Jana Břeská

Muslims in the West: Media as an Integration Strategy

Abstract

West European countries face social problems linked to immigration issues. The most exposed community of immigrants comes from the Muslim world, bringing to the West its own religious and social tradition. Such issues, however, are not unilateral. The immigrated Muslim community has to find solution to the same problem, which is usually seen from a different point of view.

Media plays an important role in solving integration issues and EU member states have adopted television and radio as an integral part of European integration strategy. National governments nevertheless comply with the EU recommendations only until a certain degree.

On the other hand, although on a smaller scale, the immigrated Muslim communities have started to use the same means to strengthen weakened ties between members of the Ummah in hijra and to confirm proper identity in the minority position. While the States use mostly public national media, Muslim communities try to get access at least to the local televisions or radios. Such initiatives aim mostly at successful integration without assimilation into secular Western society.

However, many actors impede reaching this goal – also in the same field of media, like transnational Islamic television providers transmitting via satellite from different European cities or private TV program producers reflecting deliberately in their shots outdated Western prejudices toward Islam.

Introduction

Muslims in the West

In the last thirty years Muslim communities have become an integral part of European society. Historically and culturally homogenous Christian Western Europe is facing, in its age of secularism, new phenomenon of cultural and religious diversity.

In spite of several historical periods of Muslim presence in Western Europe and the cultural heritage, which Muslims left behind when they had to leave, and European ties to the Muslim world in the colonialism and post-colonialism era, Muslims are in the focus mostly as a problematic group, not as a natural component of European minority spectrum. Cultural conflicts related to Islam have erupted in the public space of many West European countries. "Moreover, the content of discussions on immigration has tended to shift to the cultural and symbolic level: political actors, media, intellectuals, all focus their attention on some presupposed Islamic specificities. The immigrant, in many variable scenes, has progressively become 'Muslim', both in his/her perception by the host societies and in his/her self-perception."[1]

Muslims started to flow massively into Western Europe in the second half of the 20th century. British and French ex-colonies in Africa and Asia turned into a source of labor force needed in the post-war reconstruction of Europe. Likely Germany invited workers from Turkey. These *Gastarbeiters* (guest workers) were not considered as immigrants. Their stay in the host countries was supposed to be limited by the time the host country needed their work force. Thus no issues linked to integration and cultural and religious diversity appeared. Muslim *Gastarbeiters* were much more preoccupied by their economic income and basic material needs (often being the source of income for the whole families back in their country of origin) not to try to achieve further recognition, rights or privileges in the host society.

However, *Gastarbeiters* in the end often turned into the first generation of immigrants. They never really left the host country. Once settled and economically stabilized in Western Europe they were joined by their families. This first generation lived mostly segregated from the majority national society of the host country due to its poor educational and qualification background and its scarce language knowledge.

The situation started to change in the developed European countries such as France, UK and Germany in the 1980's. Economic growth of the countries became a great magnet for people in the ex-colonies, whose relatives had moreover settled in the European host country and related the new economic possibilities and opportunities. New European legislations regulating family reunification facilitated the influx of often unqualified immigrants coming from the traditional societies with strong family ties. These

1)   *Allievi, 2006: 37.*

links and the European social and citizenship policies contributed to the ghettoisation of several groups on immigrants in Western Europe.

Besides the most numerous groups of mostly young unqualified male Muslim immigrants coming to Europe in search of economic opportunities, a second category of Muslim immigrants appeared: older and highly qualified Iranian families leaving their country for political and ideological reasons during the Iranian Revolution at the end of the 1970's. This group able to quickly integrate economically and socially represented a minority in the overall Muslim immigration into Western Europe and thanks to its fast integration and obvious positive contribution to the host country economic growth they never really became an exposed minority group. Paradoxically, this group was not able to convey a more positive message about Muslims to European society than the negative image of Islam, which was conveyed by political events in Iran.

In the 1980's Europe did not need guest labor force anymore, the economic stagnation deprived a lot of Europeans of their job and immigrant ghettos started to be considered by uninformed European mass as the main reason of their economic and unemployment problems. These purely economic and social issues acquired a religious tint with the growing visibility of Muslim communities and in the context of international political events, mainly the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In this moment, Islam and Muslims were brought into focus of European media. The issue appeared first in France, the UK and Germany, the three developed countries with completely different immigration, citizenship and integration approaches. Only in the 1990's a similar issue appeared in the young immigration hosting countries such as Spain and Italy.

Recent terrorist attacks have affected European way of thinking toward Islam: Attacks in Paris 1995, New York 2001, Madrid and Istanbul in 2003 and London 2005 were led by individuals invoking Islamic fundamentalism as a source of inspiration for their action. The fear of Islam spread over Europe when the proofs showed that some attackers were born and brought up in Europe. Consequently, confusion between Islam as a faith and Islamic fundamentalism as an ideology is frequent and both of them are often included in the popular term of Islamic terrorism.

Islamization of Immigration

The immigration issue in Western Europe has been growing. Islam is today the second religion in Europe and a constituent component of European societies. In some Council of Europe member states Islam is traditionally religion of the majority of national population, in other countries it is the religion professed by most of the immigrants and growing population of immigrant background. Not only national agenda, but also European common agenda had to adopt necessary policies regulating refugees, immigration and integration as well as recognition of positive contribution of Islam to Western civilization. Never-ending waves of immigrants, legal and illegal, from North and West Af-

rica, besides other countries of Muslim majority, have been threatening social and economic balance in the host countries.

Muslims were assigned a special place among all other immigrant and refugee groups, which are scarcely branded as religious. Media's role in the problem building as well as in the problem solving is incontestable. Dassetto affirms that "[t]he media (...) have been true and proper organs of framing and socialization and strategic places in the functioning of collective life. (...) in connection with events that can be enrolled in their rhetoric system, the media have given large space to themes and events concerning European Islam. (...) the introduction of a new theme in the discourse of media [however] doesn't seem as fast as the succession of events."[2]

Religious labels are adopted when the discussed issues have little to do with religion. Muslims became "the immigrant par excellence in the official debate over immigrants"[3] in Europe. Social, political and religious issues are often mixed together. Social issues in public debate are marginalized face to face religious arguments. "Immigration, in a word, tends to be 'Islamized'. Reactive identities (i.e. identities defined in opposition to others) become more salient and 'act' specifically as such in the cultural, political, and religious field—both for the immigrant and for the autochthonous populations. (...) there are reasons connected with the emergence of Islam as a disruptive element, also on the symbolic plane"[4]: a global geo-political actor (Islam related local crises in Afghanistan, Algeria, Bosnia, Palestine, Chechnya etc. and impact of transnational Islamic terrorist action, especially in the West), an instrument and interpretative category (Lewis, Huntington etc.) and a social and political actor particularly in European immigrants' countries of origin.

The resurgence of religion in the public sphere has been enhanced by the process of globalization and its cultural consequences as well as by the increasing visibility of religion in the media. Allievi considers that the media's focus on Islam is due to the fact, that Islam represents "the most conspicuous case of 'traditional' religion, resisting to be exclusively relegated to the private sphere."[5] The religious Islamic label as a tool of differentiation is being used to refer to the second generation of new Europeans who can no longer be considered immigrants and thus the 'other'.

2) Dassetto, 1994: 130.

3) Larsson, 2006: 38. The author uses this expression to describe the Swedish reality. However such description fits most of other European country cases as well.

4) Allievi, 2006: 37.

5) Allievi, 2006: 37.

The EU Recommendations

The European Union as well as its member states are aware of the power of media and include them into their adopted agendas. In 1991 the Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 1162 (1991) on the contribution of the Islamic civilization to European culture, which includes the following:

"Islam has, however, suffered and is still suffering from misrepresentation, for example through hostile or oriental stereotypes, and there is very little awareness in Europe either of the importance of Islam's past contribution or of Islam's potentially positive role in European society today. Historical errors, educational eclecticism and the over-simplified approach of the media are responsible for this situation." (§6)

"The main consequence of such misrepresentation, to which many contemporary Muslims have contributed through their own lack of critical intellectual examination or intolerance, is that Islam is too often perceived in Europe as incompatible with the principles which are at the basis of modern European society (which is essentially secular and democratic) and of European ethics (human rights and freedom of expression)." (§7)

The same recommendation suggests to the field of media that the production, co-production and broadcasting of radio and television programs on Islamic culture are to be encouraged. (§ vii)

Recommendation 1396 (1999) Religion and Democracy affirms in § 8, that "politicians have a duty to prevent an entire religion from being associated with actions carried out, for instance by fanatical religious minorities". One of the recommendation to the member states governments is also to "ensure fair and equal access to the public media for all religions" (§ i.e.).

In Resolution 1605 (2008) European Muslim communities confronted with extremism the Council of Europe invites European governments and European Muslim communities to "work in close collaboration and synergy to neutralize this power [Islamic fundamentalism incompatible with human rights values and standards of democracy] of attraction [for some individuals] and prevent it from escalating into terrorism." (§3). The Council of Europe also appreciates "the effort of Muslim organizations to highlight the compatibility between Islam as a religion and democratic and human rights values..." (§4). It is stated that the member states should work to prevent and combat the phenomenon of Islamophobia and support the integration by besides other remedying the current limited capacity of immigrants and citizens from an immigrant background to play an active role in public life. The Council of Europe calls on the member states to "promote and support activities intended to improve the standing and role of Muslim women in Europe and overcome stereotypes confining them to subordinate and passive roles, for example, through appropriate teaching in schools and awareness-raising campaigns in the media" (§9.8) and to "encourage informative projects about Islam's contribution to Western societies in order to overcome stereotypes on Islam (§9.12). It also calls on European Muslim organizations, leaders and opinion-makers to "encourage the

promotion of fair coverage of Muslim reality and views in the media and ensure that the voice of moderate Muslims is also reported" (§11.8) and to "develop ethical guidelines to combat Islamophobia in the media and in favor of cultural tolerance and understanding, in cooperation with appropriate media organizations" (§11.9).

Objective and Methodology

This paper explores the degree of fulfillment of the Council of Europe recommendations and the role the media plays in reality in the process of integration of Muslim community in Western Europe. The aim of the paper is to provide an overview of the main ways the media is being used in the integration/segregation process related to Muslim communities in the European Union. It focuses mostly on the UK and France as representatives of the old Muslim immigrants hosting country with very different integration policies and on Spain and Italy as representatives of the youngest Muslim migrants' destinations. All these countries have a considerable historical links to Muslim societies and Islam is their second religion. It is to be stressed that such an overview cannot fully describe the complexity and heterogeneous character and stances of the European Union member states in front of a common issue.

As for the existing papers, the situation in the UK has been systematically documented. Most of the studies about the representation of British Muslims in the national media however focus only on press.[6] Provided information is all the same very valuable and general conclusions can be applied in the field of radio and television. French production concerning this topic is less statistics based, however provides an interesting insight into the forms of representing Islam and Muslims in France.[7] The case of Spain and Italy and other European countries, in which Muslim presence is either young or less important, are much less documented. The information about Spain used in this paper is based on the results of my dissertation research.[8]

Data were also gathered from television channels and radio stations websites. The general publications and human rights reports provide also basic information about the media coverage of European Islam, nonetheless with little specific details. Personal following of different European TV channels and radio stations is also an indicator, but because of the irregularity of this experience and impossibility to cover the whole range of TV and radio providers, this information is considered for the purpose of this paper only as complementary. Some non-European sources of information were also used to explore the "others'" point of view, such as Kuwaiti Western Perception of Islam Center

or the survey "Western Perceptions about Islam and Muslims" carried out on behalf of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs.[9]

Nevertheless, almost all published texts in this context focus on the representation of Muslims and Islam, but don't study Muslims' active participation in the media and the impact their performance has.

Muslims and Islam in Focus

Many studies proved that audiovisual information and, in particular, the function in media of images–aesthetic and dynamic–is replacing the reality. Since sensation replaces thinking and perception replaces consciousness it is understandable how the media as a hegemonic instrument, and TV shots in particular, affect the spectators and creates the idea of Islam in the West. It is also proved that TV documentaries and news are the most influential media in shaping perceptions of Arabs and Muslims.[10]

Reporting on Islam and Muslims takes place generally in a limited framework including only selected number of topics and perspectives. Ameli affirms that Muslims feel that the media is one of the main factors, which cause social discrimination and misunderstanding between themselves and the rest of the society and it is one of the reasons why Muslims feel either neutral or negative about being affiliated with the host countries and make them question the principle of equal citizenship. At the same time they expect the governments to intervene and check the media for their portrayal.[11] Many Muslims do believe that the negative portrayal of Muslims by the media is a part of a political agenda that serves the interest of the political elite and damages the image of European media, which is considered to be one of the pillars of Western democratic and liberal society promoting justice and equality. There is evidence that successful cultural and religious coexistence can be determined by the global dimension of the media action.

Different surveys show that Western perceptions about Islam and Muslims are mostly negative: Muslims are rated lowest in overall favorability among different religious groups. Some improving has been however seen in certain prestigious news organizations.

The paradox is that Muslims are demonized by many Western media at the same time as the Council of Europe issues recommendations calling for changing the mistaken representation of Islam and Muslims and as "many European broadcasters stress

---

6) Moore, Mason, Lewis: 2008; Poole: 2000,2002; Ameli., Marandi, Ahmad, Seyfeddin, Merali: 2007; Saeed: 2007; Moore, Mason, Lewis: 2008; Richardson: 2001.

7) Deltombe, 2005, Michel Cadé, 2006.

8) Breska, 2007.

9) An American market intelligence consultancy team carried out an online international survey, on behalf of the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs, in the UK, France, Germany and Netherlands and the US during the year 2005.

10) Yalonnis, Magannam, Milton, 2005.

11) Ameli, 2007:34.

the need to avoid using inflammatory terms and to give airtime to moderate voices as well as extremists."[12]

"Satanization" of Islam in Western media has several explanations dating back to the Middle Ages and further reflected in outdated Orientalist assumptions persisting in many Western textbooks, often based on Edward Said's theory.[13] Thus modern political events and issues seen through the lens of such assumptions are often overestimated; they appear on the small screen framed by generalizations, catastrophism and sensationalism. Here the dilemma of "chicken and egg" appears: Is the misconception present in the textbooks the reason for journalist assumptions or does media influence the representation put into school texts?

"Political Islam, which has emerged out of different experiences of colonialism and oppression, has allowed the West to construct Islam as the new enemy—a global force which represents an ideological and physical threat based on a historically polarized relationship."[14] Islamophobia as demonization of both religion and ethnicity is often used to describe European media representation of Islam and Muslims. Some speak about a new type of racism, also called anti-Muslimism, which is largely based on culture and religion rather than on color and race.

The catalyst for the emergence of anti-Muslimism was the Rushdie affair, which for the first time questioned Islam as religion in the media. The neo-Orientalist debate on the Clash of Civilizations intensified after 9/11. "Islamophobia, like the colonial discourse of its predecessor, Orientalism, does not allow for diversity."[15] The notion of Islamic threat has moreover taken more inward direction centering on Muslims living in the West, which allowed the right to switch from the less popular xenophobia to the more popular Islamophobia. "Rather then rendering Orientalism outdated (due to the demise of national distinctions) process of globalization has increased the need for such constructions in creating stable boundaries as anxieties increase. In limiting the frameworks of interpretations to containing ethnocentric ideological assumptions with strategic interests, the Orientalist discourse continues to be a contemporary force."[16]

But the struggle for Muslim identity is taking place on several levels. Media is just one of them and has to deal with the whole complexity of the issue. Muslim population in Europe faces the dilemma of national and transnational character of their religion and culture. West African Muslims in Europe, mostly in Italy, France and Spain have

12) Abdul Bari Atwan, editor of al-Quds al-Arabi, in Feuilherade,P.: Extremists hijack Islam's image. BBC News, 15–11–2005.
13) Said, 1978.
14) Poole, 2000.
15) Saeed, 2007: 457.
16) Poole, 2002: 251.

considered their stay in the host country as temporary. Thus their religious lives tend to be strongly anchored in their country of origin. They associate Islam with 'home'. On the other hand, Muslims originally from North Africa in Spain and France, Turks in Germany, Pakistanis and Iranians in the UK operate politically, economically and culturally (religion included) in two or more nation-state systems.

Besides that, the Muslim population of Europe also acts transnationally through the concept of the Ummah, which remains abstract and de-territorialized. This sense of transnational character of the Muslim community tends to be sharpened by watershed events, local (e.g. veil affairs) and global (e.g. war in Iraq). The Ummah for European Muslim is "a transnational Muslim public sphere, which intersects with other public spheres in Europe and it has implications for the way in which the important question of what it means to be a Muslim in Europe is being addressed."[17]

At the same time, the sectarian, ethnic and other differences inside the European Muslim community remain of supreme importance. The nation-state is no longer determinant for the idea of community and identity. Media plays a crucial role in creating notions of self and 'other' in the new public spheres. Not only perception of Islam and Muslim is influenced by the media, but also believers' perception of themselves and their relation to the existing and new appearing religious authorities.

Media Representation of Muslims
The 'Islamic' concern of the Western media dates back to the Islamic Revolution and Western TV's presentation of Iran under the Ayatollah Khomeini. Yet these events posed a threat to Western interests.

Most European national media, public and commercial, shows the same general features: while ten years ago images illustrating Islam and Muslims related events turned to the recurrent subjects of "nomadic shepherds crossing the desert with their flocks of camels, sheep and goats, mosques, scenes of prayer, Khomeini in front of his excited believers, women submissive or with arms, traditional and backward societies, an Arab sheikh threatening Western leaders with a petrol hose-pipe, etc."[18], today's recurrent subject has been an Islamic extremist if not directly terrorist. Muslims are depicted as backward, irrational, fundamentalists, misogynists, threatening etc. Portrayal of Arabs and Muslims however varies according to the type of media, but it still remains mostly simplistic, stereotypical and negative.

Balta identifies four main simplistic Western media representation of Arab and Muslim world since 1950's: Terrorist (Algerian, Palestinian, Lebanese after the conflict in 1975), poor unqualified immigrant worker, rich Gulf sheikh (after the petrol boom

17) Grillo, Soares, 2005: 11.
18) Navarro in Miralles: Islam…

in 1973), fanatical integrist (after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, related to the war in Afghanistan and rise of Islamism in Egypt and Algeria).[19] Atwan not far from the reality confirms that "[w]e have never seen in a Western television a great Arab intellectual, artist, scientific or writer."[20]

The media associates the information about the Muslims and Arabs, which are often used as synonyms, with external and internal conflicts and criminality even if members of this religious and ethnic minority are actually victims. "If the offender is a Muslim, this will definitely be mentioned, regardless of whether it has anything to do with what has happened."[21] The negative profiling of Muslims in Western perception tends to be backed by 'self-profiling' of certain perpetrators who themselves invokes Islam. As a result, it is difficult for non-Muslim Westerners to identify the false link between the event and the religion.

The speed of informative production makes media in general and television in particular lack the necessary time to understand and explain facts. Islam is brought into focus in an audiovisual context of growing competition and return to the method of 'information-spectacle[22], which doesn't allow going beyond the deep-rooted assumptions and simplistic stereotypes. It is also known that the redactions lack real specialists in Islam, and thus information is provided by whose judgment is often only based on his assumptions.

Another important factor is the limited framework, in which Islam is mostly represented in media and which means that the audience has already a particular set of opinions about it, which are going to be activated by the presented images.

Muslims and Islam in European National Media: Examples
Great Britain

While in the UK the binary representations of Muslims and Islam are much more present in reporting global Islam, the national news concerning Muslim community and Islam are more complex trying to comply with the pluralistic character of the country. Fundamentalism appears in connection with British Islam generally after international events often linked to immigration and it speculates on fundamentalists' presence in the UK. It also suggests that the agenda of British Muslims depends of external networks and factors bringing foreign values often seen in connection with extremism and fanaticism and security issue. The majority moderate and pragmatic stance is thus marginalized.

A perceived link between Muslims and Islam and terrorism in many people's mind was created by media coverage of two key events: attack on New York (2001) and London (2005). "The public opinion was influenced by this and any further coverage or discussion was framed within these parameters and implicitly made reference to these assumptions."[23] The "'dormant' perceptions"[24], which the audience already has, are triggered by media representation, such as the events of July 7, 2005. Muslim names were used at an early stage of news coverage and audience made connection between Islam and attacks. The same effect of connecting Islam with violence and threat had the frequent use of specific vocabulary such as bomb, police, and security; however these words are less subjective than terrorist, radical, extremist.[25] Great stress was also put in this affair on asylum seekers and immigrants who were supposed to be the group the suspected bombers came out of. This connotation only strengthened the perception of Islam and Muslim as something foreign. It however proved that the attackers were British Muslims brought up in the UK.

Muslims in the UK continue to be associated with freedom of speech and the Rushdie affair. Freedom of expression issue was raised during the debate about the Danish caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad. In this case the freedom of expression more

---

19) Balta, 1994: 31.

Alami also presents typology of media representation of Arabs and Muslims. He puts however stress on the influence of Zionist propaganda and distinguishes between two phases - before and after 1973. Some of the mentioned categories of Arab image are: barbaric, cruel terrorists, incapables to adopt modern technologies, willing to destroy Israel, traitors etc. for the phase before 1973. As for the second period after the first defeat of Israel by Egypt, they are depicted as cowards, blackmailers, kidnappers, ridiculous rich, religious fanatics etc. (See Alami 1994: 268–269).

20) Atwan, 1994: 332–333.

21) Schiffer, 2004.

22) Mills-Affif, 2006: 976.

23) Ameli et al., 2007: 28.

24) Poole in Ameli et al. 2007: 28.

25) Similar case happened in Germany in fall 2002 after the sniper action in Washington. German TV channels used the Muslim name and stating afterwards that the attacker was a convert to Islam. Such statements are nevertheless „a clear infringement of the German Press Board Guidelines N. 12.1., which prohibits the naming of group affiliations, such as nationality, religion etc. in the context of crime reporting. The necessity for such a guideline attests to just this danger of perceiving individual acts as group phenomena." (Schiffer, 2004).

than anytime before turned to the integration issue and to the integration of Islam and Muslims in Europe and in the UK in particular.

The UK is one of the European countries with Muslim political representatives. Although this can be an opportunity for more open and positive coverage, in reality most of these individuals appear in media only framed through criminality. "This insinuates that when Muslims are involved in politics, illegal activity takes place. It also illustrates the tendency to undermine the few Muslim politicians."[26]

"Criminality is more significant in the coverage of personal relationships than any other subject. This perpetuates the idea that Muslim law and practice is deviant in its difference from British values and customs, for example, in the practice of underage marriage for girls. Thus, the purpose of articles on relationships is to emphasize cultural differences. The association with conversion then secures the cultural threat."[27]

Some British Muslims suggest that the government should take steps to protect Muslims from biased coverage. This might be in the form of legislation which prevents the media insulting Islam and Muslims and prosecute people who incite hatred against Islam, as ethnic groups are protected in the UK.

On a national level Muslim audio-visual media are absent. During Ramadan however broadcasting licenses are usually granted to Muslim community for a limited period of time. Occasionally, the public TV and radio produce programs on Islam, especially in connection with the holy month or immigration.

France

There is a specific representation of Muslims on French TV compared to other minorities shown on the small screen in France.

French TV depicts certain cultures of immigrated minorities as attractive, turning around successful stories of integration, facilitating thus positive acceptance of the community members in the host country (Spanish, Indian etc.). On the other hand, the original culture of North Africans and especially Algerians, to which the producers generally turn the objective when it comes to shoot Islam in France, is presented in the overwhelming majority of cases as a burden and a legacy to be got rid of. The belief that the North-African immigration is less soluble in French society than other minorities, putting the stress on the cultural and religious distance conceived as a "mortgage to integration" (hypothèque à l'intégration)[28], has persisted.

Political and media discourse adopted a considerably defensive attitude when the scenario of an Iranian threat and the perception of immigrants in France were mer-

26) Poole, 2000.
27) Poole, 2000.
28) Mills-Affif, 2006: 978.

ged; and the latter was identified for the first time with Islam. Before 1989, French journalist never used expressions such as 'Muslims of France'. In 1960's French media started to use term 'foreign labor force', 'foreign workers', 'immigrants', 'young people of immigrant origin' and 'beurs'.[29] After the riots in Vaulx-en-Velin in 1990 media fed the perception that problem of immigration is closely linked to the suburbs and rise of Islam.

During the First Gulf War however politicians and the media worried about how Muslims in France would react to the bombardment of Iraq, and therefore avoided depicting them as an 'internal enemy' and addressed the 'good and integrated', it means assimilated, Muslims living in conformity with the French state. Later in the 1990's however French media adopted the governmental security stance toward Islam and Muslims.

Mills-Affif affirms an ongoing change in the media representation of Muslim community in France—from the former victimization (provoking compassion in the spectator) to the current stigmatization (triggering fear).

"Since the 'Rushdie affair' and the first episode of 'l'affaire des foulards de Creil' (veil affair of Creil), it is the television who, in France, gives the definition of 'good' and 'bad' Muslim, of 'integrist' and 'integrated', with the whole of visual codes accompanying it"[30]: Integrists, who are foreigners, minority, proselytes, and good Muslims, who are moderated, peaceful and majority. The above mentioned affairs as well as the threat of Islamized suburbs[31] were big, easy and quick stories for redactions and new focus in media terminology appeared: national identity, integration of immigrants, secularism (laïcité) etc.

There is however a discrepancy in the representation: most air is dedicated to the minority; the reportages aiming at proving the rise of integrism and Islamism are omnipresent. The programs showing the moderated Muslims are in the minority. Deltombe moreover affirms that such information is often expressed when using the verb remain (moderated Muslims remain in the majority, the integrists remain widely in the minority), which makes the telespectators think about the pressures inside the minority).

29) There is however one exception relating to religion in the mentioned period: The so-called French Muslims or harki. Their naturalization on the small screen however was not easier that that of immigrants. "The distinction repatriated/immigrant dissolves under the influence of ethno-religious prism." (Mills-Affif, 2006: 979)
30) Mills-Affif, 2006: 976.
31) This happened mostly after the so-called Kelkal affair in September 1995. Kelkal's attacks marked the transition between isolated suburbs delinquency and its links to international terrorism.

Muslim community and thus a possible threat.[32] He speaks about 'an imaginary conception of an essentialized Islam'.[33]

"Telespectatores are to a different degree prisoners of a perception of a 'native Muslim' (l'indigène musulman), which appears under the silhouette of an immigrant who is supposed to have traditionally built his culture uniquely around his religion."[34] Algerians were perceived for a long time as a source of conflict and impossible integration and the issue had clearly political tone. At the same time media regularly focus on Muslim women in French society as if their integration depended exclusively on their traditions and religion and not on social politics, and they are not able to convey the change this population group has been undergoing. The representations don't reflect the changing reality.[35]

National radio quite regularly reports on Islam and there are several small, sometimes bilingual, radio stations focusing on Muslim population, such as Radio Beur or Radio Orient, which has a national coverage. These stations however focus little on the religion and only far from the prime time.

French public TV offer every Sunday morning a 30min air to the association Vivre l'Islam on FR2 to present programs on Islam. Society magazines dealing with the complexity of French Muslims reality appear on air in the afternoon and in the second part of the night.

An important impact on French TV representation of Islam and Muslims has the new generation of directors of North-African immigrant origin, who have become more visible in the field of documentary as well as fiction during the last ten years.[36] They offer innovative points of view from inside. To produce such a program however means overcoming many financial and ideological obstacles (especially a long time necessary to collect data, resistance to the main stream of TV entertainment production and its competition).

32) Deltombe in Mills-Affif, 2006: 984.

33) Deltombe, 2005.

34) Mills-Affif, 2006: 981.

35) There were nevertheless some exceptions: In February 1966 the channel ORTF 2 started to broadcast Guy Demoy's documentary Algériens de Paris, which showed the real face of Algerian immigrants reality, Coline Serreau's Grands mères de l'islam, a documentary showing the quotidian of an Algerian family in France, was broadcasted on TF1 in August 1980, etc. (See Mills-Affif, 2006).

36) Yamina Benguigui's documentary Mémoires d'immigrés: l'héritage maghrébin (Canal+, May 1997), shows many decades later the life conditions of the first generation of immigrants who were forgotten by media at the discovery of Beurs.

Spain

The image of Muslims and Islam in Spanish media seems to be more negative especially since the first Gulf War, in which media became an ally leaving, once the conflict finished, the perception of Arabs rather resented.[37]

In Spanish media the most exposed (since the most numerous coming from the Muslim countries) minority of immigrant origin are Moroccans and mostly in the section of events and incidents. Moroccans appear regularly in TV news in the scenes of police arrests in the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. At the same time, there is little space given in media to cultural aspects of the minorities and the Moroccan one in particular.

Algerians don't fall behind. They appear mostly in media as governors, Islamist commanders, victims of armed actions, political parties and manifestations. From time to time, unknown persons appear, but almost always to demonstrate one of the above-mentioned topics: violence, misery, exploitation, resignation, etc. However representation of the life in Algeria is not on the agenda of media. In sum, "there is no sense of life in the information, but a sense of interests. It seems reasonable to conclude that media in its representations and silences about Algeria, contribute to defend, reproduce and legitimate its current relations of domination and it is a powerful ideological apparatus in service of maintaining the status quo."[38]

Also other minorities appear in a negative context in media. Matching the relative information with the global events makes them be perceived as problematic. The North Africans simply don't represent the attractive story, despite all the positive impact this culture has had on the Spanish one. "[T]he image in the press of the poor immigrant coming from Morocco or Algeria after having crossed the Mediterranean with a 'patera' can be seen affected by a combination of terminology clearly cultural and religious—Allah or Islam - with categories of social value—'North African immigrants'—to be incorporated in an explicative cocktail of terrorist phenomenon with result of a disinformation of readers and creation of social alarm."[39]

At the same time, it is to be considered, that Spanish media does not deal in the same manner with the rich Arab aristocratic families residing in Costa del Sol and the Moroccan immigrants. The Gulf sheikhs are depicted and treated as the jet set in contrast to the poor economically motivated Moroccan immigrants. Some members of the same ethnic and religious minority are thus accepted, while the others are refused.

37) About the media role in the Gulf War see also Aguilar: 1991, Pizarroso: 1991, Altheide, Grimes: 2005. Use of media as a tool of propaganda is not new. Alami describes e.g. the role of press and its control during the first Zionist congress in 1897 (see Alami, 1994: 265-266).

38) Miralles: Islam...

39) Miralles: Islam...

It proves that the Spanish media doesn't demonize Islam as a faith or religion, but as an attribute of a specific social group, which in this case is easily blamed for economic problems of the host country, while the rich Gulf families enhance the economics of the region and their stay is only temporary.

Anyway, Arabs represent the second most refused ethnic group (after Gypsies) in Spain. "It is illustrative to point out that if there was an image absent in the campaigns of solidarity—in defense of ethnic minorities, accusation of the third world or of antiracist orientation - carried out in the last years, as well as the institutional campaigns such as NGO's, it was precisely the Arab one."[40] While the other ethnics found their way how to project themselves in media, Arabs as subjects are almost invisible. The same as links between North African immigrants and threat of terrorism were established, similar connections were created between terrorism and Islam in media.

There is no TV program or radio station whose provider is a recognized Islamic organization or association. Spanish Nation Radio (RNE) however gives air to the three recognized religious minorities—Muslims, Protestants, Jews. Muslim community can express itself in a program called Dialogo y convivencia. Spanish TV offers Muslims space in the program called Tiempo de Creer, which is presented by the Evangelical Churches of Spain on TVE2 and TV Canal Internacional every three weeks on Sunday morning during one hour. This program is dedicated not exclusively to Muslims but to all three recognized religions that alternate broadcast.

Since the 1990's there has been in some regional radios Arabic or bilingual programs dedicated to the immigration and focusing on the Muslim community, such as bilingual Alcazaba in Malaga. These programs are scheduled out of the prime time.

Despite the obvious lack of Muslim presence in media as subjects, the International Helsinki Federation (IHF) considers the approach of Spanish media toward Muslims and Islam as balanced.[41]

Italy

Italy doesn't have any programs dedicated to Muslim community or to Islam. However Muslims appear on TV, but they in general don't give the best image of Islam.

The most outstanding example was the case of Adel Smith, "a professional of provocation, able to live only on the pseudo-cultural rubbish that generates and on the polemics that is generated on this (...) giving him that fatuous media visibility (...). And newspapers and televisions fall in with. Or they are accomplices of it."[42] This way the Italian convert, Adel Smith, made a scandal in direct on Teleserenissima, TeleLombardia or TeleNuovo (Verona), channels that took opportunity to gain more audience. In November 2001 Smith was invited to the program Porta a Porta, in which he provided the stereotypical image of a Muslim hostile to the West and its values (as the journalists who invited him as a representative of one of the most important Muslim organizations in the country expected).

In reality, Smith has no interest in the future of Italian Muslims whose he says is a representative. The more he shows up on the air, the worse is public opinion about Islam. His vulgar and disrespectful calling the crucifix "macabre representation of a corpse in miniature" makes Islam a lot of enemies. Paradoxically, the author of such declarations claims being a devout believer (of Islam), which offends not only Christians but also many Muslims who believe that Jesus Christ is one of the prophets whose name and story appears in the Koran.

As a result, the impact of Adel Smith's media performance taking place in the moment of stabilization and institutionalization of Italian Islam has a clearly negative impact. The role of media is to be stressed. Not by coincidence they invite him and not other interlocutors of Italian Islam. He's taking advantage of virtual representativity when the real is missing. "The model of action is that of telepredictors of the American protestant 'electronic church'."[43] He uses the lack of real knowledge of Islam in media and the need of making audience. "The spirit of time reclaims a hard Muslim [un Islamico], maybe 'bad', little inclined to dialogue"[44]: best way for televisions to produce big story and make audienceThis demonstrates that "Italian society can transform a completely virtual Muslim leader, boycotted by the Muslim [Islamic] community, into one of its most visible exponents, for a single fact that it legitimated him, more or less ingenuously, on a media level."[45]

40) Miralles: Islam…

41) In 2006 however IHF pointed out that some programs are at the limit of the freedom of expression and show clear symptoms of public humiliation. The mentioned program was La Linterna presented by a famous opponent of Islam Cesar Vidal. Against broadcasting of this program a lot of accusations were held. (Helsinki Federation for Human Rights & IHF Research Foundation - Human Rights in the OSCE Region (Europe, Central Asia and North America). Report 2006 (Events of 2005): 395).

42) Allievi, 2003: 131. See also Guolo, 2003: 27–30.

43) Guolo, 2003: 29.

44) Guolo, 2003: 29.

45) Guolo, 2003: 30.

This also proves that on the Italian (or any European) public scene not only Islamists can perform, but also Italian converts with a similar result.

Politics and Media Representations

Representation also depends on the complex interaction of the political affiliations and interest of media, processes of news production, the ownership and political affiliations of media institutions. The use of offensive stereotypes is usually based on specific political intentions. "[M]edia representation is strongly linked to actual reality, structures of power that inform not only cultural considerations but can and do affect concrete power structures and power relations between societal actors, particularly, as we are discussing the relationship between majority and minority/ies."[46] Muslims became a policy category. "Media seems not to do anything else that reproduces the interpretative crisis of Islamic events that take place on the public scene."[47]

There is evidence that public channels grant more room to domestic Islam, but the commercial channels are more followed by the public. "It is also clear that the news is often selected, repeated, and reused on a global scale because control over the media has become more concentrated in the hands of a small number of global news agencies."[48]

We can still ask to which extent media producers are willing to support articles and reports that are in conflict with the opinion of the audience, news agencies and advertisers and to which extent a journalist who wants to keep his or her job will challenge the anchored stereotypes.[49]

46) Ameli et al., 2007: 10.

47) Dassetto, 1994: 130. See also Deltombe, 2004.

48) Larsson, 2006: 38.
A striking example of accumulation of media power is the situation in Italy. "90% of all television revenues and audiences in Italy were controlled by the privately owned company "Mediaset" and by the public broadcaster RAI. "Fininvest," a holding company owned by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's family, is a major shareholder in "Mediaset," and Berlusconi indirectly controls also many other media companies, including the "Mondadori" publishing group, two daily newspapers, and several weekly publications." (Human Rights in the OSCE Region (Europe, Central Asia and North America). Report 2006 (Events of 2005): 211).

49) Larsson, 2006: 38.

Muslims as Subject in Media

The Council of Europe recommends the Muslim communities in Europe to ensure coverage of Muslim reality in the media, encourages the moderate voices to be heard publicly and thus to fight Islamophobia. Muslim presence in the media as subjects should also enhance the joint fight of the government and the moderate Muslim community against extremism.

Although Muslims in Europe consider the media portrayal of their religion and community inaccurate and derogatory distorting reality and destroying trust among Muslim audience, they don't show much interest in intervening actively into media programs. It's mostly the Council of Europe and representatives of recognized Muslim communities, associations and organizations, often coming from convert circles, who aim at making Muslim become not only objects of media, but also its subjects. Muslim representatives negotiate with local TV channel and radio stations religious programs. But this effort mostly fails.

The alternative is satellite broadcasting from the countries of origin of the immigrant community and from further Islamic world. These programs are in Arabic and are usually purely Islamic. It can lead to the lack of interest in integration into host society and segregation inside the host country and turning toward the Islamic world. There are also several providers of Islamic broadcasting in Europe: Avezzano (Roma) Art, Orbit (Roma) and MBC (London) etc., all of them financed by Saudi Arabia. These channel however operate in the direction of segregation, often discourage European Muslims from integrating into Western society and they also spread the negative image of Islam and Muslims among Europeans who happen to watch their conservative religious programs.

On the other hand, Arab journalists whose documentaries and talk shows can be watched on satellite TV (al-Jazeera, al-Arabiyya or Arab national channels) have the potential to change the representations and influence the European public perception of Islam, Muslims and Arab world in general. But they still have to face many challenges on political, economic and cultural level and they still show little interest in Islam in the West.

The broadcasting in Arabic, Islamic or not, nevertheless discourages those members of European Muslim community, who don't speak anymore the language of their country of origin. This is mostly the case of the second and further generations issued of immigration, which received the education in the national language of the host country and generally only speak the dialect of their parents' country but don't understand and can't read standard Arabic.

It is from this category of European Muslims that most interest and initiative to express their needs in media issue. Most of them however choose the cheapest and easiest way of doing so: electronic, especially on-line media, which is however gaining more and more audience. These young Muslims feel the need of reflecting their 'being Muslim' and their behavior is strongly influenced by their consumption of the media, whose role (and especially the one of Muslim media) is increasingly important for construction of

European Muslims identities. The access to the media technologies provides them with the possibilities to develop their self-perception in the European host society and within the European and global Ummah.

On the one hand, the globalizing forces fragment traditional community structures; on the other hand, new ideas of community and identity are formulated when using media technology. European Muslims redefine their membership in the Ummah, real or virtual. While the awareness of a 'global' Ummah is increased by reporting on world Muslim population, local and electronic media niches are used mostly by young Muslims in the West to establish new social spaces for themselves when avoiding mainstream social and cultural activities of the host society. The Muslim media thus promotes the concept of a Muslim identity to a considerable degree.[50]

Another alternative, considerably less popular among broadcasters and less exploited by Muslim communities and little frequent, which can however contribute to successful integration or at least cohabitation, are regional and local radio stations, which dedicate some air time to the Islamic holidays and immigration issues. Bilingual programs address newcomers as well as the settled community and host society and lead to mutual understanding of cultural and religious traditions and differences, making the 'other' become more familiar and thus less threatening.

While the national media should provide information about Islam and its culture focusing thus mostly on non-Muslim audience, the Muslim media should offer an insight into Muslim community and address also Muslims seeking after identity references. The Muslim media influence and shape the way Muslim communities develop, since the shared experience portrayed in the media leads to a perception of shared identity. Yet Muslim communities in the West face similar issues and challenges.

The room granted to Muslims in the national media depends considerably on the role of religion in the state and on the importance and maturity of the Muslim community. There are however certain discrepancies in this theory. While countries with traditionally strong Catholicism such as Portugal[51] or Spain are open to expression of other religions,

Islam included, being at the same time young host countries of the quickly growing Muslim population of immigrant origin, Italy represents a completely different approach. While Spanish and Portuguese public TV channels regularly give Muslim communities airtime, in Italy there is no such a program. In countries with settled and very important Muslim community (France, UK and Germany) programs on Islam and Muslims are more frequent; this is besides other conditioned by their established social recognition.

There are however more possibilities for Muslim initiative to promote positive image of their religion and community, not only the Muslim media and the scarce time granted by the national media programs dedicated to religion and culture. Such a tool can be a satire, which has nevertheless two edges.

On the one hand, more Muslims could follow the example of British female comic, Shazia Mirza, of Pakistani origin who besides theaters uses also media to satirize Islamic extremists, breaking assumptions about Islam and relative gender issues and pointing thus at the 'more human face of Islam' lived in the West by a female Muslim.

On the other hand, it was also a satire, which was used by Jylland-Posten to enhance constructive public debate on Islam in Europe. The misleading linear conception presented mainly by TV coverage, unlike more analytical press coverage, presented the issue as a struggle of freedom of expression versus respect for religious faith. The highly controversial and internationalized case of cartoons of Muhammad however provoked great and constructive participation of Muslims in radio and TV chat shows, which was never seen before in Denmark and many other European countries.[52]

Conclusion

According to the EU recommendations, the over-simplified approach of the media should change to make understand that Islam is not incompatible with the democratic principles of human rights, freedom of expression etc. The recommendations focused not only on the national media through governments of the member states but

---

50) Ahmad, 2003?

51) Portuguese RTP2 broadcasts daily five days a week a half hour program called A Fe dos Homens (The People's Faith), in which Muslims can take part as other religious communities to produce their own religious programs. Portuguese media are also considered as fair, explicative and complex when reporting on Islam and Muslims and it's also remarkable that local Muslims are often ask their point of view concerning international issues.

52) For more details see Codina, Rodriguez-Virgili: 2007.

also on representatives of Muslim communities. However it seems that neither the one nor the other carry out much of what is recommended. And media role, when producing and when consumed, can have both integration and segregation effect.

Recommendations to National Media	Recommendations to Muslim Communities
Increase broadcasting about Islamic culture and its contribution to the West	Ensure coverage of Muslim reality in the media and give voice to moderate Muslims
Prevent religion from being associated with actions carried out by fanatic minorities	Create guidelines to combat Islamophobia in the media
Cooperate with Muslim minorities against terrorism and extremism and Islamophobia and to enhance integration	Cooperate with the government on anti-terrorism and anti-extremism issues and to enhance integration
Give opportunity for immigrants to play an active role in public life and ensure fair access to the public media for all religions	

Despite some claims that Muslims should be given more opportunities in the media so they could represent themselves better, Muslims and their passivity are also to be blamed for negative portrayals. Some positive stories focusing on civilization could be utilized for the benefit of Muslims and as a counterweight to global Islam related political issues and stereotypes.

The existent opinions are mostly presented instead of giving room to original producers of interpretations and commentaries. Muslims can't face the situation since they don't have at their disposal a capacity of efficient reaction, as well as they don't have a legitimate representative body (collective or individual) on the public scene who would be able to produce programs that media could without fear introduce to their agenda.

„Moreover the Muslims, more than other social actors, have to manage the effect of meanings that go beyond their immediate action, since their acting in Europe is often inspired, on the level of meanings, behind the border. The Muslim reality as it is presented by media appears thus as a phenomenon of fluctuating meaning and of unequal treatment."[53] As a result, many Muslims gave up their interaction with media, they refuse interviews.

At the same time, some individuals enter the process of production of meanings, using the strength of communication of gestures, symbols, expression to build

53) Dassetto, 1994: 130.

their own publicity. Those who manage these means to promote real interest of Muslim community and understanding of Islam have still been rare. The "absence from the media relates to concepts developed in 'muted group theory' whereby certain groups in society are muted—either silent, not heard or only able to speak a language imposed by others."[54]

Media still present mostly events disconnected and de-contextualized, defined by big agencies as important and TV often explains the reality of the Muslim world by images and little text. The representation of Muslims focusing on the dark side of the reality (cultural and religious) allows eluding the responsibility of the host society and its social politics.

Compared the representation of global Islam, the national Islam is however depicted as more positive and diverse depending on gender, generation and class. The difficulty of disentangling the local and the global however persists.[55] The overwhelming majority of reporting on Islam focuses on global events. The perception of Islam thus becomes 'foreign' due also to the reference to global events necessarily linked all together. Domestic Islam with his 'lack of conflict' is for media less interesting than the international binary news. Unfortunately reporting national Islam may have more impact of European society, since the reported event and issues are closer to people's knowledge and experience.

Many European countries however proved that representations of Muslims and Islam aren't as homogeneous as it could seem. The differentiation depends on broadcasting time schedule. The position of a program in the time-frame determines its impact. The closer a program is to the prime time the more manichaeist its content risk to be. The more the broadcasting time moves away from the prime time, the more reflective the information tends to be in the niche dedicated mostly to documentaries.

However, Islam is a salient issue whose coverage is increasing. Systematic and complex coverage is nevertheless missing as well as balance between news coverage and documentaries, external (global) Islam related information and domestic (national) Islam coverage as well as mass description (essentialist) and personal (individual) representation. The question whose voice should be transmitted (moderate-extremist, local-global, personal-institutional, good-bad etc.) has still been open. Debate on Islamic topics becomes the more sophisticated the more the Muslims themselves become involved in producing media content, which has still been quite rare.

There are only slight differences in relation to time, circumstances, countries, media and even political orientation. Journalists are victims of their own ignorance, prejudice and political manipulation. The representation of Islam is rather homogeneous.

54) Kramarae in Ameli et al., 2007: 14.
55) Disentangle the local and the global means „The global production of the local in the global and the localization of the global." (Baker in Poole, 2002: 258).

Monolithic religion representation results more important than cultural difference and the representation has still been turning around the unchangeable core of Orientalist discourse. The security topic and war on terror represent only a new frame for old contents. What is reported is negotiation around national cultural identity where the 'otherness' of Muslims is clearly evident.

The perception of oneself and of the others is a key factor in any integration effort. However, "[i]t is very difficult to demonstrate a clear relationship between what the media publish about Islam and Muslims and the opinions of the public."[56] Do the media have a driving effect on the opinions of the public or do they only reflect the public opinion? Despite this 'egg and chicken' dilemma, there is evidence that media play an important role in shaping the perception and understanding of Islam, Muslim identities and Western society amongst both Muslims and non-Muslims in Europe. Muslims are also influenced by the portrayal of their own religion and Western society provided by Islamic satellite channels.

It is clear that the media coverage represents an essential part of any controversy; it determines the frame and the degree of knowledge of diversity and lays down the terms for the debate. Muslims passivity toward the media production leaves space for uninformed non-Muslim journalists to form the public perception of Islam and Muslim society, which in its present interior conflict and diversity needs more than before to show its contribution to the West, home of growing Muslim populations.

Yet as Tariq Ramadan affirms: The media and new European-Muslim culture are two of the most important means for European Muslims to become inclusive European citizens. But until now, only little has been done in this direction by both interested sides. "If Western media had mobilized the same energy and resources that used in the Rushdie case, for example, to explain the origins of the conflicts that destroy the Arab world or the economic and social marginalization to which Europe subjects the peoples of the Southern coast of the Mediterranean, maybe the announced desire of peace would be more credible."[57]

Morley suggests a 'set of rules' for decoding texts reporting on Islam: cultural proximity, knowledge and media literacy.[58] Education in the use of media is fundamental for journalists and spectators to keep the public from negative interpretation and understanding of Islam. Cross categorization is necessary as European and National Muslims are emerging topic. Stereotypes must be reshaped through much educational work and cultivation of self-criticism. Yet "the seemingly innocuous stating of pure facts can lead to false conclusions."[59]

But also Muslims must contribute to the integration on the public scene. They should keep involved with mainstream media as well as invest in Muslim media. Only that and firm establishment of their European-Muslim identity can provide theme with a platform for greater representation in wider society and for developing mutual understanding and respect, necessary for successful integration in the host country society.

Bibliography

Aguilar S. et alt. (1991): Las mentiras de una guerra: desinformación y censura en el conflicto del Golfo, Deriva, Barcelona.

Ahmad, S.T. (2003?): Young Muslims and Muslim Media in Britain. Leicester University online: www.lsc.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/conference/papers/Ahmed, 07-08-2008.

Alami, S. (1994): El porqué del lenguaje antiárabe en los medios occidentales. In Bodas, J., Dragoevich, A. (eds.) (1994): El mundo árabe y su imagen en los medios. Madrid, Comunica.

Allievi, S. (2003): Islam italiano. Viaggion nella seconda religione del paese, Einaudi, Torino.

Allievi, S. (2006): How & Why "Immigrants" became "Muslims". In ISIM Review, 18, 37.

Altheide, D.L., Grimes, J.N. (2005): War Programming: The Propaganda Project and the Iraq War. In The Sociological Quarterly 46, 617–643.

Ameli, S.R., Marandi, S.M., Ahmad,S., Seyfeddin, K., Merali, A. (2007): The British Media and Muslim Representation: The Ideology of Demonization. Islamic Human Rights Commission.

Anderson, J.W. (2000): New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere. In ISIM Newsletter, 5, 39.

Atwan, A. (1994): La desfiguración de la imagen del Mundo árabe a través de los medios de comunicación. In Bodas, J., Dragoevich, A. (eds.) (1994): El mundo árabe y su imagen en los medios. Madrid, Comunica.

Balta, P. (1994): Los medios y los malentendidos euroárabes. In Bodas, J., Dragoevich, A. (eds.) (1994): El mundo árabe y su imagen en los medios. Madrid, Comunica.

Breska, J. (2007): Islam in Contemporary Spain and the Spanish Official Islam. PhD dissertation, Charles University in Prague.

Cadé, M. (2006): L'islam dans le miroir du cinéma français. In Arkoun, M. (ed.): L'histoire de l'islam et des musulmans en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours, Michel Albin, Paris.

Codina, M., Rodríguez-Virgili (2007): Journalism for Integration. The Muhammad Cartoons. In Javnost, 14/2, 31–46.

Dassetto, F. (1994): L'islam in Europa. Ed. Della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Torino.

Deltombe, T. (2004): Quand l'islamism devient spectacle. In Le Monde Diplomatique, Août 2004, 11.

Deltombe, T. (2005): L'Islam imaginaire. La construction médiatique de l'islamophobie en France, 1975-2005, La Découverte, Paris.

Grillo, R., Soares, B. F. (2005): Transnational Islam in Western Europe. In ISIM Review, 15, 11.

Guolo, R. (2003): Xenofobi e Xenofili. Gli Italiani e l'Islam. Laterza, Bari.

Larsson, G. (2006): "Muslims" in Swedish Media and Academia. In ISIM Review, 18, 38-39.

Maréchal, B. (ed.) (2002): L'islam et les musulmans dans l'Europe élargie : radioscopie.: Academia Bruylant, Louvain-La-Neuve.

Mills-Affif, E. (2006): Sur le petit écran: de l'immigré au musulman. In Arkoun, M. (ed.): L'histoire de l'islam et des musulmans en France du Moyen Âge à nos jours, Michel Albin, Paris.

56) Larsson, 2006: 39.

57) Miralles: Islam…

58) Poole, 2002: 245.

59) Schiffer, 2004.

Miralles, R.: Islam y mundo árabe en la escuela y medios de comunicación. Mundo Árabe Online: www.mundo-arabe.org/estudio_sobre_el_islam_y_mundo_arabe.htm, 30-05-2005.
Moore, K., Mason, P., Lewis, J. (2008): Images of Islam in the UK. The Representation of British Muslims in the National Print News Media 2000-2008, Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, Cardiff University.
Pizarosso, A. (1991): La guerra de las mentiras: información, propaganda y guerra psicológica en el conflicto del Golfo, EUDEMA Madrid.
Poole, E. (2000): Media representation and British Muslims, Dialogue Magazine. Also Al-Bab Online: www.al-bab.com/media/articles/poole0005.htm, 19-10-2005.
Poole, E. (2002): Reporting Islam: Media Representation of British Muslims. London:I.B.Tauris.
Ramadan, T. (1999): To Be a European Muslim. Islamic Fundation, Leicester.
Richardson, J.E. (2001): British Muslims in the Broadsheet Press: a challenge to cultural hegemony? In Journalism Studies, 2/2, 221-242.
Saeed, A. (2007): Media, Racism and Islamophobia: The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media. In Sociology Compass 1/2: 443-462.
Said, E. (1978): Orientalism. Vintage Books.
Schiffer, S. (2004): Islam and the Western Media. Constructed Realities and Caricatures. Qantara Online: www.qantara.de/websom/show_article.php/_c-478/_nr-204/i.html, 27-12-2004.
Yalonnis, C., Magannam, G., Milton, K. (2005): Western Perception of Islam and Muslims. A Study of Public Opinion and the Role of the Media in the United States and Western Europe. Ministry of Awqah and Islamic Affairs, Kuweit

Sources:
Recommendation 1162 (1991) on the contribution of the Islamic civilization to European culture, Council of Europe Parliamenty Assembly.
Recommendation 1396 (1999) Religion and Democracy, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly.
Resolution 1605 (2008) European Muslim communities confronted with extremism, Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly.
Human Rights in the OSCE Region (Europe, Central Asia and North America). Report 2006 (Events of 2005). Helsinki Federation for Human Rights & IHF Research Foundation, Vienna.
Human Rights in the OSCE Region: Europe, Central Asia and North America, Report 2007 (Events of 2006). Helsinki Federation for Human Rights & IHF Research Foundation, Vienna.
.

Stanislav Holubec

Moc, revoluce a kolektivní jednání v dílech Michaela Manna, Charlese Tillyho a Thedy Skocpolové.[1]

Abstract:
Michael Mann, Charles Tilly a Theda Skocpol are the leading personalities of the so called "New historical sociology" in 80ies. The main goal of the article is to present the ideas and thinking of these three in Czech social sciences less known authors and try to outline the comparison of their approaches. Based on analysis of their works and the secondary literature on them, the article shows that all of the authors connect not only the historic-sociological method but as well the modernization perspective, interest for the social change, inspiration by Marx and Weber and the revision of their thinking. On the other hand there are significant differences among them based on their topics (in sense of space and time), interests for a different social processes, macro-, mezo- and micro approach and methods of their research.

Jména Charlese Tillyho, Michaela Manna a Thedy Skocpolové nejsou v české sociologii ani historiografii příliš známa a to i přesto, že v západní především anglosaské historické sociologii jsou považováni za její klasiky. Ačkoli byla jejich hlavní díla publikována v osmdesátých letech 20. století, abychom pochopili soudobé trendy v historické sociologii, nemůžeme se těmto třem autorům vyhnout. Skocpolová, Mann a Tilly jsou zařazováni do školy tzv. *Nové historické sociologie* (NHS). Tímto pojmem označujeme směr v amerických společenských vědách existující již po čtyři desítky let, který se zde zformoval částečně pod vlivem pokusů dodat historický rozměr strukturně funkcionalistickým