



Muslims in the European 'Mediascape':

Integration and Social Cohesion Dynamics



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Executive Summary

There can be no doubting the influence that the media exerts throughout society today. While more traditional models of delivery in broadcast media become obsolete and newspaper circulation declines, the evolution of technology and the emergence of satellite and Internet delivery have globalised the media, fostering a fast-evolving environment in which the proliferation of channels and 24-hour broadcasting are delivered from almost anywhere onto computers, phones and hand-held devices. This is what the BBC's Director-General, Mark Thompson, has described as 'Martini media'; consumed 'anytime, anyplace, anywhere'¹, which means that today's media has increasing powers not only to reach and reflect, but also to influence what people think.

In times of crisis, the media can aggravate or moderate perceptions of fear and threat. Ever since the 9/11 attacks, newspapers, TV networks and the Internet have been key sites of public debate on Islam and Muslims in Europe. In many European countries with large Muslim communities, genuine feelings of insecurity and fear amongst majority populations have become enmeshed with endemic concerns about uncontrolled immigration and criticism of multiculturalism. These discussions are reflected, and often amplified by different media outlets.

How Muslims and Islam are represented in the media reflects societal attitudes towards them, at the same time as shaping the political space within which Muslims feel excluded or welcome. Indeed, an overwhelming majority of those interviewed for this report hold the view that the portrayal of Muslims in the media affects the public perception of them.

This report investigates two key inter-related questions:

1. The extent to which the media is perceived to impact integration and social cohesion amongst Europe's diverse communities; and
2. Whether the combination of the nature of today's mainstream media reporting, the emergence of domestic minority media serving Muslim communities, and the proliferation of access to satellite media from Muslim-majority countries are leading to a segregated approach to media consumption in Europe along ethnic, religious or community lines, or indeed to the formation of 'segregated information societies' via 'Muslim media ghettos'.

Furthermore, the report attempts to ascertain the views of Muslims and non-Muslims in relation to the way in which both the mainstream and minority media report on Muslims, the extent to which such reporting has been fair and balanced; which media people choose to consume and what informs those decisions; the extent and way in which Muslims are represented within and by the media; and whether Muslim media role models can change perceptions of Muslims in society at large.

Perceptions and opinions were ascertained through over 100 in-depth interviews and focus group meetings in three countries, bringing together a cross-section of individuals and media professionals from Germany, France and the UK.² Such a sampling cannot pretend to be representative but constitutes a first step, a pilot, which aims to identify emerging trends and lay the foundations for a better understanding of the issues at hand, and to raise questions and pinpoint gaps in research and data that require further exploration.

1. Mark Thompson's speech to the Royal Television Society, 23 May 2006.

2. The interviews were conducted with a cross-section of people selected to represent a spread of gender, nationality and age in July and August 2009. For a more details, please refer to the methodology section.

Key Findings

1. The research found that almost all respondents believe that the media should portray information in a balanced way. However, when it comes to reporting on issues related to Muslims, there appeared to be **a significant lack of trust in the mainstream media's objectivity and fairness – less than one in five people thought that mainstream media achieves balanced reporting**. This lack of trust was, moreover, given as the key reason for the consumption of alternatives in particular foreign or minority media.
2. Although lack of confidence in the balance of mainstream media reporting was given as a primary cause for minority media usage, this did not amount to a ringing endorsement of minority media standards. Indeed, **only 40% of the interviewees believe that minority media achieves balanced reporting**.
3. **Twice as many people felt that language and a desire to get information about their countries of origin were more important drivers towards minority media usage than religion**. Half of the Muslim respondents based their decision to use minority media on language or the wish to view news from abroad about their 'home' country. Only 21% chose minority media based on religion. This suggests a gap in terms of 'geographic blind-spots' in the provision by the mainstream media. Overall, language and content play equally important roles in the interviewees' decision-making about which media sources to use (50% each).
4. Crucially, while the survey found that many Muslims are turning to the plethora of increasingly available and fast-evolving Muslim and foreign media as sources of news, entertainment and information, it also found that they simultaneously continue to use mainstream media, thus negating the thesis that a segregated pattern of media consumption is in the process of developing. **The trend is towards intensive media diversification rather than segregation. Muslims are supplementing their use of the mainstream media with minority media, albeit in large numbers (86% of interviewees)**.
5. **More than half of the respondents thought that the mainstream-media topic most associated with Muslims is terrorism; a third believed it to be fundamentalism; and a quarter headscarves**. This is an indication of the level of concern by the interviewees about the image being portrayed of Muslims to the wider public. In fact, in this regard, Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees had similar opinions: 55% of Muslims interviewed thought the mainstream media portrays Muslims negatively as did 39% of non-Muslims.
6. There has been a substantial **shift from a supply-oriented media** – i.e. media and content that is provided by institutions of the country of residence for the minority population - **to a demand-based media**, in which the media is run by members of the minority community themselves or in the country of origin. **The report found that there is a wealth of minority media sources available for Muslims, with the use of the Internet and other new media in sharp ascent** (more than half of the interviewees use the Internet to access minority media). The rise in new forms of online media affects the media sector as a whole, but new delivery methods are particularly pertinent in that they offer the opportunity to disseminate information to large and geographically dispersed groups at low cost, and thus new-media sources do not depend for their survival on viewing numbers to the extent that traditional print and television media do. In these respects, new-media delivery methods are particularly conducive to supporting minority-media needs. It would be important to ascertain, through further research, whether the rise of online minority media is matched in other 'interest group' areas, and as such, is part of a wider phenomenon of media evolution.
7. The research indicated that a large proportion of the interviewees thought that having more Muslims working within the media industry may improve the perception of Muslims across society. **A large proportion of respondents hold the view that there should be more Muslims within the mainstream media**. But there is a question as to what would have the biggest effect on the perceptions held by a wider society of Muslims: raising the numbers of Muslims in the public eye (i.e. more presenters, commentators, etc.) or in decision-making roles within media organizations. On this point, there are differences in priority from country to country.
8. Despite an identified range of equal opportunities programmes and practices, **40% of the Muslim and non-Muslim media professionals interviewed identified prejudice as a barrier to Muslim employment within the media industry**. Prejudice was viewed by nearly half of respondents in Germany as a barrier to Muslim employment. In France, 43% viewed it as an obstacle, while in Britain that figure was a 33%.

Recommendations

The recommendations developed in this report are based on the following key principles:

Internal change and industry leadership

The media industry should be at the forefront of developing and implementing programmes for better coverage of Muslims and their representation in the industry. Such voluntary actions, however, should be supported by active implementation and, in some cases, amelioration of existing national and EU legal provisions on equality. They should also be screened regularly by media and race-relations watchdogs.

Even-handed application of standards

The same standards in terms of professionalism, equality and balanced reporting need to be advocated and applied within the mainstream and minority media alike, with screening and legal provisions applied across the board.

Practical and gradual

Any measures undertaken need to be practical and changes need to be applied gradually if they are to be embraced by the media industry. New approaches need to be tried and tested through pilot projects to provide evidence of what works and what does not.

Comprehensive solutions

In order to affect change, decision-makers need to consider the full range of issues covered in this report, from representation of Muslims in media coverage to employment practices.

Freedom of expression

In order for media professionals to be able to do their job effectively, any recommendations must embrace the freedom of the media to tackle controversial subjects, to operate in a critical way and to be unhampered by unnecessary limitations on what or how they report.

Commercial rationale

All recommendations need to take into account the commercial interests of media organizations.

The following recommendations have been developed, based on the survey, the subsequent findings and the identified underlying principles:

1. Rebuilding trust in the mainstream media: diversity and representation

A large majority of those interviewed for this report felt that the mainstream media fails to report on Muslim-related issues in a balanced manner, resulting in a loss of confidence in mainstream-media organizations with a knock-on impact on how welcome or 'at home' minorities feel in their countries of residence. In addition, most of those surveyed believed the media to have an instrumental role in defining the majority population's perception of Muslims.

In terms of promoting integration and social cohesion, increasing diversity and minority representation within the mainstream media is a necessary first step. Both the visible face of the media and decision-making/editorial functions need to include Muslims and other minorities. There was, however, little appetite amongst those surveyed for the imposition of quotas. Instead, best practices in equality and diversity programming, including graduate or vocational training schemes that encourage Muslim participation and the growth of talent should be more widely disseminated and assessed. In the absence of senior Muslim staff, newspapers and other media organisations could commission focus groups or consultations and involve less senior Muslim staff to ensure a wider perspective when making editorial decisions.

Schemes for recognizing and awarding industry best practices in terms of representation and coverage of Muslim-related issues should be developed and could be run by independent non-governmental organizations and institutes. Above all, media organizations need to foster a culture of openness vis-à-vis diversity and difference, based on a more informed understanding of Muslim-related issues and the impact of their portrayal.

2. Crisis communications: A role for governments and policy

It is quite natural that the media should seek to cover crises when and where they arise and the more extreme they are, the more likely they are to attract prolonged and repeated media attention. It is clear that governments, if they are prepared to respond sufficiently quickly and sensitively, can play an important role in limiting the negative social fall-out resulting from such situations. Deliberate efforts were made by the UK government for instance in the wake of the 7/7 bombings in London. Policy-makers worked closely, on an informal basis, with the mainstream media to raise awareness of the potential social risks of sensationalist reporting and encouraged them to develop their own guidelines for reporting issues involving Muslim communities and individuals. This strategy was widely viewed as a success in limiting the potential spiralling of inter-communal tension at that time.

Longer-term engagement strategies by governments with the minority media in terms of explaining European foreign policy choices or promoting development work done in countries of origin would also help deliver more mutual understanding within countries of residence. The risk with such initiatives is that they are discounted as shallow PR attempts from the outset. Best practices in government-media relations should therefore be further assessed, particularly in the context of crisis communications.

3. 'Localising' foreign or country of origin media

A full 50% of the interviewees stated that they need to turn to alternative sources to find information about their country of ethnic origin. This is a fact that is unlikely to change with increasing migration to Europe in the future. It is, therefore, important for decision-makers and media professionals not to treat country-of-origin media as a threat to integration but as a resource for social cohesion. Both decision-makers and media professionals should seek engagement with such media outlets with an eye to further 'localising' them, rather than trying to subvert or constrain them. The use of Turkish TV stations by German state institutions and companies to reach German-based Turks is a good step in this regard and should be developed further.

4. Diversified programming: Diversified images

As noted above, the fact that 50% of interviewees turn to minority or foreign media to provide them with information about their countries of origin points to geographic 'blind spots' in the mainstream media that could use more attention. While news media is by its nature narrowly focused only on the momentary crisis at hand, other sections, especially of TV and Internet-based programming, could balance out some of the more negative images we consume of Muslims in the news and provide more diversified geographic coverage. Additionally, focus on the arts and history, as well as the portrayal of Europe's diverse Muslim communities (including in entertainment programming and even advertising), would have a considerable impact on overall perceptions and would be a way of promoting more diversified Muslim role models in the public domain. To keep up with the demands of globalisation, the mainstream media could consider more diverse programming and imaging in the above respects.

5. Creating opportunities for interaction between country of residence, minority and country-of-origin media

There is a need for closer and more regular interaction between the three key sectors of the media: the mainstream media in Europe, the minority media in Europe and the country-of-origin media. Such an interaction could help to bridge some of the misunderstandings that emerge, particularly during times of crisis.

While there are clear limits to such interaction – we are, after all, talking about highly unequal organizations in terms of economic power which are based in different countries and operating within different political and legal systems – regular meetings of journalists from country-of-origin, country-of-residence and minority media would be worth considering. Such meetings could be organized by professional associations or institutes. Young journalists could be encouraged to undertake internships in country of origin media companies. Personal contacts between media professionals from the different sectors may help create informal channels of interaction that are more effective than institutional contacts. An example of this sort of scheme is the International Journalists' Programme (IJP) which includes an exchange scheme between German and Turkish journalists.

6. Establishing the facts and the figures: Further research

As a pilot, this report touched upon a limited number of questions and had a limited time frame and resources with which to consider what is a very complex set of issues. There is a need to probe much further and continue to explore and research questions such as whether the proliferation of minority media among Muslims is significantly different to the potential proliferation of other minority-interest media in a new global media age? One could also drill much deeper into the attitudes towards minority media and address issues of objectivity, satisfaction, standards, and so on.

Ultimately there is a need for more data collection, especially viewing figures, where there is scant knowledge vis-à-vis Muslim consumption, i.e. for the country-of-residence, minority and country-of-origin media. Further analysis should also consider socio-economic stratification in order to gain a fuller picture of patterns of media consumption within the Muslim population. A dedicated research project that would establish an exhaustive synopsis of all relevant media actors (country-of-residence, minority, country-of-origin and transnational media) in each of the case-study countries could provide a necessary instrument to implement many of the suggestions and programmes mentioned in this paper.

Media organizations might consider conducting their own research to gain a better understanding of their Muslim market/audience. A larger survey of Muslims in Europe could provide more robust evidence, particularly looking at some hard-to-reach groups, such as those from older and younger generations. In this context, it is particularly important to disaggregate the term 'Muslim' and try to understand differential attitudes among different ethnic, religious, linguistic and socio-economic communities (with a particular view on transnational, minority and country-of-origin media by non-state communities like the Alevis and the Kurds).

Finally, the central role of cyberspace, online communities and transnational interactive platforms for the construction and negotiation of Muslim identities cannot be overestimated. This report has touched on the emerging online media only in passing. Further research on the positive and negative impacts of such media on processes of integration is crucial.

Introduction

Ever since the 9/11 attacks in the USA, newspapers, TV networks and news sites on the Internet have been key sites of public debate about Islam and Muslims in Europe. In many European countries with large Muslim communities, genuine feelings of insecurity and fear amongst the majority populations have become enmeshed with endemic concerns about uncontrolled immigration and criticism of multiculturalism. These discussions are reflected, and often amplified, by different media outlets.

How Muslims and Islam are represented in the media reflects societal attitudes towards them, whilst also shaping the political space within which Muslims feel excluded or welcome. The structure of debates in the 'mainstream media'³ in many ways constitutes the supply side of community cohesion or 'integration' in terms of the media from countries of residence.

A second dimension of the relationship between Muslims, Islam and the media is the demand side, i.e. the space provided by different media outlets, which are accessed by Muslims, and which may be based in their countries of residence, their countries of origin, or in fact, in third countries (the latter applying in particular to transnational Arab and Islamist TV networks and online outlets).

Both dimensions of this relationship have a bearing on how Muslim immigrants in European countries perceive themselves, and to what extent they feel welcome or excluded. Understanding how these two dimensions interact helps us to put into perspective fears of 'parallel' or even 'segregated information societies', and gain a clearer understanding of the role of foreign and minority media for Europe's diverse communities.

In order to address the relationship between Muslims and the media in Europe, this report investigates two inter-related issues. Firstly, it seeks to understand the role of the media in supporting or obstructing integration and social cohesion. Secondly, it examines the emergence of minority media within European Muslim communities and probes the assumption that Muslim immigrant communities are moving towards a segregated approach to media consumption (the 'Muslim media ghetto' thesis).

This report presents the key findings of exploratory pilot research in France, Germany and England. The leading questions of the study are:

- How do Muslim communities use the media?
- Are Muslims fairly represented in the media and in the media industry?
- Is there an emergence of 'parallel or segregated information societies' resulting from communities accessing information from sources other than those utilized by the majority populations in Europe?
- Is minority media a symbol of empowerment, acting as powerful mouthpieces of ethnic or religious commonality? And what impact does this have on integration and the sharing of common cultural values?

In order to address the above questions, diverse media outlets including press, radio and TV and online sources were considered. We report on issues pertaining to ethnic minorities, in particular Muslims and the way Muslims are represented and portrayed in the mainstream media. We look at the extent to which Muslims are encouraged or discouraged from using mainstream-media channels to obtain information and entertainment. We examine the opportunities provided to Muslims, including those who have difficulties with the language of the country of residence, to obtain information, entertainment and cultural satisfaction. As a crucial question of larger societal importance, we explore whether Muslim communities engage less with the majority population if they watch international satellite and cable programming or use domestic minority media. Finally, we look at the representation of Muslims within the media industry itself and what effect there is in terms of content and style when Muslims are engaged as presenters, writers and producers. In this context, we refer to the personal experiences of Muslim media professionals whom we interviewed.

In conceptual terms, we perceive the media to comprise radio, Internet, press and television broadcasting in the country of residence, the country of origin and in transnational space. With the terms foreign and minority media, we refer to all media outlets that are broadcast either outside the country of residence or in the country of residence by and for immigrant communities.

We are aware that today's globalised and interconnected world is marked by fundamentally different characteristics compared to earlier periods of mass migration and cultural integration. As a result of the wide availability of country-of-origin and international satellite media, immigrants today have the opportunity to stay in touch in ways which would have been inconceivable only a decade ago. This study takes the globalised media landscape as a given, rather than seeking to contest it.

3. We use the term 'mainstream media' to signify the media targeted at the majority of a country's population as opposed to 'minority media', which caters to various minority or immigrant communities.

1. The landscape of Europe's Muslim populations

As case studies for this exploration, France, Germany and the UK are particularly useful. Each country is based on different conceptions of identity, belonging and citizenship. France is often seen as the relatively inclusive republican model of the civic nation, Germany as a more exclusive, ethno-linguistic model based on blood and culture and the UK as the most inclusive case of non-ethnic citizenship. While the borders between these three ideal types have been blurred in the last decade and legislation itself has evolved (in particular in Germany where principles of *ius soli* were introduced into citizenship law in 2000), the underlying assumptions about who is considered part of 'Us' and who is seen as the 'Other' inform the practice of citizenship as well as the way the media covers Islam and Muslims.

France

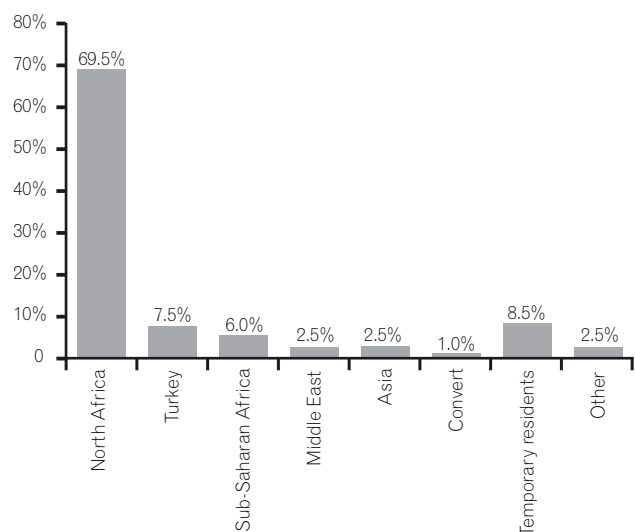
France hosts the largest Muslim population in any European Union country, both in absolute and relative terms. It is estimated that there are between 5-6 million Muslim residents in France, representing close to 10 percent of the French population. As in many other EU countries with a recent history of migration, Islam is the second most widely practised religion in France.⁴ Due to the specifications of French census data, religious affiliation is not normally recorded in line with the French tradition of 'laïcité' enshrined in the French constitution which prohibits the display of religious symbols in public institutions. While many state agencies do in fact collect information about the confessional status of residents in France, they rarely disclose them. Most of the figures in circulation and in this report are hence rough estimates.

While the majority of Muslims in France were born on French soil, more than two million Muslims are thought to have immigrated recently. Demographer A. Boyer suggests the following breakdown of Muslims in France:

World region	Country of origin	Numbers
North Africa	Algeria	1,550,000
	Morocco	1,000,000
	Tunisia	350,000
Europe	Turkey	315,000
Sub-Saharan Africa		250,000
Middle East	Lebanon	100,000
Asia		100,000
Other		100,000
Converts		40,000
Temporary residents (asylum seekers and irregular migrants)		350,000

As is evident from the table and the graph, the overwhelming majority of Muslim immigrants in France has roots in the north-African countries of the Maghreb, with Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia being the leading countries of origin. Turkey is at fourth place with only 7.5%, followed by sub-Saharan countries of origin, especially Senegal. This distribution clearly indicates that the aggregate term of 'Muslims' signifies predominantly North African migrants, with additional smaller groups comprising the remainder.

Muslims in France

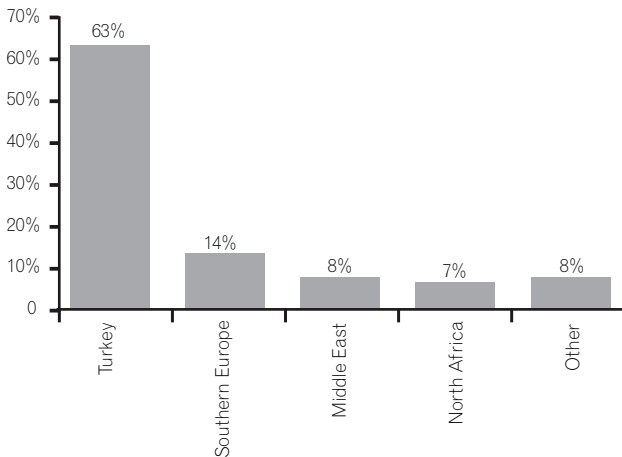


4. Sources: Total population - National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies, 2004 figures; Muslim population - French government estimate.

Germany

In Germany, the dominance of one particular group, Muslim immigrants from Turkey, is particularly visible. According to the recent study 'Muslim Life in Germany' ("Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland"), the number of Muslim immigrants is estimated at 3.8 to 4.3 million (Haug et al., 2009: 11). Muslims in Germany constitute around 5 percent of the whole population, which is significantly lower than in France, yet well above the UK figure of 3 percent.

Muslims in Germany



The majority of Muslims in Germany were born or have ancestry in Turkey. However, while immigrants of Turkish origin make up almost two thirds of all Muslims in Germany, this figure is slightly misleading, as it includes both Sunni Muslims and members of the heterodox Alevi which constitute up to 30% of immigrants from Turkey.

The second largest group of Muslims in Germany hails from what was –at the time of their emigration- Yugoslavia, mostly from Bosnia and Kosovo.

Many migrants define themselves as culturally Muslim, secular or non-religious and are not members of any religious institution in Germany. There seems to be a media tendency to conflate the terms 'Muslim' and 'Turk'. This is particularly problematic, in terms of methodology, as in the case of Germany, the term 'Muslim' is much more contested than in the UK, where it has become a positive mark of self-identification.

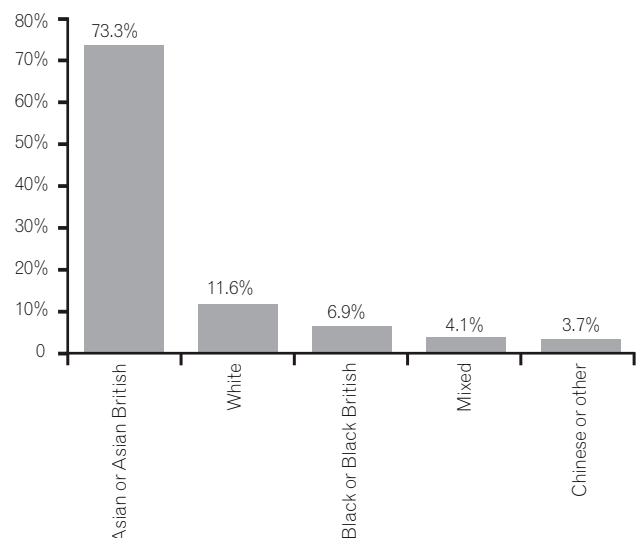
United Kingdom

With 1.6 Million Muslim residents, making up slightly less than 3 percent of in the total population, the UK has the smallest Muslim community in both absolute and relative terms.⁵ Islam is second largest religion after Christianity, and over half of its adherents are under the age of 25.

The Muslim population in England and Wales (from the 2001 Census) comprises diverse ethnic groups and more than 50 languages, yet it would be fair to say that the overwhelming majority –close to 70 percent- has ancestry in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Ethnic Group	% of Muslims
White	11.62
British	4.08
Irish	0.06
Other White	7.49
Mixed	4.15
White and Black Caribbean	0.09
White and Black African	0.68
White and Asian	1.97
Other Mixed	1.42
Asian or Asian British	73.65
Indian	8.51
Pakistani	42.52
Bangladeshi	16.79
Other Asian	5.82
Black or Black British	6.88
Black Caribbean	0.29
Black African	6.22
Other Black	0.37
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	3.70
Chinese	0.05
Other Ethnic Group	3.65

Muslims in England and Wales



5, Sources: Muslim population - Office for National Statistics, 2001 figures

Figures denoting the place of birth of UK residents suggest that a higher percentage of Muslim immigrants were born in England and Wales, compared to Germany and France. Considering the relatively early start of labour migration to the UK after WW II, this figure is not surprising.

Nearly half of Muslims living in England and Wales were born in the UK. 39 percent of Muslims were born in Asia – mostly Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India. A further 10 percent were born in Africa, including Somalia and Kenya. Four percent of Muslims were from South Eastern Europe, including Turkey as well as Kosovo, Bosnia Herzegovina and Serbia and Yugoslavia.

As this brief overview of the three case studies suggests, the composition of Muslim immigrant communities varies widely and is shaped by specific historical trajectories and country of residence – country of origin interaction.

In France, Muslim immigration was predetermined by the country's colonial domination of the Southern Mediterranean and the Maghreb region, and by a citizenship regime that granted full rights to children born in France. In Germany, Muslim migration was determined by 'guest worker' schemes with Turkey and Yugoslavia in the 1960s – countries close to Germany in geographical terms- and by a legal framework based on the '*Ius sanguinis*' that made citizenship a distant option for most immigrants. In the UK, post-imperial networks provided for the relatively early arrival of Muslim immigrants from the Indian subcontinent.

2. The 'Mediascape' for and by Muslims

By 'mediascape', we mean the media landscape, which is available to Muslim immigrants in addition to the mainstream media in their country of residence. While the relative importance of the different modes and outlets changes over time, and significant differences exist between the different immigrant communities, as a general trend we can observe not only a move towards country-of-origin television, but also towards country-of-residence online media as well as radio and TV programmes, where available. We examine the categories of country-of-residence media, country-of-origin media and transnational media.

2.1 Country-of-residence media

Immigrant programming in the country of residence

In **France**, the authorities introduced limited programming for the Muslim community as early as 1983 when Jacques Berque started a programme called *Connaitre l'Islam* ('To know Islam') broadcast on Sunday mornings, alongside programmes about Christianity and Buddhism. In 1999, the association called *Vivre l'Islam* took over the programme and aimed it at both non-Muslim and Muslim audiences living in France. Today the program *Les Chemins de la Foi* ('Path to the faith') is broadcast every Sunday from 8.30 am to 12 pm and embodies each of the faiths of France: Islam, Judaism, Eastern Christianity and Protestantism, with a Catholic mass being broadcast live. These programmes, however, were not catering to the needs of Muslim immigrants, but presenting Islam as a cultural and religious phenomenon.

Arabic-language Radio Orient was launched in 1982 in Paris, being first broadcast exclusively in Arabic, and, since 2002, partly in French. Other radio stations include Beur FM, which targets young audiences of North African background.

In **Germany**, television and radio broadcasting for 'guest workers' from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece began in the 1960s. Two Turkish television programmes, *Ihre Heimat, unsere Heimat* ('Your home – our home') and *Nachbarn in Europa* ('Neighbours in Europe') began in 1964. However, these were programmes were produced by German TV producers with little knowledge of the communities they were supposedly serving. While well

meant, such programmes depicted the guest workers as foreigners, who would return to their countries of origin.

Much more important was the daily radio broadcast for guest workers which the public-service broadcaster Westdeutscher Rundfunk started in the same year. The news programmes, covering all languages of the work migrants from southern Europe, became the most important source of information about developments in the country of origin well into the late 1990s, when the alternative media of satellite television and new radio stations emerged. These programmes were particularly useful in that they educated immigrants about their rights and duties in Germany. The daily one-hour Turkish-language broadcast of *Köln Radyosu* (Radio Cologne) (Kosnick, 2000: 319-321) indeed provided a generation of Turkish immigrants with high-quality programming, until the format lost its appeal due to the competition of satellite television and German-based Turkish radio stations, such as Metropol FM.

Metropol FM, a Berlin-based 24-hour Turkish radio programme, has been on air since 1999 and is owned, produced and listened to by Turks. Further research would be crucial to understand Metropol FM's role for the emergence of a specifically German-Turkish identity. Other examples include Radio Multikulti and specific programming on Deutsche Welle.

In the **UK**, ethnic minority programmes are the most advanced, thanks to the pioneering role and infrastructure of the BBC and its world service. Broadcasts have been available in Hindi and Urdu nationwide and on Radio Leicester since the 1960s. Since 1989, the BBC Asian network has been on air, catering to an Asian target audience and since 1990, there has also been a commercial Turkish radio station (London Turkish Radio – LTR), with 24-hour programming. In this context, it is interesting to note that LTR's German equivalent, Metropol FM, only went on air nine years later.

In 1992, a network of Ramadan Radio stations began broadcasting to communities in the Bradford area during Ramadan. By 2006, 40 temporary radio stations were broadcasting to English audiences every Ramadan. Ofcom expected to license 29 temporary radio stations (SRSLS) for Ramadan 2009.

In all three cases, we see the erosion of radio and TV programmes for immigrants, and –thanks to the liberalisation of the radio market – the emergence of radio stations produced by immigrants.

2.2 Country-of-origin media

Satellite/Cable TV

Cable and satellite TV have revolutionized the way in which Muslim immigrants interact with the world, by making available to them a whole range of TV channels that broadcast from their countries of origin. While in the 1980s, national governments still had some control over

programming through cable networks, the availability of cheap satellite dishes literally cancelled out state control over what channels immigrants would be able to watch.

In France, there are now more than 30 Arabic-language channels available. In addition to this, the Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel, (audiovisual regulatory authority) has authorised Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan channels to broadcast programmes using cable television.⁶

In Germany, Turkish TV channels have been available via cable and satellite since the late 1980s, with a growing number of channels and viewers in Germany (and beyond). Both state and private Turkish channels compete for the German-Turkish audiences, and most leading Turkish TV stations have special formats targeting EU-based audiences. Stations like Euro D, Euro Star, Kanal International and the state TV TRT International have limited editorial content produced in Germany, which includes specific commercials for Germany and neighbouring countries.

UK-based Muslim television stations include the 24-hour English-language Islam Channel, which was established in 2004. The station describes itself as "popular, specialist and ethnic" and aims to provide "alternative news, current affairs and entertainment programming from an Islamic perspective" to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Programming includes news and political discussion, religious broadcasts, Islamic music, current affairs/entertainment and issue-based discussion programmes, and some children's programming.

Print media

In France, there were many Arab newspapers during the 1970s and 1980s, such as *Al Watan al Arabi*, *Al Youm al Sabia*, *El Mustakbal*, *Al Fursan*, *Al Moharrer*, *Kul Al Arab*, *Al Talia al Arabia* and some lesser publications. Many of these have now disappeared or have only a very low circulation. Muslims in France increasingly read newspapers written in French. More recently, magazines, such as *MWM*, have been established for Muslim audiences, in this case specifically targeting Muslim women.

Readership of Turkish newspapers in Germany, with all editorial content produced in Frankfurt, has been falling rapidly for the last decade and has now consolidated at a daily circulation of 120,000. It is generally agreed that the large majority of Turkish newspaper readers in Germany also reads German newspapers.⁷ Those readers who are computer-literate seem to be reading Turkish newspapers online. Despite the declining readership, however, Turkish newspapers are influential in German public debate. Their Europe-based editorials have often been criticized in the German mainstream media for fanning anti-German prejudice, especially in the notable

cases of arson attacks and fires that led to the death of Turkish citizens in Germany.

In the UK, examples of print media include the independent Muslim newspaper, *The Muslim News*, established in 1989 as a monthly publication to "provide objective news and views", and published today on a bi-monthly basis. In addition, the monthly Muslim magazine *Q-News*, which has recently ceased publication, aimed to provide "independent analysis, critique and review of politics, culture and ideas" and targeted second and third-generation British Muslims, parliamentarians, policy-makers and educators.

Other publications include the East-London-based newspaper *Muslim Weekly*, the London-published lifestyle magazine *EMEL* (which was founded in 2003 and describes itself as having an "ethical and progressive outlook that has a Muslim focus"), and the political monthly, *New Civilisation*, published by the UK branch of the Hizb ut-Tahrir, which aims to "foster the debate on Islamic political thinking".

In terms of newspapers and the print media, Turkish newspapers printed in Germany (and distributed all over Europe) remain an important source of information and opinion among Muslim immigrants in Europe.

2.3 Transnational media

Satellite/Cable TV

Particularly for speakers of Arabic, the satellite networks of transnational Arab broadcasters such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabiyah are important, as are more religiously oriented satellite TV channels with a Muslim content, for example the Arabic-speaking Noor TV, Unity and Peace TV. These stations provide a mixture of lifestyle programmes as well as more spiritual programming.

Internet

If the satellite dish has revolutionized the TV landscape, the Internet has significantly changed how individuals, including Muslims, access information and impact on how they interact with ideas and other people. Given the interactive, global and transnational nature of the Internet, this section can only flag some emerging developments and underline the importance of further research.

There are myriad Internet websites, web communities and online chatrooms for Muslims, covering all issues from religion and lifestyle to friendship and sexual relations in all countries of residence.

6. The Moroccan TV channel 2M (www.2m.tv) is now freely available on the Internet in France, as is Tunisian television broadcast Channel 7 (www.tunisiatv.com.) In July 2007, Tunisian President Ben Ali announced Canal 21 as a second national TV channel for young people. This channel was reconverted into a satellite channel (www.k-net21.net/) and is now called Tunisia 21.

7. 29% of daily users read German language print media and 14% read Turkish newspapers and magazines. Among occasional users, 36% read German and 24% read Turkish print media (ARD/ZDF Medienkommission 2007: 86). These figures suggest that print media in general is used less for information and entertainment than TV and the Internet.

Information websites on religious practice are freely available, including discussion forums and *ulamâ* advice, such as Oumma.com formed in 1999. Saphirnews.com is a more contemporary offering and aimed at Muslim daily life with links to new music on Islamic themes. Both originate in France. However, neither of these two websites can rival Islam online, which employs a staff of 150 in Cairo and has influence worldwide. Its origins are in Qatar.

The UK's 2001 census established that those from a Pakistani background made up the largest group within the country's Muslim population. Interestingly, Pakistani households are more likely than the general British population to live in a house with Internet coverage (72% compared to 62%). One-third of Pakistani adults indicated that they intended to connect in the next 12 months as compared to 15% of the UK population in general. Indians and Pakistanis claim to spend more time online than the overall British population.⁸

After the events of 11 September 2001, Muslim websites noticed a rise in traffic as more people sought to understand Islam as a religion.

Conclusion

This chapter on Europe's Muslim mediascapes, incomplete as it is given the scarcity of original research available, has sought to sketch the evolution of immigrant media in the three case studies. It has charted the development of the three overlapping cases of country-of-residence, country-of-origin and transnational media and identified some general trends: (1) the media outlets acting in the country of residence have changed considerably; and (2) one or two-hour information programmes produced by public broadcasters since the 1960s have been superseded, in the 1990s, by commercial radios owned by members of immigrant communities, producing entertainment, news and cultural content. Locally produced radio and TV, particularly in Germany, has not been forthcoming, and the resulting gap has been closed by emerging private Turkish TV networks, which were quick to address the needs of German-based Turkish-speaking audiences.

This chapter has also shown that rather than replacing the media market in the country of residence, the country-of-origin media has also changed structurally. While satellite TV has been on the rise, the circulation of Turkish and Arabic newspapers has been falling significantly. Satellite television from the countries of origin, especially in the case of Turkey, are not the sole source of information, and do not suggest the development of a 'Muslim media ghetto', yet they are extremely influential in shaping their viewers' perception and, to a certain extent, their identity. The many Turkish TV networks with German-based European programmes do seem to impact on Turkish Muslims' views of current affairs globally, in Turkey and in Germany.

Perhaps, importantly, they have also become a major advertising market, where local Turkish businesses as well as German companies and even state agencies post commercials and information programmes.

Particularly notable, and exceedingly transnational is the virtual world and the online media, which is very hard to categorise due to its user-generated content. Yet, together with transnational Muslim satellite TV, the Internet offers a wide range of information, religious guidance and popular culture, as well as extremely nationalist and Islamist content.

Despite the great variety of the media in the countries of origin and the countries of residence, it can be concluded that the trend is not the emergence of 'segregated media worlds', but that of an extreme 'diversification of media', which needs to be understood better before it is condemned as detrimental to integration or praised as an extension of choice. Indeed depending on their political bent, both balanced and more ideologically slanted media are to be found within both the mainstream and the minority media.

Finally, it is fair to say that one of the most important shifts has been that from a supply-oriented media – i.e. media that is produced by institutions of the country of residence – to a demand-based media, with media produced by members of the immigrant community or in the country of origin.

8, *Pakistani's were estimated to number some 747,000 or approximately 47% of the UK's Muslim population (2001 UK census).*

3. Perceptions: Exploring Muslims and the media

This chapter is based on the in-depth interviews conducted with members of the general public, both Muslim and non-Muslim, as well as with people working in the media (please see appendix on research methodology for a more detail). It therefore focuses on the issues that the respondents believed to be most important. While not exhaustive, the responses do help us to understand prevalent attitudes and patterns of perception.

3.1 Media, immigration and citizenship

Newspapers and radio and television stations in the case-study countries have reacted differently to immigration, as we have explored earlier in the discussion on the specific trajectories of migration each country and immigrant group has experienced. It would be fair to say that reporting on Muslim immigrants, notwithstanding the differences in the political views of each media outlet, has shifted from disinterest through engagement to an almost obsessive focus.

The citizenship regimes and migration policies of respective governments have also shaped these discourses. While debates on the best way to deal with immigrants continue, multiculturalism has increasingly been called into question in the context of the post-9/11 security environment, and restrictive citizenship policies have emerged based on a more uniform understanding of national identity (reflected in a wave of new citizenship 'tests' across Europe).

Against this backdrop, there is an overwhelming agreement among respondents in all three case studies that the media is extremely important in helping to determine how Muslims are viewed by the majority and how European Muslims interact with the society in which they live.

At the same time, there is a widely shared feeling that media coverage of Muslims is biased. Almost all media professionals interviewed, for instance, agreed with the statement that "it is the role of the media to offer a balanced portrayal of Muslims".

However a large majority holds the view that the mainstream media does not provide a balanced view of Muslims. There is also a widely held view that negative media coverage is detrimental to community relations as it affects the perception of Muslims by the public (92% of interviewees, both Muslim and non-Muslim).

“Western and especially French media don't give a high and positive image of Muslims...always shown as backward people, narrow-minded, violent and without any knowledge
(France)

I think the way the media portray Muslims affects our relations with Muslims in France. I think this holds back their integration, as the media are often sensationalist
(France)

3.2 Media coverage and perceptions of Muslim identity

The 9/11 bombings drastically changed the way Muslims were depicted in the media across the globe. If Islam and Muslims were largely localised issues before, which would be discussed in the contexts of national debates (i.e. the identity discussion regarding the Beur and the Algerian civil war in France, the attacks on Salman Rushdie in the UK), since 9/11, Islam has become a symbol of a global movement, often perceived to be directed against Western interests.⁹

There was, however, also positive coverage and responsible reporting, especially in the UK and thanks to deliberate efforts made by the UK government.¹⁰ In the wake of the 7/7 bombings in London, the British government worked closely with the mainstream media and encouraged them to set standards and guidelines, and to use certain language for reporting issues involving Muslim communities and individuals. The success of this strategy is a reminder of the importance of government approaches and policy.

One of the major issues related to Islam and Muslims that has occupied the French public debate is the symbolic question of the *hijab*, which is often seen as an alien cultural expression. Parts of the mainstream media used the banning of the *hijab* within public schools on 2 September 2004 as an opportunity to celebrate French secularism and condemn non-secular lifestyles. More recently, in June 2009 French President Nicholas Sarkozy publicly condemned the wearing of the burqa.¹¹

The question of clothing and identity has also been

9. A recent UK study that was conducted by Channel 4 suggests that mainstream broadcasters have displayed a range of discriminating behaviour, including: Tokenism and stereotyping, screening exaggerated and extreme representations of minority communities, failing to reflect modern ethnic-minority culture, a lack of black and Asian people in positions of power within the British media.

10. The Sun newspaper ran a leader proclaiming Islam as a non-violent religion just days after 9/11.

11. It will not be welcome on French soil. We cannot accept, in our country, women imprisoned behind a mesh, cut off from society, deprived of all identity. That is not the French Republic's idea of women's dignity." BBC News.

a regular theme in the UK media, complemented by debates on the issue of Islamic law. Particularly controversial were the debates sparked off by the somewhat misconstrued argument of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Reverend Rowan Williams, that elements of Sharia law might be introduced in the UK.¹²

“Muslims are generally portrayed as sexist, anti-Semitic, violent, anti-democratic, fanatic, primitive, savage (Germany)

If there is a programme about a Muslim woman, she always has to be beaten and not free. When a Muslim woman lives in a 'modern' way, they don't believe that this is a [true] Muslim woman

(Germany)

My colleagues believe everything they see or read in the news, but when they hear my account they do not really believe me

(Germany)

Muslims are being portrayed as foreigners, strangers, others

(Germany)

The media is the fourth estate. The press can transform an angel into a devil and vice versa

(France)

Ever since the 9/11 attacks, the unfavourable context of political violence associated with Islam and Muslims has set the parameters of much of the public debate and its manifestation in the media. Most of the issues of cultural specificity – hijab, Islamic family and commercial law – have become recast as issues of national security. This 'securitisation' of Islam and Muslims in Europe cannot, however, be attributed to the media alone. The media responds after all to political realities, all the more so if they involve extreme events, views and political utterances accompanied by a public perception of fear.

“After September 11th... German [and] foreign media reported...often on Muslims...Muslims were depicted more as terrorists than as normal religious believers (Germany)

Terrorism, Pakistani Terrorists, 7-7, 9-11, illegal Pakistani

(UK)

I don't observe mainstream media any more as something I gain information from. I only observe it to see what they make [into] subject matter for the majority population

(Germany)

I watch the BBC and Al-Jazeera more than the French media because of their state of mind in the approach to information: less narrow-minded, more accurate, less stereotyped or biased judgment...Al-Jazeera will treat subjects that French media would never pay attention to and offers a wider vision of what's happening in the world

(France)

The mainstream media shows more about what has happened...whereas the minority media shows both sides of the story... [it] shows much more information

(UK)

3.3 Minority versus mainstream media

With the proliferation of demand-driven minority media and global satellite-media delivery, along with the growing lack of trust in the fairness and objectivity of mainstream-media sources, the underlying fear is that minorities or immigrant communities turn away from the mainstream towards minority or foreign media for all their media requirements. The fear is that in doing so, they end up in 'Muslim media ghettos' preventing social cohesion or the integration of their immigrant communities into their countries of residence and posing a serious challenge to the emergence of cohesive national value systems.

This research, however, found little evidence to support the thesis that 'segregated information societies' are emerging. Almost all Muslim respondents of this survey choose to view *both* mainstream and minority media. They do so for different reasons: A large part turns to the country-of-residence media as a source of news (84%) and many use it for entertainment (43%).

12, Here we have seen headlines such as "Sharia law is unavoidable" (Dr. Rowan Williams as reported on BBC Radio 4, 7 Feb 2008) or "polls show 40% of Muslims want Sharia law" (Daily Telegraph, 19 Feb 2006) as well as "Sharia Law UK: Mail on Sunday gets exclusive access to a British Muslim court". Mail on Sunday 4 July 2009. These stories have fueled the debate in Britain as to whether Sharia law is acting as a parallel legal system to common British law.

Half of the respondents turn to their home-country and minority media for information about their 'home' culture and for news about other countries abroad. Language continues to play an important role: half of the Muslim respondents watch country-of-origin television because of the use of the home language. While second and third-generation immigrants tend to be relatively fluent in the country-of-residence languages, regional and class differences notwithstanding¹³, the appeal of the home language is a fact.

One could argue that rather than establishing 'Muslim media ghettos', Muslim immigrants are developing complex strategies to combine country-of-residence and country-of-origin media.

Our findings hence suggest that consumption of minority media amongst Muslims is often supplementary to the consumption of mainstream media. There are, however, significant differences between the countries of residence, different communities and between age and gender in each immigrant community. This diversity is only able to be conveyed in this research in an impressionistic fashion through the quotes from our respondents.

Indeed, minority and foreign media, including transnational satellite TV and the Internet, are a double-edged sword. While they can create alternatives for Muslim immigrants to be in touch with their countries and cultures of origin, such media also carry the 'home conflicts' and perceptions into living rooms in Germany, France and the UK. Trans-national Muslim TV outlets and Internet sources have played a role in the emergence of a stronger Muslim identity among Arabic-speaking Muslim immigrants in France and elsewhere.

Most of the mainstream Turkish media has tended towards nationalist language in the last few years, especially when reporting on the sometimes fatal attacks on people of Turkish origin. These sources have also sometimes engaged in fanning anti-Kurdish flames, resulting in disruptive effects on relations between Kurdish and Turkish immigrants.

Indeed some of the Muslim respondents voiced concerns that instead of moving away from the mainstream and therefore finding objectivity in the minority media, what they were actually getting was another kind of bias, against Europe and the 'West'.

The country of origin and minority media hence plays a complex role in the way Muslim immigrants interact with their host societies, especially in times of crisis. Foreign

and minority media are here to stay and will most likely diversify further over time. Strategies to engage minorities and immigrant populations in European national cultures and politics would therefore benefit from more active engagement with minority and foreign-media sources.

“It's the minority news that gives the balanced view
(UK)

These days it's getting better, but even now it is not a good balance, it's more towards the bad side
(UK)

If a certain issue is not told neutrally and one or both sides is radical... the other side becomes radical too. So, the minority media do also react to the mainstream media
(Germany)

Hurriyet [a leading Turkish Language Newspaper] is not much different to Bild [a leading German language newspaper]... Like Bild in Germany they are using nationality
(Germany)

I read [Jang] in order to keep myself in touch with the news around me, news in my country
(UK)

I read Algerian newspapers to know what happens in my country of origin. And I read national and local newspapers to get information on where I live
(France)

3.4 Muslims in the media industry

A very large proportion of our respondents believe that Muslim role models in the mainstream media would have a positive impact upon perceptions and that there should be more Muslims working in the mainstream media.

The research sought to identify some of the barriers against Muslims entering the mainstream media industry. The greatest perceived barrier is prejudice, which was stated by almost half of the interviewed media professionals who identify themselves as Muslims.¹⁴ Some also observe that Muslims become pigeonholed when they start their career; they are expected to deal with

13, It is important to note that the issue of language is more complex than the research findings suggest here. Even though knowledge of the country-of-residence language is fast improving, there are new immigrant 'languages', especially among the younger immigrants (like vers langue in France and Kanak Sprak in Germany).

14, One example of this fear was starkly illustrated when a senior Muslim from Channel 4 in the UK was appointed as the BBC's head of religious affairs in 2009. Aaqil Ahmed was appointed in May 2009, following which the BBC received 115 complaints, an unprecedented number. The BBC confirmed that the "vast majority" of the complaints were about Ahmed not being a Christian. (Daily Telegraph, online 16 May 2009). "Despite Ahmed having had 10 years of experience in religious broadcasting, including programmes about Christians, there was a fear even 'at the highest levels of the Church of England' that his appointment would sideline Christians." (Daily Telegraph online, 16 May 2009)

issues of integration or Muslim-related topics. Finally, the lack of existing family or community-based networks in the sector, which are particularly important in certain countries of origin, might also discourage young Muslims from seeking a job in the media.

There are also some good practices, particularly in the UK, where there is a growing number of industry traineeships and schemes which aim to increase the numbers of Muslims in the media. The mainstream media in the UK supports a number of initiatives to promote diversity. In public service broadcasting, the BBC expresses its commitment to engaging "diverse communities of interest, as well as gender, age, ethnicity, religion and faith, social background, sexual orientation, [or] political affiliation", and to reflecting the diversity of the UK audience in its workforce, as well as in its output on TV, on radio and online. The BBC's Diversity Policy specifies corporate workforce targets¹⁵ and is supported by a £3 million investment programme for the next 3 years to assist in meeting these targets. This includes mentoring schemes for potential high-fliers, training schemes for journalists, and active participation in industry schemes aimed at creating a skilled and diverse workforce across broadcasting.

In Germany, there are also increasing opportunities for training young journalists and ethnic-minority journalists to engage in mentoring programmes. In the last five years, German governmental and media institutions have launched several national, regional and local initiatives to increase the number of ethnic-minority professionals in the German media industry. However, these initiatives operate on a voluntary basis for media institutions as there are, unlike in the UK, no ethnic monitoring and equal opportunity policies in place¹⁶.

The pilot research findings demonstrate that more Muslims working in the media industry will have a positive effect on levels of trust in the mainstream-media's reporting of Muslim-related subjects. Larger numbers of Muslims in the media with increased visibility will allow Muslim presenters and producers to serve as positive role models, both for young Muslims and for members of non-immigrant communities.

Further investigation and discussion is needed as to whether the main issue regarding the representation of Muslims within the mainstream media industry is one of visibility and more Muslim presenters and reporters, or one about raising the number of Muslims in decision-making positions.

In the UK, where there is greater visibility of minorities in the mainstream media, there seems to be an emphasis on increasing the number of Muslims within decision-making positions. The Phillips report *Superdiversity, TV's newest reality* stated that "there are too few non-white figures amongst the ranks of the decision makers. If the industry is to give everyone else confidence that it is serious, those who run it should collectively start to look a little more like those who pay their wages" (Trevor Phillips, *Superdiversity, TV's newest reality*, 2008). Following along this line, UK respondents interviewed for this research identified more frequently than those from France and Germany that raising the number of Muslims in decision-making was more important than visible representation.

The representation and 'visibility' of members of Muslim communities remains an important objective for the TV and print media in countries of residence. Political will seems to be the precondition for the active involvement of minorities in the media industry as the UK case has demonstrated. To date, the German case of voluntary schemes led by the media industry has had only limited impact on changing the 'face' of German media.

15. The BBC's Diversity Policy Targets (reviewed in 2008, to be met by December 2012) is 12.5% for black and minority ethnic staff overall (status: 12% at 31 January 2009; 11% at 31 January 2008), and 7% for ethnic minority staff at SM1 and SM2 grades (5.7% at 31 January 2009; 4.8% at 31 January 2008).

16. German publishers have just launched a new foundation in cooperation with the Federal Chancellery addressing issues of integration. The key media figure involved in this initiative is Kai Diekmann, editor-in-chief of the Bild newspaper.

Conclusion

The media represents a vital channel for receiving information, entertainment and cultural satisfaction. We develop our beliefs and values based on the information around us. For some, we are dependent on the media for crucial information and need to be able to trust the sources and content of that information. A representative sample of Muslims and non-Muslims, some of whom work in the media industry, were asked whether they thought the mainstream and minority media portrayed Muslims in a balanced manner. The responses gave a clear indication of the widespread perception that the mainstream media do not (72%). This was supplemented by 91% saying that they thought it was the responsibility of the mainstream media to provide a balanced portrayal of Muslims.

The research focused on three European countries, France, Germany and Great Britain where there are well-established Muslim communities and well-developed minority media sources for Muslims. The research established that many of those interviewed turn to these alternative sources; however, they also maintain their consumption of the mainstream media. This indicates that 'parallel-media societies' are being established with Muslims choosing media from a broad menu. The research therefore reveals the complex relationship Muslims have with the media both from the perspective of the consumer and the media professional.

The interviews and discussions reveal that many second and third-generation Muslims are concerned about issues of integration of Muslims into the societies where they live. The lack of information about their culture, heritage and simply what is going on in their countries of origin contributes to their turning to the minority media with half of the interviewees citing the search for information about their 'home' country as playing a role in their media choices. Non-Muslims have little awareness of programmes for or about Muslims and more and better information might aid integration, as both the Muslim and the non Muslim would then have a better, more open understanding of each others' cultures and heritage. Inter-communal cohesion can only be achieved through increased familiarity and knowledge of the 'other'. The way the media reports Muslim-related issues and the extent to which Muslims are encouraged to use the media is vital to achieving this.

The research involved interviews with a number of media professionals from both a Muslim and non-Muslim background about the representation of Muslims within the media industry and about the place of positive role models. A majority (58%) hold the view that positive role models within the mainstream media would help to change the perception of Muslims and aid integration. Further research is needed on whether more high profile 'Muslim faces' in the media will be enough to make this change or whether there needs to be more Muslims in decision-making positions within the mainstream media. This pilot research project has taken a step towards identifying trends related to perceptions of the mainstream and minority media, the use of these media sources and the implications for greater cohesion in European societies. The recommendations made as a result of the research have implications for both the mainstream and minority media and are aimed at starting a much-needed discussion about these issues.

Appendix

Research methodology

In seeking to explore integration/participation dynamics resulting from the emergence of minority oriented 'parallel media' sources, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) commissioned Farzana Hakim and Colleen Harris to conduct a literature review and face-to-face interviews focusing on three countries: France, Germany and Great Britain. The purpose of this pilot research was focused on:

- The development of the new mediascape and Muslim minority media;
- Media preferences and patterns of Muslim and non-Muslim consumers, minority media versus mainstream media;
- Consumer opinions about how Muslim communities are represented in mainstream and minority media;
- Representation of Muslim communities in the European media industry;
- Opinions and experiences of media professionals: Muslim and non-Muslim.

The interviewees came from diverse ethnic, gender, age and national backgrounds. The interviews were designed to examine the points above and to additionally explore how European mainstream media can be improved to create one that is more representative, promoting understanding between groups in society, tackling marginalization, social discrimination and improving social cohesion.

The research draws its evidence from two primary sources:

Interviews: 83 semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals' self-identifying themselves as Muslims working in the media, community leaders and private individuals. Interviews were also carried out with non-Muslims working in the media. Attention was paid to a balance by age and gender to ensure a wide set of experiences.

Focus Groups: Three discussion groups were held, one in each country, to explore and discuss issues related to working in the media and the representation of Muslims in the media. In total, 20 people, across all three countries, were included in these focus groups.

Of the total number of 103 individuals who participated in interviews or focus groups, 58% were from a Muslim community background and 42% were media professionals. Of the media professionals, 57% were Muslims. The interviews and focus groups were carried out in France, Germany and England during July and August 2009.

Contributors

This report was commissioned from Farzana Hakim and Colleen Harris by the Institute of Strategic Dialogue.

The following have contributed to this report:

Saba Khan – Project management
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 Anthony Heaton – English interviews
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 Nida Uppal – English interviews and transcription
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ISD: The Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) is an independent think tank working with leaders in government, media and the private sector to challenge long-range threats to international and communal peace and to enhance Europe's capacity to act effectively with other key players in the global arena. Through its policy, educational and cultural programmes, the Institute fosters leadership and stability across Europe and its wider neighbourhood, actively bridging communal, religious and political divides.



Vodafone Foundation Germany: As part of a family of foundations positioned globally and operating locally, the Vodafone Foundation Germany supports and initiates projects with the goal of providing impetus to social progress and in order to assume social policy responsibility. The foundation concentrates its involvement on the fields of education, integration, social mobility and health as well as art and culture.



M100: The M100 Sanssouci Colloquium is an annual 'East-West Media Bridge' bringing together media and public figures from across today's most sensitive geo-political and communal fault lines. The Colloquium aims to foster cross-continental media relations, exposing not only differences, but also commonalities in the challenges faced by media from different cultures and geographies.



CEDAR: The first pan- European Muslim Professionals Network, CEDAR, aims to foster professional aspiration and development amongst younger generations of European Muslims through the promotion of role models, peer to peer professional support and development, youth mentoring and a range of sector-specific projects.

"I am delighted that these important issues are being explored in this report because they are closely linked to Europe's greatest challenges."

Andrea Seibel, Vice Editor-in-Chief, *Die Welt*
and M100 Media Board member

"The issue of community integration is key to the future of Europe and I am sure that this year's M100 Sanssouci Colloquium will make a significant contribution to the debate. Further research into European Muslims' experience of the Media will give decision makers and the media greater insight into current trends and ultimately will help to shape policies."

Louis Schweitzer, Chairman of *Le Monde*, Chairman of Renault,
President of HALDE, ISD Trustee and M100 Media Board member

"This report helps us to understand more about our audience and their needs. Both mainstream media and minority media professionals will gain from the insights offered by the authors."

Mohammed Ali, CEO, *Islam Channel*

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