

https://dspace.org/

A critical analysis of the discourses on Muslims in the media before and after the events of September 11, 2001

Ebrahim, Hanifa

2008-08-06T13:25:14Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/5270

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Chapter One

Introduction

Background

The present study is based on an analysis of a selection of articles that appeared in *The Star, The Daily News, The Cape Argus* and the *New York Times* during the period July 2001 to November 2001. This was a significant period because a global power, the United States of America, was attacked on September 11, 2001. Four planes were hijacked and two of these planes were deliberately crashed into New York City's World Trade Centre Towers, resulting in their collapse. A third plane was flown into the Pentagon outside Washington DC while the fourth plane crashed into a field without hitting its target. A number of people were killed as a result of this attack, and some Muslims that were affiliated politically with the Al-Qaeeda group were implicated in carrying out the attack (Braber, 2002). For the purpose of this study a Muslim is defined as a person who follows the Islamic faith (Media Review Network, 1999 a)

One of the consequences of the above-mentioned event was that acts of violence in the United States of America against Arabs, Muslims, South Asian immigrants and individuals who appeared to be of Muslim origin or "Muslim looking", such as the Sikhs, became prevalent (Malanes, 2001; Muneer, 2002). Numerous incidents of bias against Muslims were reported and there was an increase in the racial profiling and the 'unlawful' detention of individuals of Arab or Middle Eastern origin. Such incidents were not only reported within the United States of America but globally (Braber, 2002).

During this period, there was an intense focus on Muslims and Islam in the media because of political tension in various Muslim countries including Palestine. Research has indicated that the media has focused on the negative images of Muslims and Islam in the last fifteen years, thereby contributing to the construction of Muslims in a negative manner (Muneer, 2002). In this study the implication of the portrayal of Muslims in such a manner is understood according to the definition provided by the

South African Human Rights Commission (1999), which undertook a study of racism in the media. It investigated "Islamophobia". The key features of Islamaphobia are "the portrayal of Muslim cultures as monolithic, intolerant of pluralism, patriarchal, misogynistic, fundamentalist and potentially threatening to other cultures" (South African Human Rights Commission, 1999, p.17). However, like other forms of discrimination it is acknowledged that it is complexly interlinked with racial, cultural, religious and ethnic differences.

In this study, the social identity theory developed by Tajfel (1981), Tajfel and Turner (1979) provides an understanding of how the social world is classified into distinct categories, i.e. 'us' and 'them'; namely, an in-group and an out-group. This polarising schema suggests that social groups construct an ideological image of themselves, in a manner that 'we' are presented positively and 'them' negatively (Oktar, 2001).

This is consistent with the findings by Said (2001) and Van Dijk (1987) who argued that the media have been instrumental in contributing to the structuring of society in terms of 'us' and 'them.' This is depicted in its emphasis on the West as being civilised and knowledgeable in contrast to Muslims who are depicted as violent, uncivilised, and an element to be feared.

This polarised depiction described in the terms of 'us' and 'them' has become increasingly significant in that prominent, influential individuals in society have made statements that further create this schism. Pope Bennedict XVI who is the spiritual head of a billion Catholics, during a visit to Germany in October 2006, made derogatory statements regarding Islam. He asserted that what the prophet had taught was evil and inhuman, and that he had commanded his followers to spread Islam by the sword, thereby encouraging violence. Many influential religious leaders supported this, including the Archbishop of Canterbury. Muslims worldwide raised objections since these claims were incorrect and misleading (Media Review Network, 2006).

Similarly, influential political leaders such as Prime Minister Tony Blair, who have made statements such as 'terrorists subscribe to a branch of Islam that condones violence' (The Times, September 30, 2001 cited in Media Review Network, 2006) and President Bush who describes terrorists as 'Islamic fascists' (Media Review

Network, 2006) consistently associate Islam with the actions of terrorists, thereby contributing to the negative distinction between Islam and the West.

These instances mentioned above are a few of many, which become increasingly dangerous, as media studies show that the media is a powerful source of information for many people and is viewed socially as a means of obtaining factual, unbiased information (Van Dijk, 1987). It can be extremely persuasive and an influential instrument in perpetuating prevailing ideologies (Duncan, 1996). The underlying assumption of the study is that the media does not passively transmit information, but are simultaneously actively involved in the selection of material and the structuring and shaping of reality (De Beer, 1998).

This study acknowledges that discourse (units of social meaning or building blocks of social reality) is central to the reproduction of ideologies (these are systematic views that have developed historically and become broadly characteristic within society) including discrimination and prejudice (Bannister, Burman, Parker, Taylor, & Tindal, 1995). The critical theorist, Althusser asserts that the media creates support for the dominant groups in society and legitimises certain beliefs in favour of certain groups and social agendas, thereby perpetuating power differentials (Macdonell, 1989; Duncan, 1996). This is consistent with the research trends in the study of discourses related to minority groups (see Oktar, 2001; Teo, 2000; Van Dijk, 1987).

Research Aims

The primary aim of this research project was the analysis of the discursive processes in the construction of Muslims within the Star, the Daily News, Argus and New York Times (printed newspapers) before and after the events of September 11, 2001.

This study aimed to explore the various constructions of Muslims as produced by a selection of newspapers before and after the events of September 11, 2001. An analysis was conducted of the discursive trends in relation to the media portrayals of Muslims. The focus was specifically on three local and one international newspaper, namely: The Star, the Daily News and the Cape Argus. The New York Times was included in this analysis to gain some insight into an international perspective.

Significance of this study

Since September 11, 2001 discrimination against Muslims, particularly people of Arab and of Middle Eastern origin has increased (Said, 2001). A Gallup poll conducted in the United States of America, released subsequent to the events of September 11, indicated that 49% of the American people said yes to the idea that Arabs, including those who are American citizens, should carry special identification. In addition 58% demanded that 'Arabs', including those who are Americans, should undergo special, more intense security checks in general (Said, 2001).

Furthermore, a debate was conducted by political leaders on how to protect the United States from further attacks; and a review of racial profiling of Arabs, Muslims and people of Middle Eastern origin was considered as a means to prevent similar acts of terrorism. This would involve the intense racially-based scrutiny of certain groups of individual travellers (Braber, 2002). Such acts of discrimination by political leaders, as well as American citizens, if implemented implicitly or openly would infringe on the fundamental rights of Muslims and those from Arab and Middle Eastern origin.

According to the Media Review Network there is an increasing perception of Muslims as "fundamentalist," "radical" and "extremist" (South African Human Rights Commission, 1999). This reductionism helps to perpetuate a particular construction of Muslims, which is static and contributes to the Western world's perception of Muslims in a homogeneous way. Differences and diversity inherent in individuals and differing sects within the religion are therefore ignored.

The events of September 11, 2001 may have further cemented the negative stereotypes of Muslims all over the world, including South Africa (Media Review Network, 1999 b). This has created a contradiction within the South African context, where Muslims who have contributed positively to the fight against oppression, racism and apartheid are seemingly having to fight another form of oppression, which is more ethnically, culturally and religion specific (Media Review Network, 1999b).

It therefore becomes necessary to begin to research how these forms of discrimination are being reproduced and rationalised in everyday discourses.

This report consists of five chapters. The current chapter forms an introduction to the study, provides background information, and outlines the study's aims and objectives. A brief overview of the research methods adopted in the collection and analysis of data is provided.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of current research studies and trends pertaining to the issue of prejudice and discrimination in the media. A critical appraisal of the theoretical framework that informs this study is outlined.

Chapter 3 focuses on the data collection procedure as well as the methodological paradigm utilised throughout the study. The process of data collection as well as analysis is explained in depth.

Chapter 4 focuses on the interpretation of the analysis of the articles and related emerging discourses. A socio-historical overview of the conceptualisation of 'Muslims' in general and within the South African context specifically is conducted. A further socio-historical analysis of the different newspapers is provided in order to contextualise the results.

The final chapter provides a discussion of the conclusions, limitations and recommendations of the study.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

While psychological theory offers some perspective into the understanding of group differentiation (for example, the theories of conformity and authoritarianism**),** it does not provide the only understanding. Media analysts, cultural anthropologists, sociologists and political analysts have also provided some understanding and theoretical conceptualisation of this phenomenon.

Based on a psychological theoretical understanding, this literature review provides an overview of the social identity theory that has been selected to understand the development of the perceptions of Muslims within the current research context. This framework provides a comprehensive perspective because of its emphasis on the psychological as well as the cognitive aspects of group differentiation. In addition, the aim of this literature review is to provide an understanding of the role of the media in producing and perpetuating discrimination of ethnic minorities, the role of the media in maintaining and upholding dominant ideologies and finally to review current research available that investigates the perceptions of Muslims.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is the social identity theory, originally developed by Tajfel (1981) and Tajfel and Turner (1979). A further inclusion into the social identity theory was that developed by Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell (1987) known as the self-categorization theory.

The social identity theory as a theoretical framework has been used in this study because it emphasises two key aspects: firstly, the psychological motivation that causes a group or group members to positively differentiate themselves from other group members in order to achieve positive social identity and, secondly, it emphasises the cognitive underpinnings in the process of this differentiation. This

theory may therefore assist in understanding the processes involved in the development of negative perceptions of Muslims in general.

There are three central assumptions that define this framework - categorisation, identification and comparison.

Categorisation

The first assumption states that people categorise objects, including themselves, in order to understand and make sense of their environment. It is part of human nature to simplify the world into manageable concepts. These categories are social categories, for example: student, Muslim, Christian and white (Turner et al, 1987).

The content of categories that people are assigned to are generated over a long period of time within a specific cultural context. According to Tajfel (1987), individuals begin to assimilate and categorise information from childhood. Through this process of assimilation and categorisation individuals begin to incorporate the notion of evaluation into their cognitive make-up and as a result develop 'preferences'. Individuals then identify with their own group rather than with other groups (Tajfel, 1986).

According to this theory, people categorise one another into distinct social categories using themselves as a frame of reference. Generally, people hold favourable ideas about the group to which they belong, and frequently represent the social world in terms of 'us' and 'them' (Oktar, 2001). Historically, this has been depicted in relation to the representation of most minority groupings, including ethnic, religious and racial groupings.

The process of social categorisation results in an accentuation of perceived intra-group similarities and inter-group differences. This process of accentuation is believed to result in social stereotypes (Foster & Potgieter, 1992).

The process of group differentiation and identification

This process of identification with a specific group involves three components - a cognitive component, which is the knowledge that one belongs to a group; an

evaluative component, which is a positive or negative value connotation in relation to being a part of the group; and an emotional component that may be accompanied by feelings, for example, of love, hatred, like or dislike directed to one's own group and towards others which stand in relation to it.

According to Tajfel (1981), when individuals belonging to one group interact individually or collectively with another group or its members, inter-group behaviour occurs. This interaction is usually based on social identification. The social aspect is emphasised in that the group or its members determine social uniformities, rules and appropriate behaviour for the group and non-group members. Consensus regarding defining characteristics of the group may be shared and in some cases determined by out-groups. Tajfel (1981) provides an example of the process of differentiation - there is consensus regarding a set of objective criteria that distinguishes a Jew from a non-Jew and these criteria are determined as much by out-groups (that is non-Jews) as well as the in-group (Jews themselves).

According to Foster and Potgieter (1992), belonging to a group or group membership is an integral part of the development of the self-concept. The self-concept in this instance includes a personal identity and a social identity. The personal identity refers to an individual's likes, dislikes and personality traits while the social identity refers to the individual's membership to different groups. The development of the self-concept involves 'a behavioural continuum from interpersonal to inter-group behaviours' and results in a transition in self-concept functioning from personal to social identity' (Foster & Potgieter, 1992, p. 44). Therefore involvement in a group becomes a part of the individual's self-concept. This is an important aspect of inter-group behaviour. When social identity is salient in any given situation inter-group behaviour results. These two aspects of the self are not mutually exclusive and function simultaneously.

The concepts of social categorisation and social identities have an evaluative component. They are perceived as either positive or negative. The assumption is that individuals belong to various social groups because they contribute to their self-concept. Therefore, social identity and the process of social categorisation is a system of orientation that helps to create and define the individual's place in society.

Individuals recognise their ‘identity in socially defined terms’ (Foster & Potgieter, 1992; Tajfel, 1981, p. 255).

Social comparison

It is through the process of social comparison that the evaluative aspect of group membership is determined. The individual’s own group is compared to out-groups using some criterion of comparison (Foster & Potgieter, 1992). The result of this process of comparison is a gradation of groups according to a hierarchy based on the positive characteristics attributed to the groups, thus the more positive the characteristics of the group the higher the status.

The central idea of self-enhancement and group-enhancement results in in-group bias that is achieved by positively making the in-group distinct from the out-group (Oktar, 2001). As a result, the in-group members will favour their own group over other groups in order to fulfil their need for positive self-esteem. This provides the motivation to emphasise positive traits typical of their own group and to focus on stereotypical negative group characteristics and traits typical of the out-group (Oktar, 2001). The characteristic of one’s own group as a whole (for example wealth, poverty and skin colour) achieves most of its significance in relation to the perceived value differences from other groups. Groups who are not similar are seen as out-groups. This enhances a disparity that is often conceptualised by the polarisation of groups into ‘us’ versus ‘them’ (Oktar, 2001).

The above explains the basis of the positive self-representation and negative other presentation that is usually found in the discursive analysis of text. Thus social identity theory is based on the assumption that society is hierarchically structured into different social groups that stand in power and status relations to one another (Oktar, 2001).

Social change

Tajfel (1981) further believes that the social relationships between groups are not fixed or unchanging. This is explained using the concept of cognitive alternatives. Cognitive alternatives refer to the 'perception that the status relations between groups are changeable to the extent that a complete reversal of existing status relations is conceivable' (Foster & Potgieter, 1992, p. 45). The possibility of social change is linked to two important concepts, i.e., 'perceived legitimacy' and 'perceived stability'. If there is a perception that the inter-group relation is subject to instability then cognitive alternatives to the status quo are available. For example, if the group perceives the hierarchal status to be in conflict with the principles of justice and equality**,** such as when the South African apartheid regime became unstable and lacked legitimacy, there is a possibility for change and cognitive alternatives.

This may result in social mobility**,** i.e. the movement from a low status group to a higher one. However, this is not always possible. For example, during the apartheid years in South Africa the movement from a black racial group to a white was impossible. This had resulted in a number of responses. Psychological mobility may have occurred where the values of the higher status group were adopted. For example, in European countries ethnic minorities may adopt the values of the Europeans in that country. Alternatively, social change may be attempted in order to change the social position and identity of the group. There may be an attempt at redefining characteristics of the group in order to enhance the group's image (Foster & Potgieter, 1992). Social change may occur through social action that involves strikes, protests and revolutionary activity.

The strength of the theory of social identity is that it can provide a theoretical explanation and framework for the understanding of the development of bias and stereotyping in general terms. This explanation includes both a cognitive as well as a motivational explanation. This can be summed up briefly in the following explanation. The individual cognitively classifies the world into categories. Within this process and through evaluation the social world is divided into in-groups, that is, 'us' and out-groups 'them'. In this manner of differentiation the individual is able to develop a sense of identity. The natural desires for positive self-esteem propels an in-group bias and the tendency to hold onto favourable ideas about the groups to which

people belong to (Oktar, 2001).

While this theoretical approach is valuable it is not without limitations. The approach does not give adequate attention to the role of ideology (which involves systematic views that have developed historically and become broadly accepted in society) in informing perceptions of social reality (Foster & Potgieter, 1992). Nor does the approach take cognisance of the role of ideology in informing social change**.** Furthermore, social identity theory requires clarification and elaboration on the role of power differentiation and a group's position in society in relation to politics and economics in influencing the notion of perceived status (Foster & Potgieter, 1992).

Stereotyping a direct link to categorisation

In relation to this theoretical framework and in terms of this study it is important to understand how stereotypes develop. Stereotyping is viewed as an inescapable effect of the process of categorisation and the process of simplifying information (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1986). According to Tajfel (1986), the relationship between the amount of information that is available about an individual and one's judgement needs to be considered. He emphasises that if one does not have specific information about an individual, it is likely that one would assign to that individual those characteristics that are assumed to be of his group. If one has little specific knowledge about an individual we ascribe to him the characteristics which we derive from our knowledge about that individual's class membership, for example, Muslim, undergraduate, Christian or African.

According to the social identity theory, inter-group discrimination exists even when there is no explicit competition between the groups and when there is no trace of previous hostility between the groups. It appears that the aim of this discrimination is to establish a difference between the groups in favour of one's own (Tajfel, 1986).

There is a psychological distinction between neutral categorisation and prejudiced stereotyping. With stereotyping there is an emotional component and a vested interest in preserving the segregation of people. There are two prerequisites that must be in place in order for stereotyping to occur. The first is that the characteristic that is being

judged must stand in a direct and meaningful relation to the inter-group classification that the individual is using and secondly, that the classification itself must be of some emotional relevance to the individual (Tajfel, 1986).

Any form of propaganda may remain fairly ineffective as long as it is unrelated to an emotional climate that makes its aims desirable and rewarding or at least acceptable. If an individual is prejudiced there is often an emotional investment in preserving the differentiation between the own group and others. The preservation of these judgements is self-rewarding, particularly if these judgements are made in a social context that is strongly supportive of a hostile attitude towards a particular group (Tajfel, 1986). For example, the events of September 11, 2001 may have provided the social context for hostility to emerge, and provided the emotional charge required for the differentiation between Muslims and non-Muslims, i.e. the in-group versus the out-group.

This results in a spiral effect because the existence of prejudice at large provides support and rewards for these judgements. The possibility of reality checks for these judgments is unlikely, since the stereotype becomes more and more strongly entrenched in the form of powerful social myths.

While the social identity theory and its emphasis on the process of categorisation offers some insight into the emergence of a negative differentiation between groups, it has been criticised by Billig (1985**)** in that an analysis of 'speech' rather than perception provides a more sound understanding. Therefore this study attempts a more inclusive approach to the study of group dynamics and relationships, i.e. a discourse analytic approach.

Relevant literature

The research that has been conducted on the general perceptions of minority groupings has generally made use of quantitative methods comprising various scales of measurement of attitudes and stereotypes (Foster & Potgieter, 1992). This quantitative approach has resulted in a number of theoretical and methodological criticisms being levelled at the researchers. Often it is difficult to define concepts

such as ‘black’, ‘immigrant’ and ‘coloured’ that are applied to measurement scales.

In addition, the ability of quantitative methods to accurately reflect social reality and to accurately measure social behaviour such as prejudice or racism has been brought into question. It has been argued that while tests are purported to measure attitudes, there are discrepancies between individuals’ attitudes and their actual behaviour (Foster & Potgieter, 1992). Often with such tests it is found that responses are socially appropriate and not a true reflection of people’s attitudes. This impacts on the validity of the responses. Furthermore, the format of these measuring instruments is limited and allows for responses within confined parameters thereby distorting the results (Foster & Potgieter, 1992).

As mentioned above, the notion of ideology and its impact have not been accounted for at all. The researcher’s ideological influence that impacts on the interpretation of the results is not acknowledged. Despite this, such research is presented as objective research that has no subjective influence and is therefore valid and scientific (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, & Radel, 1988).

As a result of the above criticisms, current research trends have indicated an exploration of a more qualitative approach to the understanding of prejudice, discrimination and group dynamics. Such an approach takes into account individuals’ social reality and their interpretation and understanding of it. Discourse analysis has emerged as one method that can be used in qualitative research.

Within the discourse analytic framework, current research indicates that the media is instrumental in constructing a semantic system of ethnic discrimination that assists in widening the gap between the ethnic majorities and minorities, thereby contributing to the structuring of society in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’. This is clearly depicted in a study by Van Dijk (1988) of the ‘Tamil Invasion’. Van Dijk (1988) conducted a semantic analysis of the newspaper articles of five Dutch national daily newspapers. At a semantic level of analysis it was found that Tamils were described negatively as a threat to the nation or a public danger. This was achieved through the use of discourses concerning illegal, ‘fake’ refugees, a threat to the nation and the social status quo (Van Dijk, 1988). Some newspapers reported that the Tamil immigration

would strengthen prejudice and racism against themselves and other minority groups, thereby implicitly projecting and evading responsibility for their own discriminatory practices. The media in this instance was responsible for strengthening the ethnic prejudice that already existed against existing minority groups.

Similarly, a study conducted by Peter Teo (2000) describes how the media is instrumental in the marginalisation of Vietnamese migrants in Australia. This analysis examined newspaper articles related to 5*T*, a gang of Vietnamese drug dealers who operated in Sydney. Using a critical discourse analytic approach it was found that the crimes of the 5*T* were used to extend generalisations to the entire Vietnamese population in Australia, as well as to Asians generally (Teo, 2000).

These research studies not only depict how the media is instrumental in representing minorities in a discriminatory manner but they further illustrate how the media is used as a means of persuasion in favour of dominant ideologies. The immigration of Tamil refugees to the Netherlands sparked a 'panic' response. As a result of contact with political structures, the media reproduced the political panic of authorities, and this was made public in favour of their own institutional and ideological goals.

There were similar findings in a study that examined the discourse strategies of several Chinese-language news reports in two ideologically opposed newspapers, namely China's official newspaper *People's Daily* and Taiwan's newspaper the *Central Daily*. This study compared how both these newspapers reported on the civil unrest in South Africa (22-8 March 1985) and in Argentina (31 May – 1 June 1989). It was found that various textual strategies including lexical choices, grammatical and thematic structures and the structuring of headlines had been employed to justify and legitimise certain foreign policies adopted by the regimes in China and Taiwan. Furthermore, linguistic devices were employed by the media to present overseas' events in a manner congruent with the respective diplomatic policies of each regime in order to legitimise the actions of the regimes in power. Each newspaper through the various strategies gave a voice to the different actors and news participants in a way that reflected their respective ideological positions in their news coverage.

An ideological analysis of the representation of the South Asian Muslims in the

British press by Abbas (2001) asserts that the media is controlled by a small number of individuals. It was found that large multinational conglomerates control a number of daily national newspapers. Since newspaper sales is a business in itself, what is printed in the newspapers is an 'end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories' (Abbas, 2001, p.48). This restriction of ownership of newspapers means that the views of a limited few receive publicity and thus dominate the thinking of subordinate groups. This is linked to the fact that the media is powerful in that it provides us with a portrayal of events that happen beyond our immediate social experience. Therefore a great deal of power rests in the control of few.

Abbas (2001) further describes the discourses of the print media in Britain as associating Muslims with concepts such as 'Islamic fundamentalism', 'Jihad', 'extremism' and 'radicalism'. Abbas (2001) believes that the meanings of these terms are much broader, resulting in the portrayal of Muslims as a threat in the British media.

The representation of Muslims in fictional drama may also be a means of propagating negative stereotypes. A number of incidents of hate crimes were reported in Birmingham, London, after a controversial series was aired on BBC1. The movie featured an Imam of a mosque recruiting Muslim students as suicide bombers (IslamOnLine.net & News Agencies, 2003). Despite appeals by Muslims not to air the programme because it incited religious hatred, distorted the reality of Muslims and reinforced negative stereotypes of British Muslims, it was aired. It resulted in a Muslim student being beaten up by two youths and the mosque that was used as the location for shooting the series was sprayed with the message 'Kill the suicide bombers' (IslamOnLine.net & News Agencies, 2003). The media is thus a powerful tool in disseminating information and in this particular instance it is a powerful tool which can be used to propagate negative stereotypes.

There has been a significant increase of anti-Muslim sentiment globally since September 11, 2001. Studies that can contribute to the understanding of the development of such sentiment are thus important.

A study conducted by the University of Bielefeld's Institute of Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence showed that Islamophobia is on the increase in Germany (Schmitt, 2005). A survey with 3 000 participants was conducted and the results showed that 65% of the participants rejected Islam and found it incompatible with western culture. Twenty-five per cent of the participants were opposed to allowing new Muslim immigrants into the country while 59% believed that the number of foreigners had increased drastically. Further, 50% of participants refused to live in districts with a high population of Muslims and 65% were not comfortable with their Muslim neighbours (Schmitt, 2005). While sociological surveys are frequently used in opinion polls they have been criticised for their lack of quantifiable measures of reliability and validity. Nevertheless, this form of research has been an extremely useful tool of attitudinal information (Foster & Potgieter, 1992).

The results of the survey further showed that anti-Islamic sentiments were from middle-class Germans and not limited to right-wing extremist groups, indicating a growing anti-Muslim sentiment among ordinary citizens (Schmitt, 2005). The participants readily and openly expressed their biased views, with no inhibitions or hesitation (Schmitt, 2005).

Another example of anti-Islamic sentiment is the following case. A school in Arizona removed a seventh grade textbook on medieval times because of its focus and portrayal of Islam. The content of the history text covered the rise of Islam and the contribution of Islam and Muslims to world civilisation in fields such as science, geography, mathematics, philosophy, art and literature (IslamOnLine.net, 2005). The school had received a number of e-mails claiming that the book was 'Islamic propaganda,' 'religious bias', 'dogma' and 'myth'. The book had also focused on Christianity. Western Muslim analysts indicate the need to raise awareness about Islam and its teachings. The opportunity to raise awareness through the use of such a book was thus lost. The Muslim community was not given the opportunity to discuss or comment on the removal of the book from the curriculum (IslamOnLine.net, 2005). Incidents of this nature continue to reinforce negative stereotypes and anti-Muslim sentiment.

Karabel (as cited in Said, 1997) conducted critical assessments of the impact of clichés of Islam in the media and academia. He states that since the end of the Cold War there has been much focus on negative images of Muslims, and that prominent newspapers have depicted these images. Thus the negative view of Muslims is nothing new and can be traced back in history.

Van Dijk (1995) in his analysis of the socio-political and economic changes globally indicates that there is a movement towards a primitive form of ideological discourse. The dominant ideology that prevails is based on a Eurocentric notion of a 'civilised', 'progressive', 'democratic' and capitalist society. The media represents an instrument through which the schism between the 'us' (the democratic West) and the 'them' ('Muslims', 'Arabs' or 'fundamentalists,') may be reinforced.

In relation to the events of September 11, the media has appeared to emphasise the ideology of the West as civilised and knowledgeable, in contrast to Muslims who are generally depicted as the feared unknown, violent and uncivilised; and Islam as a 'fundamentalist' religion that must be fought against (Said, 2001). Abbas (2001), Said (2001) and Van Dijk (1995) discuss the power of the media in serving dominant ideologies and legitimating the views of those in social and political power structures.

Relevant research indicates that the media do not adequately represent ethnic minority voices, and that the ethnic minority are not given the opportunity to discuss issues relating to themselves. Often it is 'experts' outside of the minority group that give opinions relating to these groups. According to Teo (2000), this is a form of silencing and disempowering minority groups.

A study focusing on the textual and content analysis of the identity of Latin Americans in North Carolina in the *Raleigh News* and *Observer* between 1992 and 1995 explored how newspapers reproduce genderised and racialised discourses (Vargas, 2000). This was a period marked by an increase of Latino settlement in the area. It was found that there was a minimal representation of expert authority by people from this ethnic grouping, and therefore a lack of legitimising of their knowledge. This illustrates that Latin Americans were underrepresented in the media and were represented as objects of news rather than authorities on subjects (Vargas,

2000). The migration was depicted as problematic, and the media portrayed the Latin Americans as an underclass, inferior and subservient (Vargas, 2000). Thus, in under-representing minorities as experts they are not given the space to construct their own identities within texts.

These studies have clearly been able to deconstruct the social and political power structures that are reproduced in texts although they do not always provide for a socio-historical account of the depiction of these minorities. Discourse is not produced in a vacuum and Said (1995), for instance, attempts to trace the social construction of the identity of Muslims. It becomes increasingly important to incorporate a socio-historical analysis of these conceptualisations in relation to the study of the media, since it contextualises the power dynamics located in the production of discourse.

The above studies were internationally researched, but there have been very few studies that have specifically investigated "Islamophobia" within the South African context. Most studies investigate racism in relation to discrimination based on skin colour issues related to apartheid. Studies by Duncan (1996) and the South African Human Rights Commission (1999) analyse how the ideology of racism during the apartheid era was upheld by the media through the perpetuation of negative discourse of blacks. These discourses were a representation of the ideologies and power of the minority elite. Thus the media is influential in that it provides the daily discourse input for most people and is therefore active in persuading public views on various issues (Van Dijk, 1987).

Baderoon (2000) provided an analysis of the coverage of the People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) and its impact on the representation of Muslims in South Africa. She highlights the difference in the nature of reporting of the same event by the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) and the Central News network (CNN) of the murder of a drug dealer. While the SABC referred to the event as 'gang related', the CNN coverage of the same event was described as involving an 'Islamic militant group'. Baderoon points out that the connection of PAGAD to Islam and violence contributes towards discrimination against all Muslims (Baderoon, 2000).

The Media Review Network (MRN) had asked the South African Human Rights Commission to probe the distorted representation of Islam and Muslims in the media. They stated that the media through its reporting of the 1993 bombings of Oklahoma, the 1998 bombings of the USA embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the Planet Hollywood restaurant in Cape Town was stereotyping Muslims and thereby creating an irrational fear of them (Media Review Network, 1999a).

The MRN further stated that there is bias inherent in the style of reporting of such events. The media readily identified the religious perpetrators of violence if they were Muslims but omitted the religious affiliation when non-Muslims were involved. Furthermore, the media used specific vocabulary in articles related to Muslims such as 'fundamentalist,' 'extremist,' 'fanatic' and 'terrorist' (Media Review Network, 1999b).

Baderoon (2000) and Said (1997) suggest that it is necessary for readers and writers to provide critical perspectives on journalistic practices, and to take some ownership of the public sphere in order to challenge negative discourses. Thus far this review has provided examples of how the media is utilised to marginalise minority groups and it is thus important for more research to be conducted on this issue because of the magnitude of an event such as September 11, 2001. Such research may than be used to understand and challenge the possible negative discourses of Muslims.

This report focuses on issues of power, prejudice and the dynamics within the socio-political and socio-economic contexts that are reproduced in newspaper reporting by using a critical multidisciplinary approach to discourse analysis. While discourse analysis has been a fairly recent approach in contrast to traditional media analysis, much work conceptually and analytically needs to be consolidated. It is hoped that this study can in some way reflect and contribute to this ongoing process.

It appears from the literature that the influence of the media may contribute to the negative portrayal and marginalisation of minority groups. Much of this research has been conducted internationally and not specifically within the context of September 11, 2001. Therefore, this study aims to understand how the impact of this event may

have structured discourse in the media. The emphasis is specifically on the South African context because of the history of apartheid and previous racially-based discourses that structured South African society. According to Duncan (2003), the media in South Africa has played, and continues to play, a role in the perpetuation of ideology. The question that arises is how do dominant ideologies continue to pervade society.

In order to understand how the events of September 11, 2001 have impacted on the structuring of discourse, it is important to understand the notion of discourse itself and how it functions.

Discourse and ideology

Based on the theoretical understanding of the social identity theory, Islamophobia can be understood as a social phenomenon that presents itself as a group process. The assumption is that the social world is not a closed structure and is dynamic; therefore the identity of Muslims is not produced by one structure but rather various discourses (Parker, 1992). Discourse may be defined as units of social meaning or building blocks of social reality. Islamophobia, can therefore be understood as a social system of inequality based on religious affiliation.

The assumption is that all instances of communication and interaction carry discourse. Discourse operates specifically in that the speaker is viewed as a tool through which various discourses that already exist are propagated. Moreover, the speaker may contribute to the perpetuation of existing discourse and be involved in the creation of new discourses.

Islamophobia is an ideology and discourse is central to the functioning and reproduction of Islamophobia as an ideology (Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, 2005). It is through discourse that various forms of marginalisation, and the negative perceptions of Muslims are transmitted and produced (Thompson, 1984; Van Dijk, 1995). A critical approach to discourse links ideology to discourse in that discourse serves to create and recreate relations of domination. It is through the function of discourse that conflicts between social groups are perpetuated and the

control of hierarchal positions between social groups are maintained. According to Said (2001) and Van Dijk (1995), the representation of Muslims in relation to the West is typified in a conflicting opposing ideology. The representation of Muslims occurs in an 'us versus them' binary, and more importantly the West is constructed as superior while the out-group or Muslims are depicted as inferior. It is through discourse that Islomophobia and marginalisation of Muslims is justified and transmitted.

Based on the research in the study of discourse it has been shown that dominant groups generally have the control over various strategic institutions. In this instance it is shown that the media is owned and controlled by a few. This therefore gives them the power to decide what can and cannot appear in the media. This power can be abused to ensure that the media primarily represent the ideology of the dominant group (Bozzoli, 1987).

Discourse plays a crucial role in the ideological formation of problems such as Islomophobia, sexism, racism, inequality and dominance. If researchers are able to understand the everyday discursive manifestations of these social problems they will be in a position to challenge and disclose the mechanisms involved (Van Dijk, 1985). Therefore this research may help to raise awareness amongst journalists of their style of writing and their representation of ethnic minorities or Muslims in news events.

It is clear that discourse and ideology are inextricably linked (Kellner, 1995). According to Bozzoli (1987, p. 67) 'ideologies are more or less systematic views, which are historically evolved by definite social groups in definite stages of development, which are varying according to their social origin. The development of such views is called ideological development'. It is through discourse that Islamophobia as an ideology may be expressed and justified. The concept of ideology is social in nature rather than individual. The concern is with the social development of ideas that become broadly characteristic within society (Bozzoli, 1987).

Ideologies do not develop independently and different ideologies develop in the service of different class or group interest. Dominant ideologies function to reproduce relations of domination and subordination (Bozzoli, 1987; Thompson, 1984). For

example, the ideologies of class where the upper class may be favoured and the lower degraded, or the ideologies of gender and race where one group is favoured in relation to another or, in this instance, where the West is seen as superior in comparison to Muslims. Ideologies are the instruments or tools through which the interests of the dominant groups are pursued.

It is clear that ideologies develop based on the given structure of society to serve the interests of one or another group. Despite ideologies being essentially a social rather than an individual product, the individual is not completely excluded in the understanding of the development of ideologies. They are viewed as being influenced by the ideologies that have emerged in society. Therefore, an individual's view and opinions are informed and influenced by the ideologies that exist in society and they become the means through which ideologies are expressed.

According to Bozzoli (1987), individuals make use of ideologies to make sense of their lives or to give an account of some aspect of the real world in which they live. Individuals therefore strive to continue to develop their ideology to maintain coherence and consistency with their experiences. Since there will always be contradicting and opposing rival ideologies within the same society, there will always be continual development and elaboration of existing ideologies in order to preserve views and opinions.

Ideologies emerge as follows. First abstract ideas are formed based on social relationships and experiences of people. Generally these ideas are separated from the context within which they emerged, and general ideas and conclusions then emerge as truth (Bozzoli, 1987). For example, based on the structural divisions within society during the apartheid era, blacks were viewed as intellectually inferior because of the colour of their skin. This concept was isolated from the relationships and actual experiences from which the concept was derived and thereafter it emerged as a general expression and universal truth that blacks were genetically inferior. Similarly, it has been found that Islam in the media is associated most often with fundamentalism (Abbas, 2001; Said, 1997). As a result it may be assumed that Islam and its teachings is synonymous with fundamentalism and that all Muslims are therefore generally fundamentalists.

If ideas are formed in this manner there is a preconception about issues that exist in one's mind and are often fixed (Bozzoli, 1987). They are often taken as natural and are not criticised because they are seen as part of the truth. This occurred in the apartheid era when many individuals were uncritical of the laws and dynamics that existed within society.

Through ideology and the further development of ideas, the existing social relationships are strengthened by continually generating more 'truths' based on abstract ideas (Bozzoli, 1987). The development of these ideas should not be merely viewed as error but rather as a means of developing and enhancing the dominant ideology. With the advancement of human rights and democracy in South Africa for example**,** or any country in the world**,** racism and any form of discrimination including Islamophobia may be seen as a gross violation. However, new forms of discrimination and racism may develop as a result that may be more subtle and covert. Consequently the ideologies that emerge must be more adaptable to the changing circumstances. This can be observed in the media strategies deployed to enhance the interests of the dominant ideologies. The primary component of ideologies of domination are fictitious ideas that are hidden under the guise of truth, science and natural law.

The formation of both abstract and scientific ideas (based on actual experience and interaction) is found in the development of ideology. According to the Runnymede Trust (1997), these ideas may include the representation of Islam as monolithic, intolerant, patriarchal and potentially threatening. The use of science, as well as abstract ideas, is constantly reshuffled to legitimise the existing social relations specifically between Muslims and the West. This occurs because certain preconceived ideas have to be replaced by new ones because of the changes within society.

The analysis of discourse and ideology clearly reflects the social relationships and dynamics that exist within society. This approach asserts that the ideologies of journalists may influence their opinions and thus the discourse structure of articles that they produce. The analysis of the media before and after September 11, 2001 provides a snapshot of the social relationships that existed at that time.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology and Procedure

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an understanding of the research methods and procedure employed in this study. It further provides a rationale for the methodology used. A qualitative approach was used in this study in contrast to the dominant quantitative approaches used in previous studies of prejudice and discrimination.

This chapter examines some of the limitations of quantitative research in the field of prejudice and discrimination. In this way the merits of qualitative research are highlighted. Moreover, this chapter delineates the method used in the collation of the data, the analytical procedures, issues of reflexivity and ethical considerations.

Philosophical issues related to the quantitative and the qualitative approaches to research

The positivist and the anti-positivist approaches to research are two philosophical paradigms that have been debated historically. It is difficult to illustrate the rationale for using the qualitative research approach in this study without providing some understanding of the quantitative approach. Some of the major arguments proposed by both these schools of thought will be highlighted in order to provide the rationale that informs the choice of methods for this study.

The quantitative approach espoused in the positivist framework has had a profound influence on research phenomena. This is an approach based on the natural sciences that assumes that social behaviour is quantifiable and observable (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The positivist approach emphasises scientific objectivity. This means that the researchers have to distance themselves from the research process, thereby preventing the researchers' own feelings and opinions from impacting on the process. The researcher is thereby able to maintain 'neutrality' (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

It is assumed that social behaviour can be controlled, manipulated and therefore is predictable (Mouton, 1988). Theorists such as Mouton (1988) argue that the reductionism of social interaction to a set of causes that are predictable is an oversimplification of social behaviour. There is an oversimplification of the complexity of social behaviour and the reduction of social life to variables and their relationships. This approach therefore denies the dialectical relationship between humans and their social context (Mouton, 1988).

In contrast to this approach, a qualitative approach has emerged. The proponents of this approach have criticised the positivist stance, stating that the individual is not a passive recipient of the context in which the individual is found, but instead actively interacts with the environment. Human beings are able to interpret, understand and create meaning within their environment (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Qualitative research assumes that research provides insight into contextual information as well as human behaviour**.** It assumes that humans interpret their own social reality and therefore behave in accordance with this. The researcher provides a reinterpretation of the commonsense explanations of the reality of laypersons.

In qualitative research the researcher is viewed as an active participant within the research environment, with his or her own feelings, attitudes and bias. Therefore qualitative research emphasises that the researcher should acknowledge and integrate his or her values and biases into the research process. This self-awareness and reflexivity is an integral aspect of the study. The researcher's subjectivity is seen as a resource because his or her understanding and theorising of the study will affect the results of the study**.** So in qualitative research, the researcher does not a make a claim of objectivity, but rather attempts to provide the most plausible explanation while accounting for researcher subjectivity (Bannister et al., 1995).

Furthermore, the qualitative approach rejects quantitative claims to the generalisation and universality of laws across populations. Rather, it assumes that research findings are a reflection of discrete moments of interaction and are specific to that moment. This approach emphasises the social meaning for individuals within a specific context

and within a specific moment in time. The aim of qualitative research is thus not replicability of research (Bannister et al., 1995; Mouton, 1988).

Based on the above explanation of the methodological approaches, the reconceptualisation of 'objective research' and the redefinition of research to include social reality must be addressed in quantitative research if it is used in conjunction with qualitative approaches (Mouton, 1988).

In summary, this researcher has concluded that quantitative research is not an appropriate method for the current research study. Based on the ontological and epistemological assumptions of qualitative research, the qualitative approach will yield more insight into the issue under debate rather than a quantitative one. The approach of the qualitative methodology and its emphasis on in-depth analysis provide a better approach to understanding a complex research question. The assumption of the researcher in relation to the analysis of the texts, is that the journalists have provided us with an understanding of their reality within the context of the articles. The researcher has provided a reinterpretation of this understanding.

It is understood that the study of negative group relations, including Islamophobia in this instance**,** is complex. Ideology in itself is extremely complex and requires that the researcher acquire the broadest knowledge in order to understand and interpret this social phenomenon (Thompson, 1990). The qualitative approach is not as restrictive and rigid in its method and approach as the quantitative approach. This allows the researchers to use their knowledge, style and understanding to inform and guide the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In turn, this informs issues of reflexivity and allows for richness of interpretation.

Thompson (1990) believes that while the quantitative approach to the study of ideology may be a partial approach to the study of social phenomena, the qualitative approach may be a more inclusive approach. He further states that ideology is present in texts, pictures, speech and various symbolic forms. These forms can be interpreted, and the ideological underpinnings analysed. He emphasises the role of language in perpetuating dominant ideologies. An approach that has been successfully utilised in the study of prejudice and discrimination is discourse analysis (Duncan, 1996;

Erjavec, 2001; Teo, 2000; Thompson, 1984; Van Dijk, 1998). It is through discourse that the justification for the marginalisation and domination of groups occurs and ideologies function. Discourse analysis is therefore a practical and useful tool in the study of ideology.

Data collection

Archival material, specifically newspaper articles, was used to collect the data. This method of data collection was selected because the researcher acknowledges that she is a Muslim female who forms a part of the current socio-historical context. The researcher's own perceptions and biases could largely impact on the data that may emerge, should an alternative method be used (for example unstructured interviews). While the researcher acknowledges that her subjectivity is a useful tool in the research process, the aim is to minimise its impact while acknowledging the dialectical relationship between the researcher and the research process.

Three South African newspapers were selected, namely, *The Star,* located in the Gauteng region, *The Daily News* in the Durban region and *The Cape Argus* in the Western Cape. Data sources were selected from these regions specifically because there is a larger concentration of Muslims located in these areas than elsewhere in South Africa (Tayob, 1998). According to the statistics available, Muslims represent approximately 1.36% of the total population in South Africa. There are 263 913 Muslims in the Western Cape, 126 749 Muslims in the Durban region and 107 827 Muslims in the Gauteng region (Tayob, 1998). In order to examine an international perspective on emerging trends and discourses related to Muslims, *The New York Times* was selected.

A brief review of the readership as well as the circulation of the above newspapers over a three-month period indicates that *The Star* newspaper is published daily from Monday to Friday, has a circulation of 171 542 newspapers and a readership of 616 000 (Williams, 2006). *The Daily News* is published daily, has a total circulation of 51 091 and a readership of 309 000 (Pather, 2006). *The Cape Argus* is published daily, has a total circulation of 75 654 and a total readership of 427 000 (Whitfield, 2006). *The New York Times* is a daily newspaper published in New York City and is

distributed internationally. It has a total circulation over a six-month period of 1 142 464 newspapers (New York Times Company, 2006).

The articles from the South African newspapers were selected from a comprehensive database called SA Media. This database consists of three million newspaper articles and reports dating from 1978. A search was conducted within each of the South African newspaper databases using 'Muslims' and 'Islam' as search categories. Similarly, this criterion was used in selecting articles from *The New York Times*.

The articles were selected from July 2001 to November 2001, which include articles from the two months prior to the bombing of the twin towers on September 11, 2001 and the two months after the event. The researcher wanted a broad perspective from before and after the events of September 11, 2001. For the analysis, all newspaper articles, background articles, and non-editorials were selected, based on their reference to Muslims or Islam within the texts or headlines.

A total of 176 articles were analysed. This consisted of 18 articles from *The Daily News*, 17 articles from the *Cape Argus*, 88 articles from *The Star* and 53 from *The New York Times.*

Analysis of data

The discourse analytic approach, located within the broader depth hermeneutic framework, was used in this study. It is a theoretical concept that moves away from purely surface descriptive analyses of discourse to the examination of larger social forces that exist in society.

The Depth Hermeneutic Approach

The data collected in this study was analysed using a framework developed by Thompson (1990) - the depth hermeneutic approach. This approach has been used as a framework to interpret the meaning attributed to the texts in the articles. It forms the framework in which the actual discourse analysis was undertaken. This approach is a broad methodological framework which incorporates a number of dimensions of analysis: the social-historical analysis, which examines the context in which discourse is produced, the discursive analytic phase which analyses the discourse that has emerged and the interpretation/reinterpretation phase which is the researcher's interpretation of the symbolic forms.

The first phase of analysis, that is the analysis of the socio-historical context, was based on the assumption that symbolic forms are not produced in a vacuum but rather emerge from a specific social and historical context. The aim was to provide an analysis and description of the socio-historical context in which these symbolic forms have emerged (Thompson, 1990). It is understood that social actors (e.g. journalists) generate certain symbolic forms that are determined by the socio-historical context and their interpretation of this context.

A brief history of the various institutions through which the articles are produced will be given. According to Thompson (1990), social institutions shape discourse because they shape interactions through their rules, resources and existing relations**.** Therefore an analysis of the history of the social institutions would involve tracing their development through time in order to get a broad sense of the practices and attitudes of the individuals who act for them.

Thompson (1990) asserts that depth hermeneutics is useful in the interpretation of ideology. The aim is to analyse the power dynamics and relations of domination that are located historically. A historical analysis of the development of Muslims was conducted in order to understand the development of the construction of 'Muslims'. This was useful in understanding why and how certain constructions of Muslims have historically emerged. An analysis of the history of the media within the South African context was also carried out to provide an interpretation of the context within which journalists are creating and interpreting symbolic forms.

The second dimension of this study is a discursive analysis, focusing specifically on a thematic discourse analysis. The researcher first embarked on a reading and thereafter a re-reading of the texts to get a sense of what was being said. This is required in discourse analysis in order to get a sense of not only surface meanings but also a more in-depth analysis (Bannister et al., 1995). Thereafter the researcher embarked on a process of unitisation, that is writing words, phrases or sentences out and assigning a category to each. This assists in grouping the data into manageable chunks for further analysis.

The data was then grouped into recurring themes of meaning. The criterion for the selection of the themes was based on repeated reading of the articles throughout the research process. Other criterion used was the theoretical framework and understanding that informed the study**,** as well as the researcher's reading and knowledge of previous studies and their findings related to the field of the study.

The grouping of the units together was done as inclusively as possible in contrast to the standard content analysis. Standard content analysis codes data into categories for the purpose of analysing frequency but in this instance all vague and borderline cases need to be included since discourse analysis is concerned with detail (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Researchers such as Potter and Wetherell (1987) have offered broad suggestions about how discourse may be studied and their suggestions have been adopted in this study. They suggest essentially two interrelated phases. The first is a search for patterns in the data, namely differences or similarities in the content or manner in which themes are portrayed. The second phase involves analysing the function, purpose or effect of the various themes. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), during this phase the researcher forms hypotheses about the function and finds evidence to support the hypotheses. This process requires the analyst to focus on discursive practices that are implicitly and explicitly manifest within the text and in particular to examine the function of these practices within discourse (Wetherell & Potter, 1994).

The researcher thereafter identified ideological constructs expressed within the articles. This entailed analysing the thematic categories and the subjective understandings found within the themes as well as examining the functions and ideological significance portrayed within these themes.

While discourse analysis based on the above approach may appear to be sequential, it is important to note that it is a broad theoretical framework and has no clear stage-like analytical process. In fact discourse analysis involves free movement between the various levels of analysis.

The 'interpretation phase' aims at explaining the connection between the underlying meaning of texts using the methodology above and the relation of power and domination that the text serves to establish (Thompson, 1990). Therefore the text is deconstructed to reveal patterns that constitute and operate in a discursive form. This phase of analysis requires an interpretive explication of what is being said.

In applying this methodology it is important for the researcher to consider how certain subjects are constructed through description within the text. The assumption is that discourses are constructed for a specific reason within existing social relations and are examined in relation to their role in perpetuating or refuting certain constructions (Wetherell & Potter, 1994). Therefore, the analyst pays particular attention to the underlying meaning within a description of the subject/object. Furthermore, the analyst is wary of how discourses may be employed to justify, explain or contest existing social relations.

The three levels of analysis form an interactive process, each influencing the other. The social actor generates symbolic forms that are determined by his or her interpretation of the socio-historical context. These symbolic forms may impact on the socio-historical context by changing or maintaining it and this may result in a further interpretation and generation of symbolic forms.

The research process is an interactive one. While the researcher may attempt to provide a socio-historical understanding at a later stage, this may be modified since the researcher may have provided an inaccurate account of the initial interpretation.

The ultimate aim of this approach is to provide an interpretation of reality that is valid for at least a discrete moment in history.

The assumption of this hermeneutical approach is that symbolic forms have already been interpreted and the aim is to create a possible meaning that diverges from the meaning constructed by subjects who make up the socio-historical realm (Thompson, 1990). This research therefore assumes that journalists offer an interpretation of who or what Muslims are and this interpretation is socially constructed. Their interpretation is influenced by the socio-historical context in which perceptions are formed.

Discourse analysis is a relevant method of analysis because it allows the researcher to deconstruct discourse within the articles in order to understand how it may serve a function in the maintenance or creation of Islamophobia. Furthermore, it provides insight into the forms of communication and verbal interaction as well as the various features of the social context (Van Dijk, 1985). This method of analysis may contribute to journalists being more aware of their writing style, their representation of various actors in news events, and their use of language.

Reflexivity

According to the qualitative research approach there is a dialectical relationship between the researcher, the research subject and the research process (Bannister et al., 1995). In an attempt to arrive at the closest probable account of the perceptions of Muslims in the media analysed it is essential that the researcher acknowledges her own subjectivity that may impact on the examination of discourses and conceptualisation of the study.

The researcher acknowledges that she is a Muslim female brought up with Islamic values that form an integral part of her life. Her interest in the research stems from her own experience of being part of a Muslim society. The researcher has further observed that ‘Muslims’ and ‘Islam’ as a subject of discussion in the media**,** in social circles and amongst Muslims themselves has increased, which sparked her interest in this subject.

Throughout the research process the author had to be reflexive about her own position as a Muslim female and the way that contemporary perceptions of the media within society may impact on her understanding and interpretation of the research question.

Therefore it imperative when reading this study to keep in mind that the author too forms a part of a particular socio-historical moment and may similarly be influenced by dominant ideological structures. The author may be influenced by the dominant discourses that are available for understanding the perceptions of Muslims in the media.

Ethical considerations

This study does not attempt to discredit journalists. Rather, the assumption is that they may not be consciously aware of the impact of how they write and how this may perpetuate certain ideologies. According to Hall (1995), ideologies are not necessarily a conscious formulation, but rather an unconscious process that tends to become naturalised and appears to be simply descriptive. The aim is to assist in increasing awareness in this regard (Duncan, 1996).

Ethical issues regarding the inclusion of human subjects as the focus of the study, such as gaining informed consent or the prevention of physical or emotional harm to subjects, were not applicable in this study.

Chapter Four

Results

Introduction

The results of this study are presented differently to how findings are usually presented in traditional empirical studies. The aim of discourse analysis is to provide the research findings in such a way that enables the reader to assess interpretations made by the researcher, and to further justify these interpretations with extracts from the newspaper articles. It is therefore only appropriate to write up the analysis in a way that deviates from traditional empirical studies (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

As mentioned above, Thompson's (1990) depth hermeneutic approach is utilised as a framework. This section traces the socio-historical contextualisation of Muslims in general, and specifically within South Africa. An analysis of the articles will provide an interpretation of the socio-historical context within which journalists have provided their perspectives. Thereafter, a re-interpretation of these existing interpretations will be provided. Finally the discourses will be linked to the ideological foundations identified within the socio-historical context analysed.

The socio-historical analysis as a contextualisation of Muslims

Islam emerged as a religion in Arabia in 611 CE (common era) and Muslims were defined as individuals who believed in the principles of the Islamic faith. At the time of the advent of Islam, Arabia consisted of people from various religious groupings, namely Jews, Christians, Pagan Arabs, Zoroastrians and Manicheans (Berkey, 2003).

Muslims emerged as an opposing force to the major religions that existed at the time (Mahmud, 1988). Initially Muslims were met with opposition by the Arab tribes who saw this religion as a threat to their lifestyles and Muslims were persecuted for spreading their religion openly. Therefore, the early history of Muslims involved constant battles against various religious groups to fight for their religious freedom and rights (Berkey, 2003; Mahmud, 1988; Sonn 2004).

From 632 CE Islam spread rapidly to the rest of the world (Sonn, 2004), with huge empires being built in the process. Under the rule of the Mughul Empire in India, the Savafid Empire in Iran and the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, Balkans and Northern Africa, the Muslim world expanded extensively, 'stretching over three continents from the Pyrenees and Siberia in West and North Europe to the furthest end of Asia, up to China and the southern tip of Africa, covering two-thirds of the African continent' (Ezzati, 2002, p.1).

According to Miles (1999), the conceptualisation of the 'other' is historically rooted and has been the means of categorising people in terms of differences when compared with the self. In this instance, Muslims emerged as the 'other' in relation to Christianity. A clash between Christendom and the Islamic world finally took place in the 10th century. During this era Christianity was the dominant religion and Islam was perceived as a threat, and thus the 'other'. General discourses of Muslims that emerged during this period were that they were 'infidels', 'followers of a false prophet', and 'ruthless killers determined to take over the world' (Ezzati, 2002, p.68; Sonn, 2004). Not only was Islam perceived as a threat but also as a force that needed to be opposed. This resulted in the uprising of the crusaders who were in firm opposition to Islam from as early as the 11th century (Mahmud, 1988; Sonn 2004).

The first crusade began in 1095 after Muslims had begun to conquer strategic land, including land routes to Christianity's holy places. The Christians felt threatened by the Muslim presence and began a campaign against the Muslims (Mahmud, 1988; Sonn, 2004). Further crusades were incited and this resulted in constant battles ensuing between the Muslims and the Christians. The continuous clashes resulted in severely weakening the Muslim empire. This was the first sign of the rise of the West after centuries of Muslim superiority (Islamiciti.com, 2006).

The advent of the crusades as well as the factions within the various Muslim groups resulted in the beginning of the disintegration of the Muslim empires. By the end of the 19th century the Ottomon, Mughul and Savafid empires were destroyed as a result of western cultural influence or military presence (Berkey, 2003; Sonn, 2004).

Furthermore, as a result of colonisation and the Europeans' expansion into Muslim territories in search of new trade opportunities, raw materials, military bases and colonies during the 19th century, the discourse of Muslims as an opposition was further cemented. (Islamicity.com, 2006; Mahmud, 1988). According to Said (1995), colonisation was a significant force in shaping the identity of Muslims. In order to explain this phenomenon he discusses the concept of 'Orientalism', which created a further schism between European countries and the Muslim world. According to Said (1995), the Orient is adjacent to Europe and is also Europe's richest and oldest colonies. He further states that the orient is the source of Europe's civilisations, languages and its cultural contestant. The orient is viewed as one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. Orientalism is a style of thought based upon ontological and epistemological distinctions made between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident' (Said, 1978/1995). The shift of power occurred westwards as a result of colonisation and the Orient was constructed as 'backward', 'barbaric' and requiring 'reconstruction' (Said, 1997). As a result of this, the Islamic world had lost much of its influence. European culture gained in strength and identity through the polarisation of the Orient (Said, 1995).

Moreover, the depiction of Muslims as the 'other' provided the necessary justification for the exploitation of the land that was colonised. Western domination benefited the Europeans at the expense of the Arab and Muslim world. For example, the Suez Canal was of great value to Egypt, but the profits went to the European company that managed the canal.

The domination of western ideologies influenced the Middle Eastern rulers to attempt to 'modernise' parts of the Middle East thus incurring debt that led to the Europeans dominating financially and thereafter politically (Mahmud, 1988; Sonn, 2004). This resulted in the slow and calculated occupation of Muslim land by the West. By the early twentieth century the entire Muslim world was under the control of European countries (Sonn, 2004). European countries competed with one another in order to gain strategic advantages. There was little regard for the impact that this might have on those colonised.

The Muslim world experienced a leadership crisis. Military governments often took over civilian leadership and the countries experienced an increase in militarism and

totalitarianism. Poverty increased as those that were colonised struggled in a competitive world market. Therefore the cumulative effect of colonialism resulted in economic, political and social crises that still exist in some countries today (Sonn, 2004).

According to Ahmed (2003) and Van Dijk (1995), the end of communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union has created an ideological vacuum. While the Cold War created the ideological grounding for the fostering of the discourse of 'us' versus 'them' or 'good' versus 'evil' there was still an existing gap. According to Van Dijk (1995), the result of this ideological vacuum is a return to a more primitive ideological situation. There is a further distinction and schism between the 'modern' and 'democratic', 'civilised' West in contrast to the 'uncivilised', 'primitive' and 'dictatorial' Orient. The collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern European bloc represented an ideological victory for international capitalism.

Scholars such as Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington have described Islam and its ideology as being on a collision course with the West and oppositional to modern society (Fukuyama, 1998; Wikepedia, 2007). Therefore, the term 'clash of civilisations' was coined. It is within this socio-historical realm that the current media's conceptualisation of Muslims and Islam has emerged.

Thus, intellectuals such as Ahmed (2003), Ezzati (2002), Said (2001) and Sonn (2004), indicate that there has been much focus on Islam in the media. The bombing of the World Trade Center raised a number of questions in relation to Islam, and as a result the term "Muslims" has begun to take on a number of meanings and associations.

While this section provides a broad socio-historical overview of the conceptualisation of Muslims, the next section will analyse how Muslims and Islam have been perceived historically in South Africa. Furthermore, the socio-historical conceptualisation of Muslims in South Africa will be understood in relation to how Muslims are currently viewed.

Brief history of Islam and Muslims in South Africa

In order to understand the current perceptions of Muslims in the South African media, it is necessary to understand the historical journey that Muslims have undertaken in this country and the socio-historical contexts within which they have emerged.

Islam reached South Africa between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries due to slave trade and colonial influence. The first Muslims arrived as slaves and political exiles from the colonies of Java and Malaysia under the Dutch (Davids & de Costa, 1994). A further influx of slave trade lead to an influx of Muslims from Ceylon, Madagascar, India and Indonesia. The Dutch imported Muslim slaves because this was a cheap source of labour, as well as indentured labourers from India who worked in the sugar industry (Davids & de Costa, 1994; Islamonline.net, 2005). The Dutch imprisoned their political exiles from the Malay – Indonesian region in South Africa because they were rebelling against the colonial powers. The slaves and these political exiles were historically viewed as the founders of Islam in this country (Morton, 2005 a)

In 1652 a group of 'Maardykers' arrived in the Cape. They were the servants of some of the Dutch officials returning to the Netherlands from the Far East. They opted to stay in the country in 1658 (Morton, 2005 a). Another group called the 'Vryezwarten' or free blacks joined them. These were groups of Muslim indentured labourers who were prevented from practising Islam openly because of a decree issued by the Governor Mutsucker of the Cape (Abdulatief, 2005). The decree outlawed Islam as a religion, and any person who was found guilty of propagating Islam in public was sentenced to death. The decree was rescinded in 1804 and Muslims were allowed to practise their religion as long as they remained submissive to the colonialists. This was the first instance where Islam was portrayed in opposition to the Christian ideological values imposed by the colonialists.

The impact of colonialism resulted in the appropriation of land from indigenous people and the exploitation of indigenous people as cheap labour sources. Muslims in South Africa were not exempted from this process and many of them lost their land and social systems were destroyed. The representation of the 'African' became

increasingly negative. The colonial settlers used the negative representation of the 'African' as a means of justifying their economic and political exploitation.

In 1948 when the National Party was voted into government the apartheid policies became firmly entrenched. Racial segregation policies came about as a result of the impact of colonialism and an attempt to promote Afrikaner nationalism. Repressive laws such as the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, and the Population Registration Act segregated all South Africans according to colour and classified them into racially defined groups. Blacks were differentiated into 'Africans', 'Indians' and 'Coloureds' and had cultural and social identities imposed on them. Muslims who originated from India or Indo-Pakistan were classified as Indians or Asians and those whose origins were from Indonesia or south-east Asia were classified as 'Coloured' or 'Malay'. Muslims were therefore amongst the marginalised groups in South Africa (Islamonline.net, 2005).

The demonising of Islam re-emerged through the Dutch Reformed Church lobby during this era. This was evident when the Dutch Reformed Church set up a commission to examine and report back about the roots of the 'Islamic challenge' in South Africa and the African continent at large (Abdulatief, 2005).

In October 1986 the findings were reported at the Dutch Reformed Church. This had far-reaching consequences for Muslims. The following resolution was put forward: 'Islam was to be declared a false religion and a threat to Christianity'. Islam was perceived as a religion that incited acts of terror and revolutionary activity. Therefore concern was expressed regarding the fact that many young 'Blacks' had begun embracing Islam and continued the freedom struggle in South Africa (Abdulatief, 2005).

In 1987, Pretoria regional court magistrate J.H. Bekker declared that the Quraan motivated Muslims to fight against oppression and injustice. Therefore, those leaders who act upon Quranic injunctions were declared terrorists (Abdulatief, 2005).

Various anti-Islamic campaigns were emerging. For instance in October 1988, a priest, Soon Zevenste from the Evangelical Reformed Church published an article in

the Huisgenoot stating that the Muslim Halaal stamp (a stamp that deemed the product safe for Muslims to eat) was the sign of the beast and asked for a boycott of all stores selling products bearing this stamp. This was an attempt at equating Islam to a satanic faith (Abdulatief, 2005).

Similarly in a periodical called *Christian Living Today* and *The Patriot*, the Halaal stamp was equated to idol worshiping, a means through which Muslims propagate Islam, and it was said that the Halaal emblem may be used in witchcraft (Abdulatief, 2005).

South African Muslims have played a pivotal role in the history of the country and society as a whole. The early history of colonialism within South Africa impacted on Muslim society. Historically, some Muslims within South Africa struggled for religious freedom and, during the apartheid era, for democratic freedom. They were allowed to practice Islam but were not given the same democratic rights as the whites in the country. During the apartheid years, when the resistance began to rise against the system, Muslim activism formed part of the struggle. The first Muslim to be incarcerated by the apartheid government was Imam Abdullah Haroon who was detained and killed in 1968 after being tortured by the police (Islamonline.net, 2005).

During this time Muslim identity began to adjust to the social and political changes within the country. Many prominent political activists emerged from the Muslim communities. The fight for freedom was based on the principles of Islam and its principles of the equality of all people (Islamonline.net, 2005). In 1994 the liberation of the country as a democracy also marked the liberation of Muslims.

Despite this, prejudice and discrimination continues to be a part of South African society (Media Review Network, 1999a). Overt forms of prejudice appear to be replaced by more subtle forms of prejudice that are not so easily noticed (Hall, 1995).

With the advent of South Africa's participation in the global arena, events that have occurred internationally have impacted on the conceptualisation of Muslims in the South African media. The Media Review Network (1999a) has found that the 'demonisation' of Muslims in the South African media continues to occur in part as a

result of the impact of global politics. They have further provided examples where international events have resulted in the stereotyping of Muslims in the media in South Africa. The bombings in Oklahoma in 1993, the United States embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998 and the veiling and prevention of women working in Afghanistan and Rwanda are just some examples. The events of the bombing of the World Trade Centre in the USA resulted in the assessment of the threat of 'terrorism' in South Africa as well, thus the South African Anti-Terrorism Bill of 1993 which was passed in Parliament (Jazbhay, 2003).

The advent of the 'global village' wherein the world has become increasingly interconnected as a result of technological sophistication has resulted in international material being readily available in South Africa. Not only is international material readily available, but dominant political ideologies also have a significant influence. South Africa's active function and role within the global arena has impacted on current conceptualisations of Muslims. The Media Review Network is an organisation that has emerged in order to combat anti-Muslim bias reported in the media.

Currently, Muslims constitute 1.5% of the country's population. Muslims are significantly represented in all spheres of society. There are approximately 455 places of worship (mosques), 408 Islamic educational institutions, colleges, Muslim schools and religious centres. There are various Muslim radio stations such as Radio Islam, Radio 786 and The Voice of the Cape (Islamonline.net, 2005). According to the Taraweeg Survey more than 50% of the country's 2 million Muslims reside in Cape Town, which is the centre of South African Islam (Morton, 2005b).

A socio-historical analysis of the media in South Africa

The media under the apartheid government

Media discourse is the main source of peoples' knowledge, attitude and ideologies. Research has shown that the media is an important tool through which the dominant ideologies are propagated (Van Dijk, 2000). The South African context is not isolated from this phenomenon. The history of the role of the mass media during the apartheid era is a clear indication of the way in which the media served to propagate the ideological underpinning of the apartheid regime (De Beer, 1998).

During the apartheid era, the government took stringent action to curtail the freedom of press in this country. The implementation of laws was one of the strategies used in the country to ensure that the press was kept under control. Specifically, the Protection of Information Act prevented the press from covering the activities of the police, security issues, prison conditions or quoting banned organisations and their spokesperson (Batho Portal, 2006).

In the 1980s, at the height of the anti-apartheid struggle when a state of emergency was declared, censorship regulations were tightened (Big Media Publishers, 2006). There was stringent censorship of the press, barring the reporting on any demonstration or activity against the government or its laws. Journalists who violated these regulations were detained (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2004).

There was a clear distinction between the Afrikaans and English press at that time. The Afrikaans press became the supporter of the apartheid regime while the English press the critic (Draisma, 2006). However, the position of the English newspapers was dubious because the mining magnates who profited from the apartheid policies were the founders of the English press. They paid 'blacks' low wages in the mines and this benefited them tremendously (Draisma, 2006).

The emergence of the English press

The history of the South African English newspaper industry is linked to the mining industry, since mining magnates established newspapers through Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, a subsidiary of the mining company, Anglo American (Big Media Publishers, 2006; Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2004).

The Star, The Cape Argus and *The Daily News* used in this research project are part of the Independent Newspapers Holding Company, one of South Africa's largest newspaper groups (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2004). It traces its history to the establishment of the Argus Printing Company that had close links with the mining tycoon Cecil Rhodes. Therefore the English press was

controlled by the very elites who had benefited from the apartheid system. Their contribution to the criticism and alleviation of the apartheid system is thus brought into question. The printing company was renamed Argus Newspapers Ltd after it was taken over by Anglo American.

Current trends

Further changes under the new government involved the changing of the structure and ownership of the mainstream media. Anglo-American ended its ties with the Argus Newspapers in 1994 when it sold 31% of its stake to Tony O'Reilly. He was progressive and appointed the first 'black' editor at a 'white' newspaper (Big Media Publishers, 2006).

As mining interests were curtailed in newspaper ownership, foreign ownership became a factor. The Independent Newspapers is an entirely foreign-owned company after O'Reilly's company bought the rest of the Argus Newspapers shares in the 1990s (Big Media Publishers, 2006). The concern regarding the concentration of media ownership is common in democratic societies because of a fear of a lack of diversity or pluralism of news (De Beer, 1998). Various scholars and media analysts have called into question the impact of foreign ownership in the propagation of Eurocentric ideologies (Abdulatief, 2005; Van Dijk, 1995).

Van Dijk (1995) argues that the role of the media has become increasingly complex and that politics, economics, and cultural forces all require an ideological base. Such ideologies are produced in text and speech, and are largely mediated and generated by the mass media. He further states that Europe and America have a specific ideological construct and the mass media in these countries have been documented as exacerbating prejudice and discrimination (Van Dijk, 1995). More specifically, the creation and propagation of a collective state of mind that divides the world into 'us' in the West, as opposed to 'them', i.e. 'Muslims', 'terrorists' and 'Arabs'. This thus raises the issue of the susceptibility of the South African media and its journalists to this ideology since the South African media is internationally owned.

Others feel that the new management approach of the newspaper reporting has resulted in a commercialisation of the press (Maja-Pearce, 1996). Like any other

business it is necessary to ensure the profitability of the newspaper. Therefore certain topics that are sure to sell more copies make the news headlines as compared to others. In relation to minorities, including Muslims, it is noted that news events are restricted to topics that emphasise their 'bad' actions**,** such as crime, drugs and different forms of violence. According to Maja-Pearce (1996), this commercialisation may lead to minority views being sidelined or completely ignored since minority groups including Muslims have limited control, power and access to the media.

Interpretation of the discursive themes

Introduction

This stage in the report involves an analysis of discourse structures at a micro or local level and at a macro or global level (Thompson, 1984; Van Dijk, 1987; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The analysis of local structures involves an examination at the level of grammar, namely words, sentences, phrases and how they are structured. At a global level of analysis the meaning of broader discourse segments are examined to determine discursive themes and trends. Analysis at a linguistic level is examined in relation to macro structures and broader discursive themes that have emerged.

Discourses

It should be noted that the discourses presented below are those that are most prevalent and salient. While the researcher acknowledges that there may be other discursive themes that may exist, time and space constraints have limited the analysis of all of these discursive themes. Furthermore, the interpretations of the discourses are relevant to the articles analysed within the specific timeframe stipulated and are not generalisable to all newspaper texts outside the specified period.

The results indicate that discrimination of Muslims within the texts is not easily discernable. Discrimination against Muslims is implicit and difficult to pinpoint. This is consistent with Van Dijk's findings (2000) that contemporary forms of discrimination are more subtle and indirect.

Despite this, the analysis of the texts reveals that Muslims are most often represented as the negative 'other'. The manner in which this is done is through the differential representation of the self and the other, specifically the in-group (the West) and the out-group (Muslims). There are a number of discursive strategies that have been identified that may contribute to the vilification and representation of Muslims in a negative manner. These strategies are explored in depth below.

The overall analysis of the topics of newspaper articles in which Muslims are represented indicates that they are most often represented in articles that emphasise their bad actions rather than their good ones. Most often news about Muslims is restricted to their involvement in acts of violence, riots, fundamentalism, war and militant activities. While the negative representations of Muslims dominate in the analysed texts, there are instances where Muslims are represented positively in news reports, specifically in *The Cape Argus*. The positive representation of Muslims occurs in articles that explore aspects of Islamic history and in articles where Muslims are depicted as supporting human rights as well as being peaceful and tolerant. Below are two examples of headlines in which Muslims are represented positively:

> 'A colourful celebration in honour of the Sultan of Turkey' (Loos, 2001, August 29, p. 12).

> 'City joins US in anti-war rallies. Cape Muslims are mobilised for a major peace march tomorrow' (Kemp, 2001b, September 28, p. 4).

The possible explanation for the positive representations of Muslims in the *Argus* may be related to the fact that the largest concentration of Muslims in South Africa is located in the Cape region and therefore the *Argus* has a large readership of Muslims. The media may thus be serving the interests of its readership. The Argus also had a Muslim editor at that time known as Moegsien Williams, thereby impacting on how Muslims were presented in the media at the time.

In addition to examining the overall topics of newspaper reports, the discourses at the level of headlines, sentences or paragraphs, and the local meaning of words have been analysed. At a discursive level a number of strategies have been used to contribute to the negative 'other' presentation prevalent in discourses about Muslims. Some of the discourses and strategies are explained below.

Theme 1: Muslims are fundamentalist

Lexicalisation refers to the choice of words used to refer to people, groups or to social contexts. Generally, a journalist has a range of words to describe such instances and chooses a specific word in contrast to another (Van Dijk, 2000). The word choice may

implicitly be a reflection of the opinion of the journalist about Muslims or Islam and may also be a means through which ideological expression occurs in newspaper texts.

In this instance the choice of words used associates Muslims and Islam with fundamentalist actions. Islam and Muslims are associated with the actions of individuals who are involved in forms of violence and attacks against society at large. This is depicted by journalists consistently relating 'fundamentalism,' 'extremism' and 'terrorism' to Muslims. This association is illustrated in the following examples:

> 'The world media has publicised the carnage in America as one perpetrated by *Islamic fanatics'* (Kamdar, 2001, September 19, p. 7).

> '….Syria and the United States in their efforts to extradite British-based suspected *Islamic terrorists* (Burell & Benetto, 2001, October 04, p. 12).

> 'Washington's ambiguous foreign policy towards *Islamic fundamentalists*.' (Sapa, 2001 a, September 19, p. 6).

If Islam is associated with fundamentalist actions then implicitly Muslims are generalised as being fundamentalists. This is portrayed in the texts as follows:

> 'The *Muslim terrorists* over the decades have succeeded in either planting the occasional bomb or blowing themselves up' (Kamdar, 2001, September 19, p. 7).

> '…they are the results of distortions among *Muslim radicals*-about whom we know even less' (Pienaar, 2001, September 28, p.18).

> '...*Muslim fundamentalist* group Padav (People Against Drugs and Violence)...'(Sapa, 2001, August 23, p. 3).

The term 'fundamentalism' was coined between 1865 and 1910 by a movement within American Protestantism. The movement reaffirmed the literal interpretation of

the Bible or the 'fundamentals' of Christian theology in contrast to the modernisation and liberalisation of Christianity. Therefore the term 'fundamentalist' was a self-definition used by Christians who were proud of this identity (Runnymede Trust, 1997).

The term was first used in relation to Islam in a Middle East journal in 1957, but its application to Islam only gained momentum in 1981. An article written by Anthony Burgess in the *Observer* referred to the phenomenon of the revival of a very old form of Islam. He described it as a dangerous fundamentalism revived by ayatollahs (Runnymede Trust, 1997).

Burgess further stated that Muslim states such as Iran were 'little more than intolerant, bloody, and finally incompetent animations of the Holy Book (the Quraan)' (Runnymede Trust, 1997, p.11). He concluded that there is 'more blood and stupidity than glamour in the theocracy of the sons of the prophet' (Runnymede Trust, 1997, p.11). Burgess's article was widely influential and quite soon the terms 'Islamic' and 'fundamentalist' became almost inseparable in the western media.

The consistent association of Muslims and Islam to fundamentalism is a strategy deployed to emphasise the negative aspects of Muslims, thereby legitimising the discrimination against them. As a result, the continuous association of Muslims as well as Islam to fundamentalism may become a naturalised discourse.

Theme 2: Muslims are violent

Consistent with the emerging discourses that Muslims are fundamentalist is a theme that has recurrently emerged - the depiction of Muslims as violent and aggressive. Muslims are most often depicted in articles that are related to incidents of violence and aggression. Further, they are often described as the perpetrators of such acts.

> 'The *Muslim* terrorists over the decades have either succeeded in either planting the occasional bomb or blowing themselves up' (Kamdar, 2001, September 19, p. 7).

> '*British Muslims* have been linked to car bombings in Afghanistan and Kashmir and a terror campaign in Yemen' (Burell & Benetto, 2001, October 04, p. 12).
>
> 'Protesting students nearly *lynched* a white student after he tried to disrupt an anti-American imperialism march ...' (Tabane & Platt, 2001, September 28, p.5).
>
> '…security intervened led him away before he was seriously assaulted.' (Tabane & Platt, 2001, September 28, p. 5).

In the excerpts of the article in *The Star* above (Tabane & Platt, 2001), Muslims are depicted as violent and oppressive. The word 'lynched' has been traditionally used in American racism discourse. Lynching is defined as the execution or punishment violently through mob action without a lawful trial (Davies & Fortier, 2006). Historically, the victims were often marginalised African Americans and Mexicans.

Within the context of the march in the article, not only are Muslims described as violent and aggressive, but are also equated to the likes of groups who historically have been involved in overt hate crimes and actions of discrimination and prejudice (e.g. Ku-Klux-Klan). The Muslims in this instance are described as perpetrators while the 'white student' is portrayed as the victim despite his actions, 'caught him with condoms and ice cubes but he denied throwing them in the crowd'.

The headlines in the article titled, 'Tension at Wits anti-US march, white student accused of ice cube attack almost lynched by students' further contributes to the depiction of the student as a victim. The use of the word 'accused' implies that the actions of the Muslim students were unjustified and without lawful evidence.

The image of Muslims as an intolerant oppressive mob, as depicted in this article, is toned down by the statement that 'they also applauded the MSA and other organisations on a peaceful march.' This is contradictory to the portrayal of Muslims

earlier in the article and appears to be a concession for the first image created, thereby contributing to a subtler form of discrimination.

In other instances where articles do not directly relate to violence, the vocabulary used may indirectly create an image of Muslims as aggressive or violent. In the *Daily News* (Sapa, 2001, September 03, p. 2), the use of the word 'hijacking' contributes to the discourse that Muslims are violent that has emerged from the analysed texts.
'As Israel and others accused Arab and Muslim countries of hijacking the World Conference Against Racism….' (Sapa, 2001, September 03, p. 2).

Similarly, in the headlines, 'Muslim *restraint plea*', and further in the text '…Hassan urged Muslims to show *restraint* in the face of provocation by people….' (Suder, 2001, September 21, p. 1), the repeated use of the word 'restraint', and use of the word 'plea', portrays Muslims as impulsive, thereby requiring self-control. The implicit message is that Muslims would act out in a violent manner.

Sub theme 2a: Islam teaches violence
Not only are Muslims depicted as violent but they are also described as being indoctrinated into a religious belief system that encourages and teaches such behaviour. Islamic religious teachings, concepts and principles are mentioned in association with individuals who are involved in fundamentalist or terrorist activities. These concepts are used loosely in articles without clear definitions or discussion about their religious significance. In this way negative association of Muslims as the 'other' are fuelled further.

Specifically, the concept of Jihaad is a religious term that is intricate and complex in definition and should not be used without clear linguistic and historical understanding. The concept of Jihaad is derived from an Arabic term known as 'Jahada', which means to strive or to struggle (Ezatti, 2002). The concept of striving or struggling in this instance may take on different forms. According to Islamic principles this form of struggle may be a spiritual, physical or emotional struggle in the path of God. For the purpose of this research, the researcher will not engage in a philosophical debate regarding this concept. It is clear though that in most of the instances below it is used without any clear definition, or is defined as a 'holy war'.

> ‘But police suspect that behind a white painted front door on a windswept walkway of the notorious Ferrier Estate in Kidbrooke…was a British command centre for raising funds for the warriers for a *Jihad*’. (Burell & Benetto, 2001, October 04, p. 12).

> ‘Some directly linked to Bin Laden’s Al Qaeeda organisation,…all sharing the view of *Jihad* as a national struggle ’ (Sapa, September 20, 2001, p. 4).

> ‘SA Muslims have a right to join Jihad’ (Ray, October 11, 2001, p. 5).

This simplistic use of the concept of Jihaad as ‘holy war’ implies that Islam in its teachings incites violence and encourages acts that would harm others. Similar instances in which Islamic teachings are portrayed as encouraging and inciting violence are illustrated below:

> ‘….but by suicide bombers, poor kids with minds corrupted by *promises of virgins* waiting in heaven for all so-called *martyrs*’ (Pienaar, September 28, 2001, p. 18).

> ‘….would it have stopped the WTC suicide bombers? With all those *virgins waiting for them*?’ (Pienaar, September 28, 2001, p.18).

> ‘….the latest in a cycle of bloodletting since a dozen Northern states began introducing Islamic law, or sharia last year’ (Sapa, October 15, 2001, p. 4).

The above are typical examples of how important concepts in the teachings of Islam are oversimplified. The concept of martyrdom in Islam is used without informed religious relevance. Furthermore, the use of the words ‘so-called’ is a distance marker that negates the possibility of these individuals being true martyrs.

The notion of ‘virgins of paradise’ is ridiculed in the tone of the article. The western notion of ‘virgins’ or ‘virginity’ is often linked to discourse relating to the subjugation and oppression of women. The concept of virginity refers to

> Muslim women being 'chaste.' This is related to the prevention of women expressing their sexuality and femininity. It further creates an image of Muslim males as being sexualized, shallow and suggestible. This therefore implies that Islam encourages the oppression of women.

As can be seen, Islamic concepts are not contextualised and are used indiscriminately. This contributes to the discourse that Muslims are being indoctrinated into a dogmatic belief system.

Sub-theme 2 b: Muslims are a force to be feared

Taking into account the socio-historical context since the demise of the Cold War, the events of September 11, 2001, provided the context for creating a fear of Muslims, not just within the United States of America, but globally. Muslims are portrayed as a potential threat, they must be feared and precautions taken against them. Islam and Muslims are depicted as a threat to the rest of the world. This is clearly illustrated in the following quotations:

> 'The main worry is that there could be reprisals taken against foreigners in the case of an American strike against an Islamic country…' (Sapa, 2001 c, September 19, p. 7).

> 'Polish Cardinal Jozef Glemp, speaking in a seminar in Warsaw on demographics warned his audience on Saturday of the "demographic vacuum" in Poland which was at risk of being filled by Muslims' (Sapa, 2001, September 18, p. 4).

> 'These are terrorists of a new generation: doctors, engineers, family men – all able to draw on the best resources that modern society can provide' (Sapa, 2001, September 20, p. 4).

> 'The perpetrators of the terrorist outrages in the US form part of a new Islamic international – a diffuse sophisticated network that operates around the world' (Sapa, 2001, September 20, p. 4).

In the above statements, Muslims are represented as the negative 'other' that must be fought against. They are further portrayed as a sinister force that has crept into society, emphasised by describing Muslims as 'terrorists of a new generation' 'doctors, engineers, family men', 'sophisticated' but not easily discernable. As a result of this 'Islamic threat' precautions and action have to be taken and are justified. This is further illustrated by the following selection of quotations extracted from these texts:

> 'South Africa… will not be able to maintain its friendly relations with Middle Eastern countries like Afghanistan.' (Lund, 2001, September 21, p. 7)

> 'But Iraqi scientists today working feverishly in hidden biological laboratories and underground nuclear facilities ……if undisturbed…enable Saddam to kill millions.' ….would transform him into a rampant world power. Now is the time …to strike down…later may be a stage too late ' (Safire, September 24, 2001, p. 31).

As a result of the events of September 11, 2001, it appears that the emphasis on Muslims as a potential threat is aimed at creating a sense of panic and fear in general that legitimises the government policies of the United States of America. Therefore the representation of Muslims as the 'other' is somehow legitimised in the implication that they are a threat to security nationally and internationally.

An analysis of the headlines reveals that the creation of a sense of fear and panic by the media within the South African context is also evident. This was carried out by attempts at emphasising and connecting South African Muslims to 'Islamic fundamentalism'. The following headlines illustrate this point:

> 'Bin Laden: The Durban connection' (Suder, 2001 a, September 19, p. 1)

> 'SA Muslims 'have right to join jihad' (Ray, 2001, October 11, p. 5).

> 'City Muslims to ask to fight with Afghan brothers' (Kemp, 2001 a, September 21, p. 3).

Theme 3: 'Us versus them' and 'Islam versus the west'

One of the most striking themes emerging from the corpus of texts analysed in this study is the evidence of disparate ideologies in relation to different groups. The representation of Muslims in relation to the West is constructed in terms of 'us versus them'. Most often Muslims are depicted in opposition to the West and Western ideology. Not only is there a binary depiction, but also the West, specifically the USA, is constructed as superior while the Muslims are depicted as inferior.

The ideologies of Muslims and the West are incompatible, and the media in describing them in binary conflicting terms portrays this. This is best illustrated by the following instances:

> 'The borders of the global village have changed. The new bi-polarisation is based on ideology. From now on co-operation, even aid will depend on whether or not a country belongs or acts in accordance with the US and its global partners' (Lund, 2001, September 21, p.7).

> 'In other words if South Africa wants to belong and reap the benefits of belonging to the US-driven coalition of states against terrorism, it will not be able to maintain its friendly relations with Middle East countries like Afghanistan' (Lund, 2001, September 21, p.7).

> '…it unbottled a mess of suppressed rivalries between civilisations. He saw western Christendom, the Cold War victor, as overreaching itself while it tried to plant its values in the rest of the world, and clashing with Sinic civilisation (China) and Islam or possibly both' (Fabricius, 2001, October 12, p. 8).

The analysis of the semantics within the texts shows that the strategic use of pronouns may contribute to differential power and group relationships. In this instance the tactful use of the pronoun such as 'our' in the following instances assists in strengthening the schism between us and them.

'Our internal narrative,' 'our social capacity for revenge,' 'our system' (Stone,

2001, September 23, p. 22).

Similarly, the following excerpts depict the manner in which distance markers are used to emphasise the ideological conflict between us and them:

> 'the way *they* are seen' (Sciolino, 2001, September 23, p. 1) .
> 'the invasion of *their* cultures' (Sciolino, 2001, September 23, p. 1).
> 'what *they* called terror attacks' (Hoge, 2001, September 23, p. 2).

In this instance social distance between the Muslims and the West is emphasised thereby assisting in positive self-representation and negative other presentation.

Not only is the ideology of us vs. them perpetuated, but there are different rules that apply to the in-group, i.e. the USA and the West, to those that apply to the out-group**,** i.e. the Muslims or Muslim states. The aftermath of the bombings of the World Trade Centre resulted in hate crimes against people who belonged to the Muslim faith. A number of strategies have been used to justify the actions of perpetrators of these crimes. One of the understandings provided for these crimes is the publics' general lack of knowledge regarding Islam. Egan (2001) explains that the more educated individuals have become about Islam, the more restraint was shown on talk radio, and therefore the more tolerant individuals were. Niebuhr (2001) further illustrates that most Americans do not understand Islam, it is an unknown entity and therefore their responses are as a result of this lack of knowledge. This simplistic understanding does not take cognisance of the much deeper inter-group dynamics that exist and illustrates that acts of violence against the Muslims or out-groups are justified under the current circumstances.

This justification is further emphasised in the use of selective vocabulary. The use of the words 'coping', 'in the tragedy's wake' and 'battle in the psyche' in the quotations below aim at minimising the 'bad' actions of the perpetrators. These actions are depicted in a manner that attempts to explain these acts as acts not normally committed by such individuals, but rather a method of coping, a psychological response and therefore actions legitimised because of the events of September 11, 2001.

> ‘Hours earlier a man had rammed his car into the building…the incident offers one example of how Americans are *coping* with the upheaval besetting the nation…. (Niebuhr, 2001, September 22, p. 11).
>
> ‘*In the tragedy’s* wake some people have harassed and assaulted Arab-Americans, Muslims and Sikhs’ (Niebuhr, 2001, September 22, p. 11).
>
> ‘There is a *battle going on in the psyche* of America between the *angry and enraged* America which wants to lash out at anyone who might be Arab or Muslim…’ (Pienaar & Correspondents, 2001, September 14, p. 1).

Other forms of negative acts against Muslims have been justified in the texts analysed; specifically the racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims in general. An interesting strategy that was deployed is the use of minority groups who themselves were victims of prejudice and discrimination in an attempt to normalise the discrimination of Muslims at large. This is shown in the following quotations:

> ‘… “I am a black American and I have been racially profiled all my life,”…but Arnold admits that he is engaging in some racial profiling himself these days’. (Verhovek, 2001, September 23, p. 1).
>
> ‘Houston who is Hispanic is suffering with the same emotions’ (Verhovek, 2001, September 23, p. 1)

In addition, in the article there is an attempt to tone down the acts of racial profiling of Muslims by emphasising a ‘positive’ aspect of the process. For example:

> ‘On the other hand ….he may be buoyed with racial profiling of a different sort’…So many people have come into the restaurant to offer some support…’ (Verhovek, 2001, September 23, p. 1).
>
> ‘And some said they are going out of their way to be friendlier than ever to Arab- Americans’ (Verhovek, 2001, September 23, p. 1).

Furthermore, the use of the word 'subjects' in the same article (see Verhovek, 2001) depersonalises the individuals who are being interrogated. It creates an image of subjects in an experiment that may be controlled and manipulated. This shows how semantics can be used to create distance between Muslims and the West.

The instances mentioned above emphasise how acts of discrimination, violence and hate perpetrated by the USA are justified and legitimised while so-called acts of 'terror' are abhorred. This representation of difference between 'us' and 'them' is emphasised in the headlines where the negative incidents carried out by the USA or the West do not become the subject within articles, but negative actions of the out-group occur in headlines and form the subject of the text itself. The following examples illustrate this point:

> 'Militant Islam Unsettles Indonesia And Its Region' (Mydans, 2001, September 21, p. 7).

> 'New Islamic network seen as globalised and sophisticated' (Sapa, 2001, September 20, p. 4).

Positive acts carried out by the West are often emphasised and highlighted. The following headlines show how this is done:

> 'US and Britain asked to help end Nigerian 'ethnic cleansing' (Reuters, 2001, October 26, p. 4).

> Abhoring terror in an Ohio Mosque' (Niebuhr, 2001, September 22, p. 11).

> 'A Nation Challenged: Police Officer Visits to Reassure a Queens Mosque' (Zhao, 2001, September 22, p.10).

Sub-theme 3a: Muslims are inhumane and uncivilised

The analysis reveals that the differentiation between the West and the Muslims is constructed in the discourse of difference. Muslims are portrayed as not progressive,

'unintelligent', 'uncivilised', 'undemocratic' and subjugating women while the West is described as 'civilised', 'modern' and 'democratic'.

A further representation of Muslims as the negative 'other' is in their depiction as being inhumane. Muslims are portrayed as condoning acts of violence and therefore lacking compassion. In many instances Usama bin Laden is depicted as being revered by the Muslim community.

> 'South African Muslims have always had a strong sense of solidarity with other Muslims in other parts of the world. *It is understandable that bin Laden is seen as a hero*. Essak said' (Jacobs, 2001, October 25, p. 30).

> 'Osama bin Laden …..is seen by many in Muslim Pakistan as a *shining example of the perfect holy warrior*'' (Reuters, 2001a, September 19, p. 5).

> 'So it is with *Osama bin Laden, a man who is lionised* in some parts of the Islamic world…' (Johnson, 2001, October 09, p. 13).

The use of generalisations in the above instances creates the image of Muslims condoning the actions of violence and revering a man implicated in the September 11, 2001 attacks.

Muslims are further described as showing signs of elation at the atrocities of September 11, 2001. The use of the words 'welcome', 'jubilant' and 'shouting praises' help to create an image of animalistic or barbaric behaviour.

> 'Residents say that Tuesday's attacks in New York and Washington, welcomed by some Muslims in the Middle East, had fuelled fresh fighting…' (Reuters, 2001, September 13, p. 7).

> 'Some Muslim people have been jubilant because of what happened in the US. (Reuters, 2001, September 13, p. 7)

> ‘Trouble began when a group of Muslim youths came out on the street shouting Allah Akbar (God is greatest) (Reuters, 2001, September 13, p. 7).

This negative portrayal of Muslims as inhumane is further legitimised by the description of Muslims as being inactive in the prevention of acts of violence, or condoning them:

> ‘Mainstream Muslim clergy need to step up in their mosques and in public to give the lie to the fanatics’ perversion of their faith. It is for them to cite teachings from the Koran that forbid the murder of innocents and to warn that such murderers would suffer for their sins ’ (Safire, 2001, September 24, p. 31).

> ‘India’s top Muslim cleric yesterday said the terror attacks on the United States were signs of “divine wrath” and a warning for “Washington to stop its anti-Muslim policies ” ’(Sapa, 2001 b, September 19, p. 6).

> ‘In *some* Mosques in South Africa, instead of displaying compassion for those suffering, some Friday preachers went on to rant about possible conspiratorial causes behind the violence and explanation that Americans deserved the cruelty of the September 11 carnage as recompense for their atrocities against Muslims elsewhere’ (Moosa, 2001, October 11, p. 13).

> ‘…*few* representative Muslim bodies have recently been criticised for equivocating and refusing to condemn violence...’ (Moosa, 2001, October 11, p. 13).

It is interesting to note how the choice of vocabulary helps to perpetuate the negative image of Muslims. In the above instances the use of the words ‘clergy’ and ‘top Muslim cleric’ implies that even the religious leaders and experts of Islam condone actions of violence and that places of worship are used as forums to excuse these actions. In addition, Muslim clerics’ lack of action appears to indicate their disregard for human life. The use of vague generalisations in these instances (e.g. ‘large number

of Muslims' and 'mainstream Muslim clergy') contributes to the discourse of Muslims being inhumane and condoning violence.

In one article that appeared in *The Star*, Moosa (2001, p.13) makes use of the word 'some mosques' and then uses the words 'few … Muslim bodies'. Later in the article he uses the words 'large number of Muslims'. This is in contrast to the initial image of a small number of Muslims in contrast to the large number that is created in the latter part of the article. Therefore, the strategic use of generalisations discussed above, semantic structure and choice of vocabulary used perpetuates the discourse of Muslims being inhumane.

Theme 4: Muslims or their versions of events cannot be trusted

A consistent theme that has emerged from the texts is that Muslims**'** intentions must be questioned. Fisk (2001) implicitly questions Muslims' reasons for condemning the events of September 11, 2001.

The general tone of the article by Fisk (2001, September 18, p. 4) in *The Star* casts doubt on the legitimacy of Muslims' intentions. The tone throughout is that of sarcasm. While initially the writer expresses the possibility of a 'genuine outrage' the statements that follow negate it:

> 'Now this makes interesting reading.'
> 'No such condemnation followed the Palestinian suicide bombing which killed fifteen civilians including six children…'
> 'There was no condemnation following the actions of the suicide bomber who slaughtered 21 Israeli teenagers in Tel Aviv.'
> 'The Saudis of course can scarcely do anything but join in the chorus of condemnation. They helped create the Taliban, to legitimise its presence…to fund and arm so-called students…'

Similarly, in *The Star* (Reuters, 2001 b, September 19, p. 5) the revenge attack of a Muslim woman is questioned by using various strategies. Some of these strategies are explained; in the headlines the word 'revenge' is placed in inverted commas thereby questioning if it truly was such an attack. The use of the distance markers such as

‘appeared’ and ‘appears’ respectively casts further doubt in relation to her perception of the incident. Furthermore, the woman does not speak for herself, and therefore the perception of the spokesperson is put forward. The following examples illustrate the above:

> ‘ “Revenge” attack on UK Muslim women’ (Reuters, 2001 b, September 19, p. 5).
>
> ‘…assault on a young Muslim women *appeared* to be a reprisal attack...(Reuters, 2001 b, September 19, p. 5).
>
> ‘ “It *appears* that it is a race attack after the events of last week and that’s how it was viewed by the victim”, the spokesperson said ’ (Reuters, 2001 b, September 19, p. 5).

Similarly, racist remarks made by an Italian Prime Minister (Sapa, 2001, September 28, p. 11) are minimised through the use of linguistic strategies. In the headlines ‘Arabs insist on apology for the “slur” by Italian Prime Minister’, the use of the word ‘slur’ which appears in inverted commas trivialises the action of which the Prime Minister had been accused. The word ‘slur’ refers to an insult, which is in contrast to the word ‘racist’ which is used to refer to the same incident further on in the text. The use of inverted commas in both instances implies that the reader should question the word that appears in the inverted commas, and therefore the action itself. In this instance, the use of the distance marker in the following quotation ‘when he *allegedly* cast a slur on Islam’ is a strategy that further creates doubt regarding the action carried out by the Prime Minister, as well as the legitimacy of the Arabs who demanded an apology. This thereby further contributes to the discourse of Muslims that their versions of incidents cannot be trusted.

In *The Star*, Cornish (2001, p. 8) questions the legitimacy of the Media Review Network, an organisation that assesses Islamophobia in the media, by using various methods. The MRN is described as a ‘pressure group’, which has ‘mushroomed’. The term ‘pressure group’ in this context creates an image of a group that uses force to influence journalists. The use of the word ‘mushroomed’ metaphorically describes a

group that has suddenly emerged, thereby casting doubt on the credibility of the organisation.

Further in the article the use of ‘uncompromising defensiveness’ and ‘apologists for the terrorists’ casts doubt on the authenticity of their attempts at eliminating Islamophobia. The group is further vilified in that the journalist’s encounter with the group is described as a ‘civilised encounter’ almost as if the journalist was expecting otherwise.

These strategies that are used to vilify the Media Review Network are later toned down and mitigated by showing support for Islam and the MRN further on in the article. This can be seen in the following quotations (Cornish, 2001, October 18, p. 8):

> ‘To act in the name of Islam is an insult to the religion. The overwhelming majority of Muslims will argue that theirs is a religion of tolerance and humanity.’

> ‘It is designed to build humanity as groups as the MRN contend.’

Minor discursive themes

The most dominant themes have been presented above. There are other themes that have emerged that are not as overt as the ones presented thus far.

Islam subjugates women

Islam is presented as a religion that presents women as inferior, according to the dominant ideology that is pervasive in the texts. An example of this is the following:

> ‘No place for women’ (Williams, 2001, October 19, p. 8).

While this is initially related to ‘Osama bin Laden’s terrorist network’, in the headlines it is generalised in the text to Islam explained in the following quotations of the same article.

> ‘There is just no tradition of female warriors in Islam’ (Williams, 2001, October 19, p. 8).

> ‘There is no Joan of Arc figure in Ismaic history’ (Williams, 2001, October 19, p. 8).

The above statements are later toned down. The strategy used in these instances is by mitigating the initial association of female subjugation to Islam, and to associate the subjugation of females to Osama Bin Laden further on in the article.

> ‘For an extremist like Bin Laden, who regards women as subhuman almost, it would be unthinkable’ (Williams, 2001, October 19, p. 8).

Further mitigation occurs by stating that ‘Bin Laden is driven by his completely false view of Islam.’ and by naming prominent female ‘freedom fighters’ Ulrike Meinhof and Leila Khaled.

Islamic traditional wear is further presented as a means of subjugating women, for example:

> ‘Life covered in a burqa’ (Raimondo, 2001, October 25, p. 17).

This is subtly negated within the text by associating this dress with ‘taliban militia, which enforces a strict brand of Islam’**.** This form of dress is described as restricting and preventing the freedom of women, as explained in the following quotation:

‘Her daughter Vida...dropped out of school when the male headmaster made all girls 8 and older wear a Burqa’ (Raimondo, 2001, October 25, p. 17).

While the above section has explored the discourses that had emerged the next section provides a comparison of the perceptions of Muslims before and after September 11, 2001 in the different newspapers.

Comparison of perceptions of Muslims before and after September 11, 2001 in the various newspapers

A broad comparative analysis was carried out regarding the perceptions of Muslims before September 11, 2001 and the perceptions after this event. This was done by examining articles about Muslims and Islam in a number of different newspapers. The results have shown that the *Cape Argus* tended to represent Muslims in a more positive light. The topics of newspaper articles in which Muslims were presented in varied and included articles that explored Islamic history as well as articles in which Muslims were portrayed as human rights activists (see Loos, 2001; Kemp, 2001a).

After the September 11, 2001 bombings it was expected that the articles wherein Muslims were represented or discussed would be increasingly controversial. Despite this, the *Cape Argus* presented a balanced view, in that Muslims were given the opportunity to express their opinions and clarify any misconceptions (see Kemp, 2001 b; Van der Merwe, 2001).

'Sheikh Irefaan Abrahams of the Surrey Estate Mosque said that assisting the US was tanatamount to a "crime against God" ' (Kemp, 2001, 21 September, p. 3).

'MJC member Moulana Ighsaan Hendricks read …….We ask the Government address the xenophobia and hatred being perpetrated by the US. There is no clear proof of who is responsible for the attacks…. ' (Kemp, 2001, 21 September, p. 3).

There was also an empathic response to Muslims as a result of the backlash and the continued scrutiny of Islam (see Rayner, 2001; Van der Merwe, 2001; Kemp, 2001 b).

'Tshwete, Maduna condemn arson attack on Muslim offices' (Van der Merwe, 2001, 20 September, p. 3).

'Let us also pray for the Muslims around the world and especially those in America who are suffering because of the backlash against them' (Rayner, 2001, 19 September, p. 15).

In the *Daily News* before the bombings of the twin towers Muslims had appeared in articles that were controversial but their 'voices' were prominent (see Parker, 2001; Suder, 2001c).

'The Islamic Banking and economic system offers a workable solution to the crisis of despair confronting the "failing" system of capitalism, says auditor general Shauket Fakie' (Parker, 2001, 29 August, p. 4).

'The pamphlet is outrageous and whoever issued the pamphlets wanted to harm the Palestinian cause and undermine the Islamic Propagation Centre International' (Suder, 2001c , 5 September, p.2).

After the events of September 11, 2001 it was noted that Muslims were readily associated with acts of violence, fundamentalism and terrorism (see Jones, 2001; Kamdar, 2001; Pienaar, 2001; Suder, 2001b).

'First we got a bunch of Muslim fundametalists making the choice to turn aeroplanes filled with people into flying bombs….' (Jones, 2001, 24 September, p.4).

'The Muslim "terrorists" over the decades have succeeded in either planting the occasional bomb or blowing themselves up' (Kamdar, 2001, 19 September, p.7).

However, both *The Star* and the *New York Times*, before and after the September 11, 2001 attacks, associated Islam with acts of fundamentalism, violence and militant activities. The use of generalisations occurred frequently where Islam and Muslims were presented in connection with terrorism, jihad and fanaticism (see Fisk, 2001; Pienaar & Correspondent, 2001; Reuters, 2001; Sapa, 2001, 15 Oct). The general portrayal of Muslims was negative. In these newspapers Muslims were not silenced but their opinions were often negated through the use of various strategies thereby minimising Muslim opinions. After September 11, 2001 Muslims were normally portrayed as a potential threat nationally and internationally (see sub-theme 2b, p.53). These factors encouraged an irrational fear and dread of Muslims.

Discussion

The results of this study are an indication of how Muslims are presented in discourse and how ideological discourse is constructed as a means of showing group dominance. The dominant discourses of Muslims that have emerged are that 'Muslims are fundamentalists,' 'Muslims are violent,' and the depiction of Muslims in binary terms in relation to the west, i.e. 'Islam vs. the Western world' and 'Muslims cannot be trusted'. There are various sub-themes that emerged within the discourses that contribute to the vilification of Muslims, namely: 'Islam teaches violence', 'Muslims are a force to be feared' and 'Muslims are inhumane and are uncivilised'.

The above discourses can be understood within the framework of the social identity theory. This process of categorising specifically Muslims in this instance is a cognitive process through which individuals understand and incorporate information (Foster & Potgieter, 1992). It is through this process that individuals incorporate preferences using themselves as a frame of reference. The process of categorisation comprises an evaluative component that is related to the need for self-enhancement and group-enhancement (Tajfel, 1986).

According to the social identity theory, it is not surprising then that Muslims are categorised negatively. Consistent with the findings of Abbas (2001), Baderoon (2000), the Media Review Network (1999 a) and Karabel (cited in Said, 1997), this study has found that there has been much focus on the negative images of Islam and Muslims in the media. Interestingly, whereas there are a number of topics in newspapers, news in which Muslims are depicted are generally restricted to various forms of violence, including fundamentalism, militant activities, wars and riots. It is thus the process of social categorisation and evaluation that leads to the emphasis on differences between diverse groups.

The findings reveal that one of the most dominant themes in *The Star, The Daily News* and *The New York Times* is that Muslims are depicted as fundamentalists and violent. The examination of lexicalisation indicates that the generalisation of words such as fanatical, fundamentalism, militant, terrorism and Jihad is readily associated

with Islam and Muslims. These findings are similarly revealed in research undertaken by Abbas (2001) and the Media Review Network (1999b).

While these themes are more prevalent in *The Star*, the *Daily News* and *New York Times*, the *Cape Argus* depicts a more positive view of Muslims. The analysis of topics in the *Cape Argus* revealed that there are articles in which Muslims are depicted as being tolerant, peaceful and supportive of human rights. In more controversial articles within the *Cape Argus* Muslims are often given the opportunity to speak for themselves and to defend themselves.

While the same is true for the other newspapers analysed, often Muslims' opinions are negated within the article. This is done through the use of punctuation such as inverted commas, as well as distance markers (see Reuters, 2001 b; Sapa 2001, September 28). In *The Star* (Sapa, 2001 b, September 19) a Muslim cleric is given an opportunity to voice his opinion, but this is negated by the use of the word 'belligerent' to describe his tone which refers to one engaged in conflict and who is confrontational.

The study also found that apparent concessions as a strategy are frequently used. This takes place in the following manner. When something negative about Muslims is written it is often followed by something positive as a concession for the initial negativity expressed. For example, *The Star* in one article on Muslims (Cornish, 2001) represented Muslim terrorists in a negative light by describing them as a 'pressure group' and 'apologists', but this was toned down by stating that 'sure they have some legitimate grievances to air' as well as describing Islam in a positive manner.

In another article *The Star* (Reuters & Sapa, 2001, Aug 10) consistently associates the Taliban with Islam by using the words 'Islamic laws' and 'Islamic militia', although this is later toned down by stating that 'what the Taliban is doing is not Islam'.

In another issue of *The Star* (Tabane & Platt, 2001) Muslim students are described as violent and aggressive throughout, but in the latter part of the article are applauded for a peaceful march.

The above examples show how using concessions in these instances is a strategy that is employed to cover up various forms of overt prejudice. These findings reveal that Muslims are being given the space to voice their opinions as a concession to subtle forms of discrimination which is contrary to the traditional forms of discrimination and prejudice where minorities are usually silenced, as found in Vargas (2000) and Teo (2000). Despite this, the use of strategies such as distance markers, punctuation, apparent concessions and negation represents a subtler form of discrimination and is therefore more difficult to discern. This is consistent with Van Dijk's studies (2000) in which he expresses the opinion that in an era where human rights have become paramount, discrimination is 'democratic' and 'respectable', and hence typically indirect and less obvious.

Research relating to the discrimination of minorities specifically addresses the representation of the self and the other, the self in this instance referring to the in-group and the other referring to out-group (Oktar, 2001; Van Dijk, 1988). In this instance Muslims are portrayed as distinct from the West, in other words the social world has been divided into in-groups (us) and out-groups (them). This is a psychological process that helps the individual to meet the need for positive self-esteem, i.e. self- enhancement and group-enhancement.

In this instance Muslims represent the out-group and are depicted as such within the texts analysed. Muslims are often depicted in opposition to the West, and more specifically the USA, and in conflicting relationships. The use of possessive pronouns such as 'our' as well as distance markers such as 'their' strategically assist in enhancing the image of the USA and thereby perpetuate the negative representation of Muslims.

The discourse of difference is evident in that Muslims are generalised into a homogenous group that is undemocratic, not civilised, barbaric, not progressive and inhumane. This is in contrast to the USA that is portrayed as democratic, fair and humane. This strategically assists in the positive self-representation and negative other-presentation consistent with the historical depiction of minority groupings including racial, ethnic and religious groups. Thus Muslims are portrayed as distinct

from the West and in this way the world is divided into in-groups (us) and out-groups (them).

The ideological implication of using semantics strategically as explained above is evident. The negative actions of Muslims are highlighted by frequently making the headlines in the media. Similarly, the positive actions of the West or the USA are enhanced in this way. In contrast, the negative actions of the USA and the West are syntactically played down, as described in the analysis. These findings are consistent with research studies conducted by Feng (2001), Teo (2000) and Van Dijk (1995). This binary depiction of minority groups is in fact used in the justification of discrimination against the out-group or Muslims in this case. As a result, overt actions such as hate crimes and racial profiling against Muslims are rationalised and justified.

Globally, the negative image and perceptions of Muslims portrayed by the media is used to create a collective consciousness that polarises the world into 'us', i.e. the West against 'them', i.e. Muslims. In general the various strategies used to depict Islam and Muslims as problematic have been outlined in the text. In the context of September 11, 2001, this depiction of Muslims as problematic has served to legitimise acts of discrimination and prejudice against them.

Moreover, the representation of Muslims as the 'unknown' 'other' that exists globally, is 'inhumane', 'violent', 'cannot be trusted' and 'must be feared' has been an attempt at creating a sense of panic and fear. This would thereby legitimise the United States' actions against the 'perpetrators' of violence or any person that may resemble these perpetrators. These actions may include discrimination, stereotyping, and racial profiling in order to fight against so-called terrorism. The role of the media as a means of persuasion in favour of the dominant ideology cannot be underestimated. Studies by, Feng (2001); Said (2001) and Van Dijk (1988) support the above findings.

In summary, the representation of Muslims that has been discussed thus far can be understood according to the social identity theory in the following manner. As explained previously, the process of categorisation and evaluation are important in defining the characteristics of a group. Specifically in situations of conflict such as

September 11, 2001 the desire for positive self-esteem forces a bias towards one's own group. Therefore, by means of various diverse strategies Muslims are constantly characterised and classified as different, incompatible and therefore the out-group. This results in a hierarchically structured society wherein Muslims are powerless and without status in relation to the West. Various strategies may be used to legitimise and justify the nature of this relationship.

Further, the discourses explained in the results are central to the functioning and reproduction of Islamophobia as ideology. These discourses are used to justify the domination of the West and marginalisation of Muslims. Discourse is therefore a means for the West to 'control' Muslims and their position in society.

It is therefore argued that the media**,** or journalists, are not neutral agents that transmit news events passively but are actively involved in the creation and recreation of discourse. This in turn reproduces dominant ideologies. In this instance the study reveals that Western ideology is dominant and pervasive. The construction of Muslims and Islam as the negative other within the texts analysed has developed in serving the interests of the West (Oktar, 2001; Teo, 2000; Van Dijk, 1998).

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Introduction

In this chapter attention is drawn to the most central inferences that have emerged from this study. The study is critically appraised in order to highlight its limitations as well as to make recommendations for future research.

Central findings

The analysis of the socio-historical context reveals that Muslims have historically been seen as an opposing force and the positioning of Muslims as the other is not a new phenomenon in the history of Islam. It traces the development of Islam as opposing Christianity back to as early as 611 CE. As such, the dominant discourses of Muslims that developed at that time were that Islam and Muslims were a threat and a force that needed to be feared and resisted. The impact of colonisation in the 19th century further strengthened the discourse of Muslims as being the 'other'. As a result of colonisation, a schism between the European countries and the Muslim world was created. The Islamic world was portrayed as backward and barbaric while the West was presented as progressive and civilised.

Within the current socio-historical context, the end of the Cold War created an ideological void. This vacuum has been replaced by the binary depiction of Muslims and the West in 'us' versus 'them' terms. Muslims are portrayed as inferior and are vilified as a result.

The analysis of the articles within the various newspapers clearly highlights the above findings. While Muslims are being portrayed negatively, it is not surprising that forms of prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims within these texts appear to be more subtle, covert and insidious. This is related to our current era, where the notion of

human rights and democracy prevails and the notion of racism and prejudice is frowned upon.

This analysis reveals that various discursive strategies are used to emphasise this subtlety. In contrast to traditional forms of prejudice where minorities were silenced, it is found that Muslims do often have an opportunity within the newspapers to voice their opinion but the strategic use of distance markers, negations and apparent concessions negate their contributions. In fact, these strategies reinforce the depiction of Muslims as the other within texts.

It can be concluded that the analysis conducted within the specified timeframe reveals that Muslims are vilified within the articles analysed. Muslims are presented in a stereotypical manner and the discourses of 'fundamentalists', 'violent' and 'untrustworthy' have readily been associated with them. Islamophobia, based on the definition of Media Review Network, is apparent within the analysed texts (South African Human Rights Commission, 1999). Islam is depicted as a fanatical, aggressive, autocratic religion that must be managed with trepidation and caution.

The archival material analysed shows that the media have been crucial in the depiction of Muslims in a stereotypical manner. It further illustrates the power of the media in serving the interests of the dominant ideology and legitimising acts of prejudice and discrimination of Muslims in general. This is problematic because the media has tremendous persuasive powers and is seen socially as a source of factual and unbiased information. It is therefore crucial for such discourses to be challenged and questioned to prevent further discrimination of Muslims. For change to occur it is important and necessary to expose these discourses for what they are and it is hoped that this research will contribute to the ongoing challenge.

Recommendations

Very little research is being done on the negative images/discourses of Muslims portrayed compared to the plethora of studies being conducted on the discrimination of other ethnic minorities. There is thus a need to encourage more research in this field.

This study examined the perceptions of Muslims within four newspapers only and within a particular timeframe and social context. Therefore, the findings may not apply to other newspapers or different social contexts. It is therefore recommended that further research be conducted to examine if discursive practices vary within other contexts and other newspapers. An examination of other forms of media coverage such as television and pictorial representations of Muslims may also prove to be useful.

The current study has briefly addressed the function and role of ideology in relation to the perceptions of Muslims in the media. It is recommended that a more in-depth study be carried out examining the reasons why the ideological representation of Muslims as the 'other' has occurred within the current socio-historical domain.

This study has shown that the form of prejudice, discrimination or negative 'other' representation has changed and has become more subtle. Further research may be useful to trace how and why this is occurring. The notion of Islamophobia is a relatively new concept and further research is recommended in order to examine its conceptualisation, definition and prevalence.

Limitations of this study

This study is limited in that the analysis has focused on selected media resources only and has examined a limited number of articles for pragmatic reasons, including time constraints. Therefore, the results are specific to these media sources during the selected time period, and are not applicable to all forms of media and all newspapers, but only to those specifically analysed.

The study is further limited in that the researcher is not a linguistic expert and therefore a closer analysis of the linguistic aspects that could have added more depth to this study was not possible.

As discussed above under the subheading reflexivity it is imperative to reiterate that the researcher locates herself as a Muslim female and as such acknowledges that her

own subjectivity may have impacted on the interpretation, analysis and concepualisation of the study.

References

Abbas, T. (2001). Media capital and the representation of South Asian Muslims in the British press: an ideological analysis. *Journal of Muslim minority affairs, 21* (2), 245-257.

Abdulatief, R.S. (2005). A brief portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the contemporary media- A South African perspective. http://www.islam.co.za/themessage/docs/MDA_SMR.html. Retrieved 16 July 2006.

Ahmed, S. A. (2003). *Islam under siege*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.

Baderoon, G. (2000). Muslims and the media in 1998. *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa (3). pp*. 1-4.

Bannister,P., Burman, E., Parker, I., Taylor, M., & Tindal,. C. (1995). *Qualitative research methods in psychology: A research guide*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Batho Portal. (2006). Apartheid. http://www.sacultures.org.za/pebble.asp?relid. Retrieved 17 July 2006.

Berkey, J. (2003). *The formation of Islam*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Big Media Publishers. (2006). History of the press in South Africa. http://www.southafricainfo/ess_info_saglance/constitution/971558.htm. Retrieved 17 July 2006.

Billig, M. (1985). Prejudice, categorisation and particularization: from a perceptual to a rhetorical approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 15, 79-103.

Billig, M., Condor, S., Edwards, D., Gane, M. & Radel, A. (1988). *Ideological dilemmas*. London: Sage.

Bozzoli, B. (1987). *Class, community and conflicts*. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Braber, L. (2002). Korematsu's Ghost: A Post-September 11 analysis of race and national security. *Villanova Law Review*, *47*(2), 451-490.

Burell, I. & Benetto, J. (2001, October 04.) Class theory is kept to a minimum in terror training in London. *Daily News*, p. 12.

Commision on British Muslims and Islamophobia, (2005). Islamophobia and race relations. In http//www.instead.co.uk/relations.html. Retrieved 04 March 2005.

Cornish, J.J. (2001, October 18). Terrorists will pass through history like a base wind. *Star*, p. 8.

Correspondent and Reuters. (2001, September 14). Bin Laden has Durban connection. *Star*, p. 2.

Davids, A. & de Costa, Y. (1994). *Pages from Cape Muslim history*. Pietermaritzburg: Schuter and Shooter.

Davies. G. and Fortier. J.M., (2006). American lynching. In http://www.americanlynching.com. Retrieved 12 November 2006.

De Beer, A.S. (1998). *Mass media towards the millennium. South African Handbook of mass communication.* Pretoria: Van Schyk.

Denzin, K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). Introduction to the discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N.K Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research (*pp. 1-28). California: Sage Publications.

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. (2004). Independent Newspaper's submission to the TRC. http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/submit/inc.htm. Retrieved 17 July 2006.

Draisma, J. (2006). South Africa media report. http://journ/amd/safrica.htm. Retrieved 18 July 2006.

Duncan, N. (1996). Discourses on public violence and the reproduction of racism. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *26*(3), 172-182.

Duncan, N. (2003). 'Race' talk: discourses on 'race' and racial difference. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 27,* 135-156.

Egan, T. (2001, September 25). Talk radio, a medium noted for vitriol, shows some restraint. *The New York Times*, p. 16.

Erjavec, K. (2001). Media representation of the discrimination against the Roma in Eastern Europe. *Discourse and Society*, 12(6), 700-727.

Ezzati, A. (2002). *The spread of Islam*. London. Islamic College for Advanced Studies.

Fabricius, P. (2001, October 12). The clash is complex and begs a million questions. *Star*, p. 8.

Feng, Y.J. (2001). Reporting the same events? A critical analysis of Chinese print news media texts. *Discourse and Society, 12*(5), 585-613.

Fisk, R. (2001, September 18). Arab Muslims can't wait to appease US. *Star*, p.4.

Foster, D. & Potgieter. J.L. (1992). Social psychology in South Africa. Isando: Lexicon Publishers.

Fukuyama, F. (1998). *The end of History and the last man*. New York: Bard

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. California: Sage.

Hall, S. (1995). The Whites of their Eyes: Racist ideologies and the media. In G. Dines & J.M. Humez (Eds), *Gender, race and class in the media* (pp.18- 23). London: Sage.

Hoge,W. (2001, September 23). A nation challenged: Gulf allies; Six Arab states offer support. *The New York Times*, p. 4.

Islamiciti.com.(2006). Islamic history in Arabia and the Middle East. http://www.islamicty.com/education/ihame/default.asp? Retrieved 16 July 2006.

IslamOnline.net, (2005). US school removes Islam's golden era. http://www.islmaonline.net?english.News/2005-04/07/article05.shtml. Retrieved 08 April 2005.

IslamOnline.net (2005). A brief history of Muslims in South Africa. http://www.islamonline.net/English/views/2005/11/article03.SHTML. Retrieved 16 July 2006.

IslamOnline.net & News Agencies. (2003). Muslims irked by BBC hatred inciting program. http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2003-06/11/article03.shtml. Retrieved 07 September 2005.

Jacobs, I. (2001, October 25). Bush, bin Laden just the same. *Cape Argus*, p. 30.

Jazbhay. S.A. (2003). Objection to Anti-Terrorism Measures through the Anti-Terrorism Bill, 2003. http://www.media review network .co.za. Retrieved. 17 April 2006.

Johnson, R. (2001, October 9). The anti-hero with a thousand faces. *Star*. p. 13.

Jones, N. (2001, September 24). A nasty response to horror attacks. *Star*. p. 4.

Kamdar, C. (2001, September 19). Bring real culprit to justice. *Daily News*, p.7.

Kellner, D. (1995). Cultural studies, multiculturalism and media culture. In G. Dines & J.M. Humez (Eds.). *Gender, race and class in the media*. (pp.5-18). London: Sage

Kemp, Y. (2001a, September 21). Bush accused of inflammatory talk. City Muslims 'to ask to fight with Afghan brothers', hail Mbeki for SA stand. *Cape Argus*, p. 3.

Kemp, Y. (2001b, September 28). City joins US in anti-war rallies. *Cape Argus*, p. 4.

Loos, J. (2001, August 29). A colourful celebration in honour of the Sultan of Turkey. *Cape Argus*. p. 12.

Lund, T. (2001, September 21). Terror attacks place South Africa's foreign policy on the horns of a dilemma. *Cape Argus*, p.7.

Macdonell, D. (1989). *Theories of discourse: An introduction*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Mahmud, S.F. (1988). *A short history of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Maja-Pearce, A. (1996). *Directory of African media*. Campin: Tornai.

Malanes, M. (2001). "Islamophobia" is also a terrorist attack victim. In http://www.inq7.net/reg/2001/sep/19/text/reg_5-1p.htm. Retrieved 20 June 2002.

Media Review Network. (1999a) *Media Review Network*. Unpublished manuscript.

Media Review Network, (1999b) *Investigation into racism in the media*. Unpublished manuscript. Submission to the Human Rights Commision.

Media Review Network (2006). Islamophobia. Open season for attacking Islam. In http://mediareviewnetwork.com/default.htm. Retrieved. 15 November 2006.

Miles, R. (1999). *Racism*. London: Routledge.

Moosa, E. (2001, October 11). 'Pulpit impostors.' A disgrace to Islam. *The Star*, p. 13.

Morton, S. (2005a). From the heart of darkness South African Islam. Part One. http://www.islamonline.net/English/Views/2005/11/article06.shtml. Retrieved 16 July 2006.

Morton, S. (2005b). From the heart of darkness South African Islam. Part Two. http://www.islamonline.net/English/Views/2005/12/article08.shtml. Retrieved 16 July 2006.

Mouton, J. (1988). The philosophy of qualitative research. In M.Ferreira, J.Mouton, G. Puth, E. Schurink & W. Schurink (Eds). *Introduction to qualitative research methods* (pp. 1-15). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Muneer, A. (2002). Homeland Insecurities: Racial violence the day after September 11. *Social Text 72*, 20(3), 101-115.

Mydans , S. (2001, September 21). Militant Islam unsettles Indonesia and the region. *New York Times*, p.7.

New York Times Company. (2006). http://nyto.com/investors-ny-circulation.html. Retrieved 10 Nov 2006.

Niebuhr, G. (2001, September, 22). Abhorring terror at an Ohio mosque. *The New York Times*, p. 11.

Oktar, L. (2001). The Ideological organization of representational processes in the presentation of us and them. *Discourse and Society,12*(3), 313-337.

Parker, D. (2001, August 20). Islamic banking offers a solution. *Daily News*, p.4.

Parker, I. (1992). *Discourse dynamics. Critical analysis for social and individual psychology.* London: Routledge.

Pather, D. (2006). Readership. In http://www.dailynews.co.za/index.php?fSectionId=2954. Retrieved 10 August 2006.

Pienaar, H & Correspondents. (2001, 14 September). The hunt is on. *Star*, p. 1.

Pienaar, H. (2001, September 28). So why are Americans hated so much? *Daily News*, p.18.

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Psychology: Beyond attitudes and behavior*. London: Open University Press.

Raimondo, L. (2001, October 25). Life covered in a burqa. *Star*. p.17.

Ray, M. (2001, October, 11). SA Muslims 'have right to join jihad'. *Star*. p. 5.

Rayner, R.H. (2001). Remove reasons for hate. *Cape Argus*, p.15.

Reuters. (2001, September 13). Fresh Christian- Muslim violence erupts in Nigeria. *Star*, p. 7.

Reuters. (2001a, September 19). Bin Laden revered as a holy warrior. *Star*, p. 5.

Reuters. (2001b, September 19). 'Revenge' attack on UK Muslim woman. *Star*. p. 5.

Reuters. (2001, October 26). US and Britain asked to help end 'ethnic cleansing'. *Star*. p. 4.

Reuters & Sapa. (2001, August 10). Taliban swoops on aid offices, while 'missionaries'could face death. *The Star*. p. 4.

Runnymede Trust, (1997). Islamophobia. In http://www.runneymedetrust.org/meb/Islamophobia. Retrieved 20 June 2002.

Safire, W. (2001, September 24). The Ultimate enemy. *The New York Times*, p. 31.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Penguin Books.

Said, E. (1995). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient.* England: Penguin Publishers.

Said, E. (1997). *Covering Islam: How Media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Said, E. (2001). The necessity of scepticism backlash and backtrack. In http://www.zmag.org/meastwatch/saiddeadend.htm. Retrieved 19 June 2003.

Sapa. (2001, August 23). Police arrest PADAV leaders. *Cape Argus*, p. 3.

Sapa. (2001, September 03). Israel set to stage walk out. *Daily News*, p. 2.

Sapa. (2001, September 10). Religious rivalry rages on in Nigeria. *Star*, p. 4.

Sapa. (2001, September 18). Mosques and Islamic centres targeted in wake of terror. *Star*, p. 4.

Sapa. (2001a, September 19). Attacks the effect of flawed foreign policy, say Algerians. *Star*, p.6.

Sapa. (2001b, September 19). Attack on US is a 'divine wrath', says Muslim cleric. *Star*, p.6.

Sapa. (2001c, September 19). Somalia agencies beef up their security. *Star*. p. 7.

Sapa. (2001, September 20). New Islamic network seen as globalised and sophisticated. *Star*. p. 4.

Sapa. (2001, September 28). Arabs insist on apology for 'slur' by Italian PM. *Star*. p. 11.

Sapa. (2001, 15 October). Religious violence erupts in Nigeria. *Star*, p. 4.

Schmitt, K. (2005). Islamophobia on rise in Germany: Study. http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2003-12/26/article06.shtml. Retrieved 07 September 2005.

Sciolino, E. (2001, September 23). Aftermath: Invaders; Who hates the U.S.? Who loves it? *The New York Times*, p.1.

Sonn, T. (2004). *A brief history of Islam*.London: Blackwell Publishers.

South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). (1999). *Interim report of inquiry into racism in the media*. Parktown: SAHRC .

Stone, R. (2001, September 23). The way we live now: 9-23-01: Close reading : Elements of tragedy; The villains. *The New York Times*, p. 22.

Suder, I. (2001a, September 19). Bin Laden: The Durban connection. *Daily News*, p.1.

Suder, I. (2001b, September 21). Muslim restraint plea. *Daily News*, p.1.

Suder, I. (2001c, September 5). Hate pamphlets shock Durban Muslims. *Daily News*, p.2.

Tabane, R and Platt, J. (2001, September 28. Tension at Wits anti US march. *Star*, p.5.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (1986). The structure of our views in society. In H. Tajfel & C. Fraser (Eds.). *Introducing social psychology* (pp.302-319). Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp.7-24). Monterey: Brooks/Cole

Tayob, A I. (1998). Counting Muslims in South Africa. *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa* 1 (43). Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Teo, P. (2000). Racism in the news. *Discourse and Society. 11*(1), 7-49.

Thompson, J.B. (1984). *Studies in the theory of ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Thompson, J.B. (1990). *Ideology and modern culture*. Cambridge:Polity Press

Turner, J.C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P.J., Reicher, S.D., &Wetherell, M.S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self categorization theory*. Oxford:Blackwell.

Van der Merwe, J. (2001, September 20). Tshwete, Maduna condemn arson attack on Muslim offices. *Cape Argus*. p. 3.

Van Dijk, T.A. (2000). New(s) Racism: a discourse analytical approach. In S. Cottle (ed.), *Ethnic minorities and the media*. (pp. 33-49).London: Open University Press.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1985). *Handbook of discourse analysis*. London: Academic Press.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1987). *Communicating racism*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1988). Semantics of a press panic: the Tamil invasion. *European Journal of Communication*, 3, 167-187.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1995). Discourse analysis as ideological analysis. In C. Schaffner and A. Wenden (Eds.). *Language and Peace*. (pp 17-33).Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1998). *Ideology. A multidisciplinary approach.* London: Sage.

Vargas, L. (2000). Genderizing Latino news: An analysis of a local newspaper's coverage of Latino current affairs. *Critical studies in Media Communication*, 3, 261-289.

Wikepedia. (2007). Clash of civilisations. In http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Clash_of_Civilizations_and_the_Remaking_of_World_Order. Retreived 15 August 2006.

Verhovek, S.H. (2001, September 23). A nation challenged: Civil liberties; Americans give in to race profiling. *The New York Times*, p. 1.

Wetherell, M. & Potter, J. (1994). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour.* London: Sage.

Whitfield, C. (2006). Readership. In http://www.capeargus.co.za/index.php?fsectionId=3173. Retrieved 10 August 2006.

Williams, B. (2001, October 19). No place for women. *Daily News*, p. 8.

Williams, M. (2006). Readership. In http://www.thestar.co.za/index.php?fsectionId=2496. Retrieved10 August 2006.

Zhao, Y. (2001, September 22). A nation challenged: Police officer visits to reassure a Queens mosque. *The New York Times*, p. 10.