



A Critical Discursive Analysis of British Media Representations of Islam and Muslims
in the Manchester Evening News

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April 2014

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ABSTRACT

Mahtani (2001) explains that it is the media that provides society with information regarding our environments, consequently shaping the 'attitudes' and 'beliefs' held by society. Allen (2012) informs that 91% of British media newspaper coverage presents Islam and Muslims in a negative light. As a result, the current research proposes to provide a new perspective in order to build upon the plethora of research in regards to the (mis)representation of Islam and Muslims. However, as previous research has focused on national press, this research will focus on local press. Four articles will be analysed from The Manchester Evening News, using the Loughborough School of Discourse Analysis; subject positions, interpretative repertoires and ideological dilemmas (Billig 1988; Potter & Wetherell 1987). The discussion is integrated with the analysis. The results suggest that local press represent Islam and Muslims in a positive light as opposed to the literature review.

KEY WORDS:	SUBJECT POSITIONS	INTERPRETATIVE REPERTOIRES	IDEOLOGICAL DILEMMAS	THE MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS	ISLAM AND MUSLIMS
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Introduction

Review of background literature: 'Islamophobia'

'Islamophobia' is referred to as "an irrational fear and hatred of Muslims as an identifiable group" (Head 2014). Although the term was first used by artist Etienne Dinet and ethnographer Sliman Ben Ibrahim's *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* (1925) it wasn't popularised until the 1980's and 90's by writers associated with the British Muslim magazine *Q-News* and became internationally prominent after the 1996 report *Islamophobia: A Challenge to Us All*, published by the Runnymede Trust's newly established Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (Head 2014).

The report identified eight patterns of behaviour that characterise Islamophobic attitudes:

1. "Islam is seen as a monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to change."
2. "It is seen as a separate 'other'. It does not have values in common with other cultures, is not affected by them and does not influence them."
3. "It is seen as inferior to the west. It is seen as barbaric, irrational, primitive, and sexist."
4. "It is seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supporting of terrorism, and engaged in a clash of civilisations."
5. "It is seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage."
6. "Criticisms made of 'the west' by Muslims are rejected out of hand."
7. "Hostility towards Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society."
8. "Anti- Muslim hostility is seen as natural and normal".

'Islamophobia' has been deliberately assigned a broad scope within this review to include prejudice against Islam as an entity and Muslims as individuals. Although Islam is a religion and not a cultural identity, these two concepts of Islam are inextricably intermingled (Johnson 2011). Two recurring themes concerning Islam, that have been identified as a result of a meta-analysis of articles in the aftermath of the 2005 London bombings are: a homogeneous, culturally essentialist view of the Muslim faith as potentially dangerous, and criticism of the prospect of a British society in which multiple cultures could coexist peacefully (Wood & Finlay 2008). The cultural and religious are often conflated in discussions of anti-Muslim prejudice and so it can be quite difficult to attempt to create an overt dissociation between the two. In addition, some scholars argue that Islamophobia is not a distinct form of religious prejudice but a form of cultural racism (Modood 1997, Purkiss 2003, Larsson 2005). However, there is no evidence at present of empirical studies that may have attempted to tease out religious verses ethnic hostility towards Islam (Johnson 2011).

Field (2007) concludes as a result of the examination of 104 public opinion polls conducted between 1988 and 2006 that there has been a steady increase in Islamophobia in Britain, escalating quite rapidly since 2001. In addition, he claims that it was the 1988 publication of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, with its perceived blasphemous treatment of the Prophet Muhammad and the ensuing fatwa calling for Rushdie's death in 1989, by Ayatollah Khomeini, that initially brought Islam as a religion into national focus through the high level of media coverage. The Rushdie affair radicalised young British-born Muslims and unified the British Muslim community in a way that no other previous issue had before. This movement forged links with proponents of radical Islam overseas, creating a backlash against Muslims in particular sections of the British media (Abbas 2008).

Subsequent events, such as the Gulf War, 9/11, the Iraq war, 7/7 and the aftermath of these happenings, the debates in 2006 over the cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad and the debates in regards to the veil, have led some Britons to question the loyalty of British Muslims and to highlight the seeming allegiance of a minority of them to an anti-Western, Islamic fundamentalist movement (Abbas 2008). Islamophobia, both as a phenomena and a descriptor has come into focus as a serious force, therefore compelling the Runnymede Trust to establish the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia in 1996, as mentioned above (Head 2014). In addition, Vertovec (2002) also demonstrates the parallel and paradoxical inclination towards an increasing recognition and acceptance of Muslims in the public domain on the one hand and the development of Islamophobic attitudes and behaviours on the other.

While the majority of Britons do not regard Muslims as terrorists or terrorist sympathisers, evidence suggests that Islamophobia has moved from small fringe far-right groups to being more widespread across broad sections of the population (Ansari 2013). In 2011, 75% of Britons perceived Islam as the most violent religion and 43% viewed Muslims as fanatical. In addition, large sections of Britain believe that Muslims retain dual loyalties, with the number of those who see Islam as a threat to Western liberal democracy, rising sharply. Furthermore, a survey conducted immediately subsequent to the Woolwich murder, revealed 59% of respondents considered a "clash of civilisations" was inevitable; only a third believing that Islam is compatible with the "British way of life" (Zahran 2014).

Furthermore, Abbas (2008) claims that the civil liberties of British Muslims have been eroded; that Muslims are generally excluded from society, disadvantaged and alienated and are vilified. He believes that British Muslims are thrust into the limelight in negative terms as a result of the media's misrepresentations. Abbas (2008) also asserts that it is the media that encourages Islamophobic discourse through their incessant interest and focus on "militant jihad" activity in Britain, potentially perpetuating the problem.

Islamophobia and the Media

Allen (2012) informs, as a result of his research, that 91% of British newspaper coverage has presented Muslims in a largely negative light throughout the last decade. The reporting of matters relating to Muslims has increased significantly since 2000. In addition, this coverage peaked in 2006 and remained at a high level during 2007 and 2008. Research has indicated that 36% of the stories that were

covered by national press were dedicated to terrorism and terrorism related stories, especially prominent after the 2001 and 2005 terrorist attacks in the USA and UK, respectively. Furthermore, two thirds of the stories published in 2008 focused on Muslims as a threat, relative to acts of terrorism or a concern in terms of variances in beliefs or Islamic extremism in general (Moore, Mason & Lewis 2008).

These stories depict Muslims as fundamentalists, terrorists, militant, undemocratic, violent and fanatics. The stereotypes presented by the media, associate Muslims with contexts of war, conflict, violence, disunity, and sexism (Dunn 2001). In more recent years, the stories that have been presented in the national press have altered their focus, from terrorism to one that highlights religious and cultural differences between Muslims and the British or Western culture in general. Muslims have been featured in the press in regards to issues surrounding multiculturalism, crime, education and faith schools, immigration and the 'oppression' of women associated with the most recent debate of the veil.

Poole (2002), Richardson (2004) and Van Dijk (2000), have all documented the apparent racist, xenophobic, Islamophobic, and anti-Muslim discourses within the British media. Sian, Law & Sayyid (2012), have also identified the type of discourse used as fundamentally negative and based on stereotypes. They recognised how British tabloid newspapers attempted to debunk the myth of terror suspects by classifying them as poor and uneducated. In doing so however, the newspapers actually reinforced a sense of fear in the general public by implying that terrorists are 'normal', 'sociable' people. This concept conjures up ideas of an 'enemy lurking within'; that any Muslims could be a potential threat.

In contrast, there have been positive moves made by one particular broadsheet newspaper to condemn the negative constructs and anti-Muslim representations embedded in the British press. In January 2012, The Guardian published and supported a campaign calling for an inquiry into anti-Islam press. The campaign called for an investigation in to media reporting, concluding that "victims- whether prominent or not- of alleged discriminatory media coverage have a right to have their testimonials catalogued and examined thoroughly by credible, independent assessors. Recommendations can then be made to improve ethical standards in the reporting of not solely the Muslim community but all sections of society" (Sian, Law and Sayyid 2012). This campaign in itself highlights the fact that the British press are recognised as being biased in their reporting and Islamophobic.

The Influence of the Media

According to Kellner (1995), it is the media that assists in producing the fabric of everyday life. It encourages the formation and development of political views and social behaviours, providing the materials society requires to forge their identities; construct their sense of class, race, ethnicity, nationality and sexuality. The media defines what is considered socially acceptable; it decides what is considered right and wrong, good and bad, positive and negative, or moral and evil. The media is a powerful force, not to be underestimated.

Mahtani (2001) explains that it is the media that provides us with vast amounts of information regarding our environments, and consequently shapes the 'attitudes' and 'beliefs' held by society. The knowledge, attitudes and ideologies people possess, regardless of class, are sourced through the discourse the media chooses to present

(Van Dijk 2000). This is because many people construct their understandings of society based on the information they retrieve through media channels; ultimately, it is the media that creates ideologies (Zhenzhou & Postiglione, 2010).

Poole (2002) argues that it is undeniable that the media as an institution plays a significant and principal role in the cultural production of knowledge and depending on which newspaper readers have access to, their level of knowledge in regards to Islam and Muslims may fluctuate. As has already been established, the media is fluid and is constantly changing and shifting and as a result so too is its view towards Islam and Muslims. Therefore, the way Islam and Muslims are portrayed may also vary as old paradigms are replaced with new ones.

Allen (2012) articulates that whilst the media have the ability to shape and influence public attitudes, no direct evidences actually exist to suggest that the media causes hatred towards Muslims or Islamophobia. However, this cultural institution can systematically mould notions of 'them' and 'us' through the way it chooses to represent Islam and Muslims, subsequently creating and justifying Islamophobic and anti-Muslim attitudes and expressions.

'Them' and 'Us'

Within these published stories Muslims are depicted as fundamentalists, terrorists, militant, undemocratic, violent and fanatics (Dunn 2001), and are correspondingly viewed as a homogenised group of people (Akbarzadeh and Smith 2005). Ameli et al (2007) explain that these stories published in the national press are often informed by various theories of representation. In such theories, what the media chooses to represent, is strongly linked to actual reality, in the sense that power structures and power relations between societal actors are affected, particularly between majority and minority groups. Such representations can arise from misunderstandings and miscommunication.

There are a number of reasons that have been suggested as to why the press continue to use a negative speech when reporting in regards to Islam or Muslims; one common theory is that of Orientalism. Orientalism is a concept that historically situates Western construction of non-Western cultures as the 'Other'; as 'alien', 'distant', 'antiquated', 'irrational', 'sensual' and 'passive' (Akbarzadeh and Smith 2005). Richardson (2004) and Poole (2002) both agree that the press often construct Muslims through an orientalist lens and Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005) go further when they suggest that Muslims have come to be 'known' through this lens. Ultimately, however, it is the orientalist judgements made by the press that represent the divide between 'Islam and the west' and 'Muslim and westerner', essentially establishing a framework of 'them' and 'us' which constructs Muslims as largely 'problematic', 'dangerous', 'incompatible' and 'oppressive'. Muslims within this framing are subordinated, marginalised and excluded as a result of being labelled as the 'other' (Richardson 2004).

Manchester

In order to understand and make sense of any potential attitudes or beliefs that may arise as a result of the analysis of the regional press, it is important to gain an understanding of the population that makes up Manchester. The city has 510,700 inhabitants (Manchester City Council 2014) and lies within the UK's second most

populous urban area. Between July 2011 and June 2012, births exceeded deaths by 4800 and migration, both internal and external and other changes, accounted for a net increase of 3100 people. Compared to England in general, Manchester has an overall younger population, with the largest age category being aged 20-35.

The 2011 Census revealed that the population of Manchester, in terms of ethnicity is constructed as such: White 66.7%, Asian 14.4%, Black 8.6%, Chinese 2.7%, Arab 1.9%, and those defined as 'Other' represent 1.2% of the public. In addition religious denominations were documented in the same Census report as follows: Christian 48.7%, 25.3% of people categorised themselves as having no religion, Muslims makeup 15.8%, Hindu 1.1%, Buddhist 0.8%, Jewish 0.5%, 'Other' 0.9%, and 6.9% of people who completed the Census in 2011, did not wish to disclose this information. From this breakdown alone, it is evident that Manchester is a complex and diverse environment.

Commonly abbreviated as the MEN, The Manchester Evening News is a regional daily newspaper that covers the general Greater Manchester area. It has an average daily circulation of 73,622 of which only 47,633 are paid for (ABC Figures 2013; add). First printed in 1868, the MEN is published six days a week, excluding Sundays. In March 2005 the paper launched a cut- down version, titled MEN Lite, which was distributed free to commuters within the city centre. However, the Lite edition was replaced in May 2006 with a "part-free, part-paid" distribution model. This included the main paper remaining to be free for commuters in the city centre, while readers outside that area continued to pay for the paper. In addition, in December 2006 the paper also became available for free distribution in Manchester Airport and in all hospitals across Greater Manchester.

Objectives

The current research proposes to provide a new perspective and to build on the already vast amount of research in regards to the (mis)representations of Islam and Muslims in the British press. However, as previous research has focused on national press, the present study will concentrate on local press. This will be done by using a combination of studies, conducted by Richardson (2004) and Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012) as sources of inspiration. Where preceding researchers have used a combination of research methods, including both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis in order to highlight manifest and latent meaning in the sample items of reporting (Richardson 2004), this project will utilise qualitative research techniques, namely Critical discursive analysis to examine British local/regional newspaper articles from The Manchester Evening News. By doing so, the researcher aims to address the following research questions:

- Richardson (2004) concluded as a result of his qualitative analysis that the British national press (mis)represent Muslims as 'others' who are different to and the enemy of the British people. To what degree are these findings still valid and present in the local press, namely The Manchester Evening News, almost 10 years later?
- Research conducted by Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012) also supported the main findings of the study conducted by Richardson (2004) in regards to the negative and stereotypical (mis)representation of Muslims in the British press. However they also highlighted a number of issues which were frequently reported in regards to Islam

and Muslim cultures in national newspapers, as discussed in the literature review. To what extent do these issues appear in *The Manchester Evening News*?

- The positive moves made by *The Guardian*, recognised by Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012) called for an inquiry and investigation in to anti-Islamic press and discriminatory media coverage. How evident is the success of this campaign in the reports published by *The Manchester Evening News*?

Methodology

As the current project is inspired by the research of Richardson (2004) and Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012), it is only appropriate that a similar method of analysis be used, namely Critical Discourse analysis (CDA). This qualitative method aims to capture the relationship of paradoxes that exist between discourse and the speaking subject. It acknowledges that people, concurrently, are the products and the producers of discourse (Billig 1991). It aims to examine how identities are produced for particular instances, but also how history and culture both impact upon and are altered by those enactments (Edley 2001).

In order to understand some of the complexities of journalism and the powers which contribute to the (mis)representation of Muslims, the British press needs to be examined in relation to three analytical concepts, characteristic of CDA, these are subject positions, interpretive repertoires and ideological dilemmas and utilised collectively are referred to as 'The Loughborough School of Discourse Analysis'. Although these concepts have been used alone and in combination with other techniques, there is no evidence that they have been used in this area of research before. Davies and Harre (1990), explain that subject position can be paralleled to 'roles' within social psychology, however articulate a far more fluid and dynamic sense of 'the self' or identity one possesses. Subject positions are actively constructed in discursive contexts including conversations and written texts. Davies and Harre (1990) go further by defining a subject position as a notion that...

"...incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire. Once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned" (1990)

An interpretive repertoire is a concept imported in to social psychology by Potter and Wetherell, who define it as "basically a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors, drawn upon to characterise and evaluate actions and events" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: p, 138) Edley (2001) further explains them as the 'building blocks of conversations'. They are a range of linguistic resources that can be utilised in the course of every day social interaction. In addition, they provide the basis for a shared social understanding.

According to Reynolds (2003) research on interpretive repertoires, relates that discourse tends to vary and maintain inconsistencies. This is because different repertoires construct different versions and evaluations of contributors and events according to the rhetorical demands of the immediate context. This changeability

allows for ideological dilemmas to arise as people argue over the opposing threads and work out the inconsistencies between them.

Billig (1988) argues that ideological dilemmas are the beliefs, values and practices of a given society. They are the 'lived' ideologies' that construct a society's 'common sense' ways of doing things, which are often inconsistent and even contradictory. An example of such a dilemma could be seen between 'many hands make light work' and 'too many cooks spoil the broth', or 'absence makes the heart grow fonder' and 'out of sight, out of mind' (Billig et al 1988).

Data Collection

The researcher adopted the method of data collection used by Bush (2011) as it was a simple and systematic procedure that could be easily replicated in future studies. This involved searching the MEN online database using key words and then utilising a strict criteria when selecting the texts for analysis from the resulting search.

The terms 'Islam' and 'Muslim' were entered in to the database separately. This resulted in 1,998 and 2,995 items respectively. All items that concerned either national and/or international news were disregarded, as the current research is only interested in local reporting. However the search did include articles that were within the Greater Manchester area, such as Stockport, Bolton, Oldham, Rochdale, Chadderton, and Middleton. In addition, any articles published before January 1st 2013 were also omitted in order to ensure that the analysis reflected the most recent and up to date sentiments of Muslims and Islam in the MEN today.

This further refinement resulted in 42 articles from the search word 'Islam' and 51 articles from the search word 'Muslim'. Articles which focused on sensationalised stories, high profile crimes, and terrorist related issues were also excluded from both sets of searches. From the remaining articles, a total of four were selected for analyses, which were deemed appropriate on the grounds that they each represented the larger sample of articles they were taken from. The researcher exercised their own discretion, taking in to account reflexivity and the research questions when the final articles were selected for analysis.

Ethics and Reflexivity

The British Psychological Society (2009) present a strict ethical code of conduct pertaining to all psychological research conducted in the UK. The current research intends to adhere to these guidelines, and also to those guidelines specified by Manchester Metropolitan University (see Appendix 1), therefore ensuring that all applicable predetermined ethical standards are met. The research involves the use of published online newspaper articles; therefore no consent is required, as these articles have already been made available in the public domain. As critical discursive analysis will be undertaken there is a possibility that the dissection of potential racialised texts may in itself produce racialised texts; as Harrison (1995) highlights 'the line separating racism from anti-racism is sometimes so unclear that the sets of discursive practices converge'.

Guillemin & Gillam (2004), distinguish two dimensions of ethics in research. They examine the relationship between, what they term procedural ethics and 'ethics in practice' and the impact that each has on the actual undertaking of research.

Guillemin & Gillam (2004) demonstrate that procedural ethics cannot in itself provide all that is required for dealing with ethically important moments in qualitative research and it is then that reflexivity can be drawn upon as a resource.

Although reflexivity is a familiar concept in traditional qualitative research, it is suggested that it may not have previously been viewed as an ethical one (Guillemin & Gillam 2004). Furthermore, it is proposed that reflexivity is a supportive conceptual tool for understanding both the nature of ethics and how ethical practice in qualitative research can be achieved.

Guillemin & Gillam (2004) continue by explaining that research is primarily the construction of knowledge, it is an active process that requires scrutiny, reflection and interrogation of the data, the researcher and the context they occupy. Mason (1996) states reflexivity means:

‘...that the researcher should constantly take stock of their actions and their role in the research process and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their “data”’ (p. 6)

Hertz noted that the reflexive researcher does not merely report the facts of the research but also actively constructs interpretations, while simultaneously questioning how those interpretations came about. Jenkins (1992) observed how Bourdieu suggested the reflexive process comprises of taking a step back from the research and making an objective observation of the research subject. Then taking a second step back and reflecting on the observation itself.

Analysis and Discussion

Subject Positions

The analysis revealed subject positions that seemed to run almost like a ‘theme’ throughout most of the articles. For example, the article titled ‘PCSO converts to Islam after helping ‘honour’ violence victim’ (see Appendix 2), written by Glendinning (2013) presents a white, female Police Community Support Officer, who has been inspired to convert to Islam after assisting a Muslim woman escape domestic violence. Within the article, the protagonist, Jayne Kemp, is identified as a young, single, working mother of two young children. The reader is informed of her preceding Catholic faith and is able to recognise Jayne as an indigenous white British person.

However, as the article continues, it becomes very clear that Jayne also possesses another position within society; her identity as a Muslim woman. She is pictured in her full hijab, and takes pride in declaring her loyalty to Islam through marking her commitment to her new found faith by changing her name from Jayne to Aminah, praying the mandatory prayers after completing her shift as a PCSO and eating halal food. This concept of a dual-identity, that Jayne possesses, is also evident in the article titled ‘Mosques join forces to feed the less fortunate’ (Akbor 2013) (see appendix 3).

The article explains how six mosques across Oldham have collected 800kg of food, which have been delivered to the Trussel Trust food bank, in collaboration with the 1st Ethical Charitable Trust, and pictures Shaykh Amin together with two White, indigenous British women, who are volunteers at the food bank. The story, combined

with the image, invokes the same concept of a dual-identity of the Muslim community in Oldham, similar to that of Jayne's, which is reinforced by Mufti Hilal who explains that "Our partnership with them is based on bringing to life the ethical standards of Islam." In addition Mufti Samiur Rahman states: "This has been a great initiative allowing us to make a difference to our community and help those who are vulnerable and less fortunate in society."

From these quotes it is evident that the community not only identifies with their responsibilities as Muslims, but also their responsibilities to the wider British community. Again, this notion also manifests in the article 'PM meets with Manchester's Muslim community' (see appendix 4), written by Begum (2014), in which "scores of Muslims up and down the country open up their doors to Muslims and non-Muslims to mystify the faith of Islam and connect with their communities." The articles on a whole, presents Islam and Muslims in a positive light and through the reporting of these stories, it is clear that the articles demonstrate the successful attempts of the Muslim community to integrate within British society; building connections and a positive relationship.

This 'theme' of integration demonstrated by these articles, opposes the views portrayed in the national media, as highlighted within the literature review, which depicts Islam and Muslims as the 'other'. The orientalist lens that characterises Muslims as 'distant', 'irrational', and 'passive' and separates them into a homogenised group of 'problematic', 'dangerous' and 'incompatible' group of people (Akbarzadeh & Smith 2005), is immediately shattered. In addition, research conducted by the University of Essex, revealed that Muslims have no problem with integrating and identified with 'Britishness' more than any other Briton (Moosavi 2012).

Moreover, Nandi (2012) clarifies as a result of her study that 83% of Muslims are proud to be British compared to 79% of the general public, and 77% of Muslims strongly identified with Britain, while only 50% of the wider population did. In addition, 82% of Muslims would prefer to live in a diverse and mixed neighbourhood, as opposed to 63% of non-Muslim Britons and also 90% of Pakistani Muslims felt a strong sense of belonging in Britain compared to 84% of White people.

Furthermore, Cohen (2012) explains that retaining a dual-identity should not be perceived as a problem, but instead, should be celebrated. He enlightens, as an example, that unlike the 'melting pot' that is America, "Canada is a mosaic" that offers distinctiveness and does not demand conformity, as The United States does. He further elucidates how Canada is the world's second-most heterogeneous country, and takes pride in not forcing immigrants to become a part of mainstream society; a tolerable country which supports open immigration, welcoming its economic benefits, and accepting social challenges. In addition there is no institutional xenophobia, as immigrants take a place in society of their choosing. Canada is a nation of outsiders, where diversity is identity and is a model the UK should consider adopting.

Interpretative Repertoires

There are two main interpretative repertoires that present themselves throughout all four of the articles. In the first repertoire, Islam and Muslims are depicted as

generous, charitable and moral people. In the second repertoire, Islam and Muslims are situated in a political discourse that is being used either for or against them.

The first repertoire is clearly evident through the language Jayne chooses to use to describe her experience. She talks about being 'inspired' and likens Islam to Catholicism, almost attempting to justify that Islam is 'good': "... [Islam is] about being generous with your time, patient and respectful of others." "...and also values like looking after your neighbours and valuing the elderly that older people say younger people don't have anymore." In addition, she also uses a romanticised discourse when talking about the experience: "I wasn't looking for any religion at the time... I think I fell in love with it" and "My sister said the other day I'm the happiest she's ever seen me" (Glendinning 2013).

The moral, religious, and spiritual repertoire is one that continues through Akbor's (2013) article, and is evident through the references made to the "...ethical standards of Islam". In addition, the choice of language used, reinforces notions of morality and charitableness within the Muslim community. Again this is a concept that opposes the negative traits and stereotypes that are evident from the literature review. Similarly, the article by Begum (2013) also reinforces this type of discourse: "Jamia Mosque is a fantastic example of a model mosque that reaches out to its community, providing vital services to the local Muslim population." and the interpretative repertoire that becomes apparent is one that situates Islam and Muslims within the subject positions discussed earlier.

Within the second interpretative repertoire, readers are exposed to a political discourse in both the article by Begum (2013) and the fourth article "David Ottewell: Why we recognise the right to protest" (Ottewell 2013; see Appendix 5). Begum (2013) reports how the Muslim community shared their concerns with the Prime Minister in regards to 'the recent Islamophobic attacks' in the wake of the Lee Rigby murder, but also express their concerns over the plight of Muslims in Burma and Syria. In addition the Prime Minister responds by 'encouraging people to report incidents' to the new government initiative 'tell MAMA', which aims to measure and monitor anti-Muslim attacks and support victims.

The discourse is a positive one from both the Prime Minister and the Muslim community, who are seen to cooperate in order to reduce Islamophobia and anti-Muslim attacks and encourage integration and cohesiveness. Conversely, the report by Ottewell (2013) uses political discourse to undermine the approaching English Defence League (EDL) protest in Manchester. Although the focus of the article is not Muslims or Islam, Ottewell (2013) questions the motives of the EDL, who assert that they are marching for the right to a democracy, however in doing so, their obvious 'deeper-seated, more disturbing opposition to Islam in general' is clearly visible, and as a result Ottewell (2013) questions what defines a democracy. He concludes that it is due to the fact that Britain is a democracy that the EDL have a right to protest but no right to oppose Muslims practicing their faith in Britain.

Yusof, Hassan, Hassan & Osman (2013) assert that there is a relationship between news coverage and the media agenda, and can be explained through the theory of framing. Tankard & Severin (2001) define 'Framing' as an idea or arrangement for news contents that provide context and suggestions of what issues need to be given extra attention through selection, pressure, no involvement and elaboration. The

foundations to the theory of framing, asserts that the media informs the general public both of what is important in the world around them and how to perceive the events and people who inhabit that world (Brown 2002). In addition, framing exists through observations to particular subtopics ranging from size, space for story items, narrative presentation or intonation and depth of media coverage (Miller 2000).

Furthermore, Watson & Hill (2000) define framing as a process by which the media place reality “into frame”. Framing consists of a narrative device and therefore whatever is excluded from newspapers can be considered to be “out of frame”. Gitlin (1980) however, elucidates that news frame allows audiences to manage and comprehend reality and select appropriate repertoires of cognition and action. Nonetheless, framing devices are used by journalists and editors to routinely organise discourse. Gitlin (1980) further opposed that these devices are “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion”.

From this concept of framing, it becomes apparent that there is a difference in the way national press chooses to represent Islam and Muslims and local press, such as the MEN. As the literature review demonstrated, Islam and Muslims are usually depicted in a negative light and defined through negative stereotypes. However, it is clear that the MEN has depicted Islam and Muslims in a positive fashion, throughout all four of the articles analysed. By doing so, the interpretative repertoires that are being used in the national press are being altered in the local press, to the advantage of the Muslim population in Britain.

Ideological Dilemmas

Jayne’s conversion to Islam (Glendinning 2013), and her decision to not impose Islam on her children, presents the largest ideological dilemma, throughout all four of the articles. One would expect, in principle that Jayne would raise her children within the Muslim lifestyle; by pure extension, one would assume that her children would also be a part of her faith. However, she asserts: “They have both asked a lot about it but I would never push Islam on them and they will be brought up Catholic.” In addition “If my children had struggled with me covering my hair I wouldn’t have done it.”

Ideology is often multi-layered, complex and contradictory, as it is situated historically and affected by social change, therefore producing dilemmas. For Jayne, this dilemma is related to her own values, morals and beliefs and their impact on her children (Billig et al 1988; Towns & Adams 2009). Jayne has encountered a dilemma in her religious ideology, discovering that her lived ideology possibly contradicts her intellectual ideology. In addition, further ideological dilemmas could arise within the family unit if socially shared images appear to conflict such as differences between the two faiths in the household, in such situations, opposing values may create choices for Jayne, which may not always be the best solution.

Although there appears to be no empirical research in regards to Catholic-Muslim families, Froese (2007) conducted an empirical investigation in Germany, of Christian-Muslim families and their children, that could be generalised to Jayne and her Catholic children. The study gave an insight in to the religious worlds of four to 12 year old children, discussing the children’s needs based on different aspects such as prayer, the image of God, gender issues , religious practice, and religious affinity.

Froese (2007) concluded that although the children in Christian-Muslim families did not suffer in any obvious way, they did reveal a silent deficit through the problems of verbalising their own personal beliefs, the lack of clarity in formulating religious questions and the potential rivalry of parental religions. In addition, this was much more emphasised when discussing family issues, such as, religious celebrations and the children were often torn between two different systems and ideologies.

Over all the four articles that were analysed from The Manchester Evening News, revealed a generally positive representation of Islam and Muslims. As a result, the three research questions that were originally proposed could be answered by the researcher. The first research question inquired whether the (mis)representation of Muslims as 'others', different from and enemy of the British people was evident in the local press, ten years after the research conducted by Richardson (2004)? After analysing the articles it was very clear that this was not the case and that the MEN, presented Islam and Muslims in a positive light, identifying them as generous, charitable, and caring, considerate of the wider British community.

Equally, the issues that were raised by Sian, Law & Sayyid (2012), in regards to the altered 'type' of subjects that were now being reported in national press, was clearly evident as the MEN did not focus on terrorism or acts related to it. However, the local newspaper did focus on the community and integration, but as has been demonstrated, this reporting was again, a positive one, that depicted Islam and Muslims as a part of the wider British community.

The positive moves made by The Guardian, recognised by Sian, Law and Sayyid (2012) called for an inquiry and investigation in to anti-Islamic press and discriminatory media coverage. The success of this campaign was clearly evident in the reports published by The Manchester Evening News, as all four articles represented Islam and Muslims in a purely encouraging and optimistic light.

Conclusion

To conclude, the present research study was conducted in order to supplicate the plethora of research in regards to the (mis)representation of Islam and Muslims in the press. Where previous research has focused on national press coverage, the current study concentrated on local press, namely The Manchester Evening News. In doing so, the standing research has been able to contribute new findings to this research area, and provide an altered insight from the perspective of local press.

By utilising 'The Loughborough School of Discourse Analysis', this study has again, contributed to the existing research by the choice of critical discourse analysis, a combination not previously used within this research area before. The articles abstracted from The Manchester Evening News, through a replicable process, were analysed by identifying subject positions, interpretative repertoires and ideological dilemmas, in order to establish if the MEN, fundamentally categorised Islam and Muslims as 'others' as concluded by Richardson (2004), if the MEN reported in regards to the issues raised by Sian, Law & Sayyid (2012) and if the MEN's reporting on Islam and Muslims was based on negative stereotypes as portrayed in national press.

All three of the research questions were answered to the satisfaction of the researcher, and it was concluded that the MEN did not misrepresent Islam and

Muslims, but in a positive light, emphasising their generosity, charitableness and close relationship to the wider British population. Although the sample size was considerably small, it would be interesting to replicate the study on a much larger scale to see if the positive representation of Islam and Muslims in the local press would still remain. In addition it would also be interesting to learn if the same results are reflected across the nation within local press.

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