being represented as having their own culture and that their identity is defined by their religion (Modood 2005).

Nevertheless, such positive representations of British Muslims, which were much more noticeable in The Guardian website, are opening the door for optimistic views regarding having more balanced representations of British Muslims in the British quality journalism. Still, the volume of these representations is not comparable in size to their counterparts, concerned with representing Islam as a threat, especially in foreign affairs. Consequently, one can indicate that for a reader who acquires his/her knowledge about Islam mainly from news media outlets, such imbalanced and maybe biased representations will depict and perpetuate negative images for Islam and Muslims in the reader's mind (Said 1981).

Islam was not solely represented as a religion in the studied Egyptian media; but noticeably represented in relation to political and cultural affairs. This highlights that Islam is represented in a heterogeneous way in the analysed Egyptian media texts in comparison to its principal homogeneous representations in the analysed British media. Yet, it also stresses a different type of representation, especially for Muslim groups.

In this regard, representations of Islam in terms of politics and cultural affairs in the studied Egyptian media were featured with the use of a repertoire of words that are drawn mainly from the store of politics. This highlights the echo of contested ideologies in the Egyptian society. Meanwhile, this frame placed emphasis on the interwoven aspects between the culture and religion of Islam in Egypt, as a core component of national identity.

Thus, the following labels were salient in this corpora: *altayarat al islamia* [Islamist mainstreams]; *islam alnaft* [Petrol Islam or Islamised Petrol]; *tayarat al'islam* [Streams of Islam]; *alhuiat alearabiat wal islamia* [Arab and Islamic identity]; *the identity of Egypt*; *the Egyptian nation*; *the Islamic identity of Egypt*; *the principles and values of Islam; mabadi wamuqasid waqim al'islam* [Principles, purposes and values of Islam]; *qwa alaslam alsiyasii* [the forces of political Islam]; *political Islam*; *qwa alaslam alsiyasii* [the forces of political Islam]; *Islamists*; *moderate Islam* and *almarjieiat al'iislamia* [Islamic reference].

One can see that there is a visible debate for the components of Egyptian identity in this sample. This was understood from the analysed data, with regards to debating the position of Sharia in the Egyptian constitution, in addition to the salient discussion over the place of Muslim

groups in the political arena in Egypt. Moreover, the use of descriptions, such as *'Petrol Islam'*, which underlines an implicit reference to the Gulf countries; or *'moderate Islam'*, both indicate specific interpretations of Islam in the studied Egyptian media.

In other words, one can infer that although Islam is represented as a religion, concerning references made in the studied texts to its scriptures, when it comes to political and cultural representations of Islam these are open to ideological interpretations by news editors, journalists or media editorial policy in general.

Also, the use of labels such as *'Islamists'* or *'political Islam'* indicates that Muslim actors are segregated and represented as a separate sector in the analysed Egyptian media. This also indicates that representations of Islam, in terms of politics and cultural affairs in the studied Egyptian newspapers websites, highlighted the newsworthiness of reporting on Muslim groups' practices of Islam in these media texts. This could also be due to the sample timeframe which highlighted discourses about the Muslim Brotherhood and other Muslim groups in the Egyptian media, whether after their election or being ousted from the political scene in Egypt.

However, representations of Islam under the frame of politics and cultural affairs are not confined to local or domestic affairs in Egypt. Instead, reporting on international affairs is also salient in this regard. Thus, using words such as *muslimu Myanmar* [Muslims of Myanmar]; *'awdae almuslimin* [Conditions of Muslims]; *muslamoa alalam* [World Muslims]; and *munahidat lilmuslimin* [Anti-Muslim], indicates reporting on different issues relating to Muslims internationally.

Nevertheless, reporting on terrorism and extremism is also found in this sample. In this regard, descriptions such as *tanzim aldawlat al'iislamiat fa aleiraq walshshami (daesh) al'irhaba* [The terrorist Organization of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Sham (Daesh)]; *almuqatilin al'iislamiiyn* [Islamist militants]; *mutatarifin 'iislamiiyn* [Islamic extremists] and *altashadud al'islama* [Islamist fundamentalism] were also found.

Except for the last label, all other descriptions were mentioned in media texts reported either by international or external media sources. This indicates the influence of international media corporations, such as news agencies, on the representations of Islam in Muslim majority media. However, the magnitude of these negative representations is not comparable to their counterparts in the analysed British media. Meanwhile, it can be argued that the studied Egyptian media reporting on such issues highlights that political practices of Islam are under the scrutiny of the studied Egyptian media texts, whether nationally or internationally. Moreover, limited recurrence for such representations in the analysed Egyptian newspapers' websites also implies that they are not as newsworthy as they are in the analysed British newspapers' websites.

6.1.1.4. News values and intertextuality

Thus, one can signify, in terms of media routine, that newsworthiness and interdiscursivity provide explanations for the differences in the representations of Islam and Muslims in the studied British and Egyptian media outlets.

In this regard, the analysed British media witnessed extensive reporting on Islamic affairs outside the UK. Thus, reporting on Islam in the context of conflict, extremism and terrorism was the main focus of such

coverage. Meanwhile, the findings of this research indicate that specific sources are giving more space to report on Islam and Muslims in the studied British media, such as political and illegitimate or extremist sources. While sources from Muslim communities were less noticeable (Richardson 2006; Moore et al. 2008). This highlights the dominance of international discourse in relation to the representations of Islam in the studied British media.

On the contrary, Islamic rituals and religious affairs were deemed newsworthy as political and cultural affairs in the analysed Egyptian media. Meanwhile, extensive use of Muslim sources allowed for widespread quotations from Islamic scriptures, which were noticeable in the analysed Egyptian media texts. However, the insertion of international corporation discourse about Islam and Muslims allowed for some intervention of negative representations of Islam and Muslims as well. However, considering that the media are not the main source of knowledge about Islam in Egyptian society, as perhaps is the case for the majority in the British society, one can argue that such representations can affect the image of Muslim groups in society, instead of Islam per se, which is not the case in the studied British newspapers' websites.

Therefore, one can signify that, on the micro- and meso-levels or the level of media routine and media discursive practices, Islam is represented differently in both media contexts, with few similarities. However, on the macro-level, where shared values and history are considered, Islam and Muslim representations suggest continues othering/demonising of them, and perpetuation of an Orientalist frame in representations of Islam in the studied British newspapers' websites. Meanwhile, it indicates an unstable

identity in Britain. This is salient in the continued representations of British Muslims in terms of cultural and education affairs, for instance.

On the contrary, Islam is represented as a religion and a core component for Egyptian identity. This highlights resonance for the shared culture and history of society, though political representations also indicate an unstable political and cultural identity for Egyptian society. In other words, it replicates some negative stereotypes about Muslim groups (Pasha 2011; Perreault 2014). This refers to the presence of contested ideologies in Egyptian society, with general denial of political interpretations of Islam in Egypt.

6.2. Research implications; contribution to theory and future work

This research tends to agree with previous research conclusions regarding Islam and Muslim representations in Western media. Thus, the research findings assume that Islam and Muslims are represented in some ways that replicates Islamophobic and Orientalist views towards Islam in the British media.

6.2.1. Research implications

However, these findings also indicate that representations of British Muslims are not homogeneous. In other words, they are represented in multiple ways; especially, in The Guardian newspaper website. Yet, less recurrence of positive representations of British Muslims in the sample still raises some questions regarding Muslim acceptance in the UK. Meanwhile, the huge volume of coverage of Islam in the context of foreign affairs, especially in association with terrorism and violence and the use of negative labels and descriptions when representing Islam, will reproduce

and duplicate negative stereotypes regarding Islam and Muslims in the studied British media.

Consequently, this could increase anti-Muslim sentiment in Britain and affect society cohesion. Therefore, this research signifies that maybe increasing reporting on British Muslims in UK will enhance Islam and Muslim images as represented in the media. This also could be helpful in profiling British Muslim activities that highlight their shared experiences with other Britons, instead of representing Islam as a foreign phenomenon to the UK. Perhaps, it would be helpful to allow more coverage in the British media of multicultural activities that are organised by Muslim non-Profited Organisations in the UK as a solution to counter the predominant negative frame about themselves in the mainstream media, or that is disseminated by some politicians (Moosavi 2014; Kassimeris and Jackson 2012).

Meanwhile, quality journalism needs to question their news value typologies and editorial policy guidelines in reporting on Islam and Muslims; to value responsible, well-informed and peace journalism, as opposed to war and divisive reporting. This can happen by giving more space for Muslim sources and Muslim communities' voices to represent themselves and their religion, to counter the hegemony of political and illegitimate sources in this regard.

This research's findings also indicate that Egyptian media also need to scrutinise their representations of Islam especially in terms of politics. One can see some differences between semi-official and private newspapers' websites representations of Islam. For example, Islam's representations as a religion are sometimes more salient in the semi-official

newspapers websites, as opposed to its political representations in these media. However, it is arguable that negative representations for Muslim groups are shared between both media.

Thus, it is debatable that such coverage could prevent fluid discussion for Egyptian identity in the public sphere. It could also indicate some patterns of hegemony and exclude some factions from political work (Pasha 2011). However, what is noticeable in the studied sample is the intertextuality between international news corporations discourse about Islam and Muslims and the studied Egyptian media texts. This allowed for some infiltration of negative representations of Islam in the studied Egyptian media, something that might be shared between Egyptian and other Arab media (Tahat 2011). Also, Egyptian media discourses in some international affairs, such as the persecution of Muslim minorities or Islamophobia, need to be approached by international community not the local one. Something this media need to consider is how to meet such a need in a fast moving and globalised world (Cottle 2011; Hafez 2011; Hafez 2000). Thus, this research suggests that some revisions for the editorial policies in the studied Egyptian media regarding their reporting on foreign affairs is needed.

6.2.2. Theoretical implications and contribution to framing theory

Framing is an established theory in the study of media impact on audiences' perceptions of social reality; in addition to internal and external factors that influence framing media content (Scheufele 1999). This research findings contribute to the previous literature, concerning factors that have impact on media content production. Few theorists considered and emphasised the role of culture and ideology (e.g. Entman and Gorp

2007) and media sources or frame sponsorship (e.g. Carragee and Roefs 2004) in frame building (Sheafer and Gaby 2009). Recently, though, Shoemaker and Reese (2014) embedded media routines and the social system (considered culture and ideology as subsystems in this macro layer of analysis) in their conceptualized hierarchical model to examine media content.

With regards to this, the research findings support previous literature and emphasised the role of culture in representing Islam and Muslims differently. Simply put, Islam has different representations in Muslim-minority media, in comparison to their counterparts in Muslim-majority media. This is mainly salient in the British media representations of Muslims under the frame of multiculturalism and integration. This frame is endorsed by the resonant multicultural values in the British society. Meanwhile, ideological interests for the Guardian and the Times newspapers can account for Islam and Muslims representations' differences in each media outlet. On the contrary, representing Islam as a religion in the Egyptian media can be understood on the ground of the fact that Islamic values are resonant in the Egyptian society; and considered a common sense between the reader and media content producer. To sum up this point, these research findings support the assumption that media routine and media framing of events are influence by cultural and ideological values or common sense resonant on societal level.

In another respect, one of the prominent contributions of this research, is confirming the influence of media sources or frame sponsorship on frame building. With respect to this, the British media's heavy dependence on political actors to comment on national and international events shaped their representations of Islam and Muslims. Meanwhile,

giving some space to British Muslims to comment on issues of concern to them, also shaped some of their representations in the studied British newspapers. Also, Egyptian media reliance on quotations from Islamic scripture and Muslim sources shaped media representations of Islam. Thus, it is evident from the analysis that these media were in favour of promoting official interpretations to this religion. Thus, in summary, framing studies need to consider the role of background sources; especially, officials or political actors, in frame building.

Another important aspect emerging from current analysis is that news values are influential in media choices to which events to report. Consequently, these selections can influence the outcome image or representations of actors. Although, news values considered standardised concept in journalism profession, this research indicates that interpretations to these values can differ based on societal values and common sense. Egyptian media extensive interest in reporting on religious matters can be an example to this. This research encourages journalism and media studies to further highly consider the role of news values in shaping media discourse, especially, in comparative researches.

6.2.2.1. Conceptualized Cultural-Political Model of Framing Media Discourse

The following model summarise the current research input to framing theory and media discourse altogether.

On the macro level, this model specifies that cultural and ideological values resonant in each society will influence media representations of events and issues; religion and religious personae for instance. Meanwhile, national and international events have the capacity to change media

selections and frames. Further, it has even the ability to give the opportunity for media discourse to emphasis and/or question society's cultural and ideological values or national identity; and classify who are abiding by these values and who are not. For instance, in the times of societies' uprisings or events of mass destructions, like wars or terrorist attacks, media discourse can lead a campaign to discuss or reform the resonant values in society and its national identity, or even insert and enforce new values and identity to such society. Furthermore, the media will start to justify the new enforced values and classify those who are abiding by them and who are not.
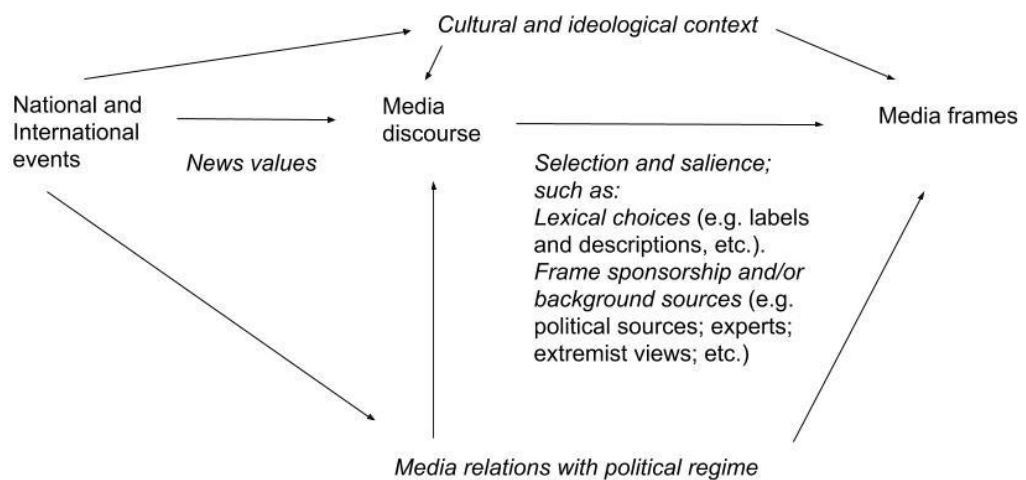

Figure 3: Cultural-Political Model to Framing Media Discourse

On the intermediate level of analysis, news values will have their influence on media selections from on-going events and issues to be included and represented in the media discourse. Meanwhile, media organisations' relations with political regime will impact media

representations and framing of events and issues. For instance, in liberal societies, media outlets will have more free space to reflect their own views to represented events. On the contrary, media working within less-free or authoritarian societies will reflect, to huge extent, the views of politicians or elites in that society. Yet, it is assumed that both media or any given type of media outlet, in the time of mass destructive events or societies' uprisings will follow and present the frames set by their governmental officials. This could be due to the media willingness to maintain societies' identity and solidarity at these times. In addition, it could be for the huge pressure imposed on media outlets by political regime at such uncertain times. Finally, at this level of analysis, it is important to analyse how national and international events can change or modify the relations between media institutions or overall media system in society and political regime.

On the micro level of analysis, it is important to consider media selections from available lexical choices and background sources as the actual determinants of a frame. In other words, media labelling of an actor, or media presentation of a quotation voiced by a source instead of another, all reflect media or individual deliberate selections.

This model encourages comparative studies to highlight to which extent differences in cultural values and political regimes will lead to distinguished media frames. Meanwhile, it includes news values as an absolute component to media discourse or representations of issues and events. Thus, comparative studies could confirm that news values, although a normative concept in media routines, have different interpretations in accordance with cultural and ideological values resonant in each society. Moreover, media frames can be determined by considering media

depictions or descriptive labels. Meanwhile, media reporting on chosen sources, or favour one source over another, indicates to hidden ideological values that could be role in such choices. Finally, it is important to note that national and international on-goings help maintain changes in media relations with political regime; cultural and ideological values and consequently in media setting of a frame or representations of an event or an issue. Thus, it is worthy studying how media discourse reflects national identity in the times of societal transitions or mass destructive events.

6.2.3. Future work

This research has explored Islam and Muslim representations in the mainstream media in two different contexts. However, there is a need to study these representations in social media. This can shed light on how Islam and Muslims are represented in these public spheres. Such a study could indicate that Islam and Muslims are represented differently in social media in comparison to their representations in mainstream media, for instance. Also, this can underline how Muslims use such platforms to spread different images of themselves. Similarly, it can explain how Muslims use social media platforms to counter some mainstream media politicised representations of Islam, in the Egyptian media for example.

Furthermore, reader reception theory could reveal some insights regarding how Britons interact with media discourse about Islam and Muslims in Britain. Especially, there is a need to study these responses in different genres, not media outlets, such as reader comments on responses to online surveys or questionnaires that highlight some insights regarding Muslims and current affairs in modern societies.

Also, this research timeframe does not include post-Brexit representations of Islam and Muslims. One can assume that, although this could indicate a further increase in negative representations for Islam and Muslims, there is also an opportunity for more multiculturalism and integrated representations of British Muslims. Considering that the whole society is in flux and needs optimal strategies to cure the pre-Brexit division, Muslims, one assumes, will be part and parcel for any strategies like this.

Correspondingly, studies need to investigate Muslim strategies, whether inside or outside the UK, to move forward to counter the frame of negative representations towards them in international media corporations. Meanwhile, one needs to understand how Muslims respond to cohesion strategies and to their image in the media and political discourse not only in Britain, but also in other western countries, especially post Brexit and the election of President Trump in the US. Studying Islam and Muslim representations in other Muslim majority media, broadcasting to their local audience, will also indicate whether Islam and Muslim representations in Muslim majority media share the same features, or abide by the culture and political regime of each country, considering that media do not work in vacuum.

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