CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter seeks to assess the news presentation and depiction by media in shaping alternative views of Muslims for Global and Indian context. In the review, the framing of the minorities in the International Media is traced by narrowing down to the local level. Following that, the researcher discusses the research findings of various researchers on the representation of the Muslims in the media. The frames provided the ideas perceived and the agenda set up over the identity the Muslims have been studied.

3.1 Studies on the role of media in representing Islam and Muslims

Media is a version of reality. The role of media has the ability to shape opinions, and to present a particular version as reality other than presenting and depicting information and images. Based on this view, all parties, whether terrorists or the authorities have put an effort to cooperate with media since they are regarded as the sole agent in giving information and instilling awareness to the society about some crucial issues exist (Aly, 2007).

According to Laqueur (2002), media plays a major role in making any terrorist operation a success and this was one of the main reasons for the shift from rural guerrilla to urban terror in the 1960s. Further research stresses that media and terrorism related issues are always perceived based on three aspects; terrorists' objectives on media, Government's objectives on media and media's own objectives on related incidents linked to terrorism.

Kabir (2006) in his study on the representation of Islam and Muslims between 2001 and 2005 in the Australian media states that it has become clear, that
contemporary media's presentation of Islam and Muslims, focuses on Islamic militants, effectively demonizing all Muslim people, and that it doesn't counter this with balanced coverage. There does not seem to be any likelihood that this approach will be reassessed and tempered in the future either. Media's commercial motivation that does not acknowledge the negative impact that such a focus on moderate Muslims appears to favour irresponsible journalism, but rather exploits anti-Muslim feelings with a barrage of reports and references that keep Islam as the focus of topical discourse.

Thus, media helps us to assemble our perceptions of conflicts involving the others', which are an abridgment of those individuals making up the groups betrothed in conflict. Our use of the term construction suggests that news is infact, stories created within an unambiguous narrative frame, which arranges and places daily events in a wider context (Wolfsfeld, 1997). The news persistently presents verbal definitions and graphic images pertaining to various groups and social identities, and thus constructs for us - the viewers - our identification with a certain group, our perceptions of us' and them' (Kellner, 2003), and our cognizant seize of our nationality, which is also an artificial cultural creation.

The emblematic reality, within which the representation process occurs, consists of various methods of expression, among them literature, art, and media - including the news, the central site in which our political/social/economic agenda is constructed. Symbolic reality is also prominent in two respects. First, various news channels present a multitude of images. Secondly, the very process by which the news is constructed, including media routines and processes for encoding information (e.g. who covers the others', who interprets their actions), impacts on the
end product. Media carry out their role as an ideological instrument in shaping, distributing, and reproducing the limits of justifiable discourse. News people make use of available framing mechanisms and social-cultural codes to turn uncommon, extraordinary events into logical media events (Gitlin, 1978).

Print media discourse, since 2000 has increasingly featured stories concerning the social, cultural or political role and/or experience of Muslims in Britain. As such, stories have focused attention upon debates about religious and cultural values. These have included controversies surrounding Muslim dress codes, such as the debate in October 2006 sparked by Jack Straw in his comments expressing a preference that Muslim women did not wear the Veil in his constituency surgeries. More recently, however, stories concerning the local negotiation of religious difference and cultural practices between Muslim and non-Muslim communities have suggested more antagonistic cultural encounters (Moore, Mason, & Lewis, 2008).

Studies conducted earlier on the representation of Muslims in the mainstream media tend to confine to a rather narrow framework of understanding. In other words, the genre of stories about Muslims, which are articulated by the news media, seem to ‘make sense’ as news, is fairly limited. These can be conferred from Edward Said’s (1987) well-known work on ‘Orientals’, which debated that the established patterns of ideas about Islam position. Islam in an ‘us-them’ relation to the West, which is how Islam itself has often become an evocative entity for a Western audience: "The idea that Islam is medieval and dangerous, as well as hostile and threatening to “us,” for example, has acquired a place both in the culture and in the
polity that is very well defined such an idea furnishes a kind of a priori touchstone to be taken account of by anyone wishing to discuss or say something about Islam”.

Whilst, the volume of news coverage featuring Muslims has increased dramatically since 9/11 (Whitaker, 2002). The representations of Islam in the West as a dangerous cultural ‘other’ and as a potential ‘enemy within’ are by no means ‘new’ to the post-9/11 era (Macdonald, 2003; Said, 1997). More recent scholarship has suggested that the news media tend to position Islam as a threat to security, to ‘our way of life’ and to reproduce common sense ideas which position the religious and cultural values of Muslims and those of ‘mainstream’ British society in a relation of conflict (Poole, 2002, 2006; Richardson, 2004; Runnymede Trust, 1997). This clearly portrays Muslims as a cause for all conflicts and violence in the World.

Moreover, the representation of Muslims at times of conflict has also been a debatable issue since long time. This has gained importance in India since the origin of Muslim league and the partition of India and Pakistan. The riots post math the partition and other allied factors attributed a false identity over the Muslims, which have extended to the conviction of Muslims to each and every chance, when a conflict pops up. This negative portrayal provides an impression that all Muslims are fundamentalists, and therefore senseless terrorists who want to destroy everything non-Muslim. Most of the time this is not balanced with a positive counter image and the consequence is predictably dismal for ethnic community relations in this country (Funk, & Said, 2004)

Poole (2002) articulates, "Islam is portrayed as monolithic and Muslims as homogenized, identity and differences are ignored, the most potent image of Muslims is that of the Muslim fundamentalist, the same characteristics are attributed
to all Muslims, Islam is a threat and its people extremists”. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11), many have argued that there has been a “clash of civilizations” between the Western world and Islam. Some social scientists even contend that the media’s rhetoric created a larger schism between the 'east and west' than which had previously existed.

“In projecting the image of Muslims of the country’, says Dilip Padgaonkar. The mainstream media is divided into two groups. One stereotypes the Muslims as 'fanatical' and 'fundamentalists'. Often, the acts of few individuals belonging to the community are seen as approved by the entire community. Even if a religious leader issues any appeal to the Muslims, it is described by a loaded word, fatwa. The fatwa is an Arabic word and it literally means 'opinion' and as if it is binding on all Muslims. There is no concept of priesthood in Islam and therefore, a fatwa even if issued by a prominent theologian, is simply his personal opinion. It is not binding or the ultimate word on the subject, unlike what the media present it or the authorities that might like Muslims to believe. While the other media devote miles and miles of news space for Muslims like sensational Indian personalities like Movie star Shah Rukh Khan, Tennis player Sania Mirza, the magical musician A. R. Rahman, Pacers - Pathan and Patel, the Bangas brothers (Amaan and Ayaan Ali Khan) and many such others. One is unable to understand the extent of contradiction that how a community that is presented as 'fanatical' and 'fundamentalists' could always do exceptionally well in music, sports, entertainment and in education too like the former Indian President Dr. Abdul Kalam (Kumar, 2011).

Media organizations are frequently involved within a changing social-political environment, making representation a vibrant process. In this environment,
cultural suppositions regarding society's central ethics influence news people's work patterns, news production processes, and the result (Avraham, 2002; Gitlin, 1980; Herzog & Shamir, 1994; Wolfsfeld et al., 2000). News people, thus favour stories that were acknowledged as efficient and receive professional approval, as well as stories that are culturally acceptable. Editors are prejudiced by the perception they hold their target audience, and they tend to believe that the majority group has little interest in minorities unless their actions might impede with the majority's day-to-day life (Avraham, 2002).

Metcalf (1995) says that disruptive and essentialist theoretical frameworks that determine the representation of Indian Muslims are a bequest of colonialism in India. She adds that in the nineteenth century, the colonialist and later the nationalist scholars were prone to write a history that tinted the differences and the antagonism between Muslim relationships in independent India. There is wide-ranging research dedicated to the investigation of riots and violence between Hindus and Muslims since the partition of the country.

According to Basu (1997), scholars were engrossed in blaze because they are loyal in explaining the nature and cause of conflict with the eventual aim of resolving the tensions. Hence, in addition to dissecting the contexts and conditions of violence, scholarship brings an extreme scrutiny to bear on political conditions and shortfalls in the Indian democratic system.

Apart from all these, the mainstream media always plays a major role in setting the agenda for the incidents in the society. Going beyond, newspapers play a vital role in providing a frame on the issues happening in the society. Especially, the role of newspapers in directing the issues has clearly proven that newspapers remain
the agenda setters of the society on the issues in the society. Media has opened up a new vision on this learning process and has caught an important place in recent centuries. Importantly, the media not only makes human to get through the information worldwide, it has provoked his thoughts, views, actions and self-estimation. It was known that there are so many forms of media viz. Newspapers, magazine, internet, electronic forms, mobiles, social networks, books, etc. Inspite of its numerous forms, newspapers and short prints have triggered the minds of individuals, which the rest were employed in just conveying the information. Despite, common people to richer extensively use newspapers, thereby occupying an important part of our life. It is because of them it makes us to feel the unity of Indian people, which is vastly diversified. They also make connecting channels between the rural villages with the metropolitan cities (Maricar, 2012).

The votes of minority religion are much considered in India, whereas they are agitated due to the terrorism caused at the borders. This is an actual social relevance. Apart from all the above, impacts on Muslims were strengthened by Media. It has become a policy of newspapers to create a negative approach towards Islam terrorism. Even cinema, magazines, the internet has joined hands against Muslims and they repeatedly charge them as 'National Terrorists'. This is the case of Muslim population all over the world. Though the conditions against them were about 20%, the news was framed with imaginary points of about 80% (Sadeep, 2010).
3.2 Studies on News framing of media

The present study revolves around the premise of framing investigation. Framing analysis or Framing theory is predominating in the newspaper analysis than agenda setting and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communications science (Bryant & Miron, 2004). Scholars Bosman & D' Haenens, (2008); McCombs, (2005) have pointed out that the most recurrently cited definition of framing which came from Entman, they quoted that framing is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more relevant in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Dudo, 2005).

Watson and Hill (2000) defined framing as a process by which the media place reality 'in frame'. These scholars added that framing consists of a narrative device, and therefore whatever that is omitted on the page of a newspaper or news magazine is considered 'out of frame'. While, Gitlin (1980) on the other hand explained that news frame allowed audiences to handle and understand reality and choose appropriate repertoires of cognition and action. But, framing devices are also the ways by which journalists and editors habitually organize news discourse. He further contended that these framing devices are "Persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion". The term salience implies that frames make certain aspects of news issues more memorable, noticeable, or meaningful to audiences. Theoretically, this study is going to look into the role of media in labelling Islam and terrorism based on the agenda setting theory,
that is the framing theory and this theory will be applied throughout this research to see on how the media sets the agenda in labelling Islam with terrorism.

The majority of scholarship on Muslims, Islam, and the media in Australia in the pre-and post-9/11 periods suggests that the print media represent Muslims and Islam in negative ways by reproducing negative stereotypes and misinforming readers of Islam as religion and culture. Researchers such as Peter Manning and Kevin Dunn, who have researched Sydney newspapers have connected this phenomenon to the issues of race because the images propagated via the media about Muslims and Islam are largely from the Middle East, being the hub of the Islamic world. For example, Manning (2004) found that most images of Arabs and Muslims in Sydney newspapers came from foreign news media, and that most of this international exposure focused on the Middle East, half of the Israel/Palestine problem. In relation to domestic news, he found that most images of Arabs and Muslims came from articles on asylum seeker issues. Further, he concludes that the print media in Sydney are reproducing the oriental tradition in their international and domestic reporting of Arabs and Muslims: "It is a portrait of deep and sustained fear. It is also a portrait of an Australian Orientalism that has been successfully transplanted and developed on antipodeans shores".

Media in Western countries never dither to publish anti-Islamic content in their newspapers. The negative portrayal of Islam and Muslim people in the media in the West and other countries were started from the Palestinian issue. But that became too harsh after the continuous issues such as gulf war, world trade attack (1993) and bomb blast in embassy (1998). The repeated negative exposures of Muslim have become common in their news bulletins. They also try to make their
people believe that Muslims are involved in those kinds of immoral activities by the name of *Jihad*. The perception of people in the West towards Arab Americans has changed after the 9/11 attack. Americans strongly alleged that members of Al-Qaeda are responsible for the attack of 9/11. Most of the members were Arabs specifically from Saudi Arabia. Mass media has the power to enlighten the issues to the public by enhancing or putting down the images of people who see on a regular basis (Marvin Yakos, 2001).

People in the Muslim community always blame the media, for publishing articles against them in the stereotypical view. They think that most of the studies have not been conducted in this area and that might be the reason for the public to think whatever the media said was right. But in post 9/11 attack, many scholars have painstakingly taken this area and analyzed the issues in different perspectives. Those studies also included theoretical relevance. People in the Western countries, had never been exposed to such a monolithic exposure about Muslims and Islam. In a very limited period, they do not understand the morality followed by the people in the Muslim community and Islam. Media takes this opportunity to promulgate information about the issues associated with Muslims (Yenigun, 2002).

3.3 **Studies of media coverage on Muslim related conflicts Pre 9/11**

Before 9/11, there had been only a narrow supply of research about coverage and portrayals of Muslims and Islam by the Western Media. Most of the research works regarding images of Islam based on quantitative method of research. For the most part, quantitative studies have focused on specific types of Muslims, mainly Arab community.
Terry (1975) has investigated/conducted a content analysis of American newspapers about the nationalism of the Arab world that determined coverage of Western press regarding Arab in America. The research has explored the myths and realities about Arabs constructed by the media.

Mishra (1978) in his research on portrayal of the Middle East in United States, media has found both positive and negative image interpretation of Muslims. The findings of his study revealed as follows: “Comparison of post-9/11 representations of Islam and democracy in the U.S. prestige press shows that despite differences in coverage in the Turkish, Iraq, and Iranian contexts, fear of political Islam persisted in all three discursive environments. While a political role for Islam was regarded as a threat to democracy, the U.S. prestige press emphasized the need to secularize and modernize Islam according to Western standards to render it compatible with democracy. It highlighted human rights abuses in Iran and expressed concerns about the possibility of Iraq becoming another 'Iran' if the power of religious parties went unchecked. Dominant discourses in the U.S. prestige press often assumed that any visibility of religious commitment in the public and political sphere automatically implied a lack of commitment to democracy, human rights, and women's rights. Discourses that contested dominant perspectives on Islam and democracy by questioning Western hegemonic definitions were limited”.

Wright Robin and Sacred Rage (1979) in their book entitled 'Sacred Rage: The wrath of Militant Islam' has portrayed Muslim as militant fanatics. Asi (1981) had conducted a content analysis of news stories about Arab and Israel, which was reported in ABC, CBS, and NBC between specific times of 1970-79. In his doctoral
dissertation, he presented the comparison of coverage of Arabs and Israelis in US media found to be positive, negative or neutral treatment of news stories.

Suleiman (1983) in his study entitled the *Arabs in the mind of America* and had described the perceptions, stereotypes and point of view of American about Arabs. He has described a historical reflection of news treatment of both Muslims and Middle East by analyzing news coverage. His findings indicate that in 1950, president Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt because of the focus of an aggression and malicious campaign characterized him as Hitler on the Nile and as a crypto communist at the same time. The PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) and Palestinian people as a whole were branded as terrorist, particularly when an act of terrorism captured headlines regardless of whether or not the PLO denounce the action.

Khalid and Muhammad (2001) in his research article has examined and analyzed the coverage/portrayal of six Muslim countries in four major newspapers of the United States (*the New York Times, Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal and the Los Angeles Times*). 1829 news stories enclosing six Muslim countries appeared during three year periods from 1995-1997. The overall study found that portrayal of all six Muslim countries (Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, Pakistan, Iran and Libya) were very negative. Moreover, 368 news stories content were analyzed. These stories contained negative terms 334 times (e.g. Fundamentalism, terrorism, militant, and fanatics) to depict the Muslims. These findings supported the propaganda, a framework that had predicted that unfavourable events and issues would receive considerable media coverage/attention, while other more peaceful,
positive and developmental activities would have played down, ignored, or perhaps even denigrated.

Kabir (2006) in his study on *Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Australian Media, 2001–2005*, stated that his study made clear that contemporary media representation of Islam and Muslims focuses on Islamic militants, effectively demonized all Muslim people, and does not counter a balanced coverage. Media’s commercial motivation appears to favour irresponsible journalism that does not acknowledge the negative impact that such a focus has on moderate Muslims, but rather exploits anti-Muslim feelings with a barrage of reports and references that keep Islam as the focus of topical discourse. “Research from the factiva database supports the contention that this focus will continue; news items mentioning 'Islam' or 'Muslims' have increased many-fold since 2000. Rather than addressing and refuting misconceptions about the Islamic faith, and analyzing the root causes of terrorism, the media are more interested in maintaining the community anxiety in the headlines that seemed convenient scapegoats for social ills, thereby placed Muslim Australians between a rock and a hard place.

Schiffer (2011) in his study *Demonizing Islam before and after 9/11, anti-Islamic Spin: an Important Factor in Pro-War PR* outlays that “Whether or not the negative images of the Muslim world that are so common in Western discourse were specifically created as an argument in favour of 'humanitarian intervention' in the Muslim world, we must acknowledge that the strategy works today, perhaps only because many people have become accustomed to a reductionist and stereotypical framing of Islam or 'the Orient', as either exotic, or as a threat to freedom, women and development. We all tend to recycle the same aspects repeatedly by
automatically choosing the already known subjects and pictures and overseeing many others. This is how our perception works, if we do not maintain awareness. Of course, strategists like Zbigniew Brzezinski and others to make us believe that 'our' mission is good may use this lack of reflection. Frames and complex metaphors like that of the altruistic hero fighting for human rights and freedom as in every Western movie can be exploited for Public Relations purposes. Media become the vehicle in framing may shift between 'selfless' humanitarian motives and self-defence, but the Manichaean—according to which 'we' are 'defending' our right and only good way of life is never challenged.

“One of the most disturbing manifestations of bigotry today is Islam phobia – a new word for an old phenomenon. The Crusades and colonialism are just two examples of a poisoned past in which Muslims were first portrayed as hostile or dangerous, and then subjected to aggression and domination. Since the 9/11, terrorist attacks on the United States, which were condemned throughout the Muslim world, many Muslims, particularly in the West, have found themselves as objects of suspicion, harassment and discrimination. Too many people see Islam as a monolith, and as intrinsically opposed to the West - when infact Western and Islamic peoples have a long history of commerce, of inter-mingling and inter-marrying, and of influencing and enriching each other’s art, literature, science and much else besides. Despite a discourse of centuries, caricature remains widespread, and the gulf of ignorance is dangerously deep.” - Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations (Marvasti & McKinney, 2004).

Hall (1997) defines representation as using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to 'Other' people.
Representation is an essential part of a process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. Representation is considered both as a process of ongoing construction of identities in any given culture and a stereotyping forces (Grossberg, 1998). Stereotyping ‘reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature’. Thus, stereotyping fixes ‘differences’. Moreover, stereotyping set up a strategy of ‘splitting’. It separates the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal, and then excludes or expels anything that does not fit or is different. Since it tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power, stereotyping is a classification system that also serves as a regulator in the maintenance of the social and symbolic order.

“The media exercise a regime of stereotyping by distorting the social reality of a certain social group into a media image. Thus, the consequence of stereotyping has real and tangible effects,” says Gross Berg (1998). Researchers investigating media coverage of minority groups have found that, in most cases, these groups have been ignored or portrayed negatively. Such coverage implies that the ‘other’ represents a threat to the social order. In addition, implicit in this coverage is the notion that minorities are to blame for their economic and social problems that arise from the fact that they are different from ‘us’. The description, coverage, and portrayal of the ‘other’ in the media, whether based on religious, national, ethnic or other differences, is accompanied in many countries by the widespread use of generalizations and stereotypes, and ignores the background, causes, and social-political context that have led to the difficulties and crises involving minorities (First & Avraham 2003: Weimann, 2000: Wolfsfeld, 1997).
Media help us to construct perceptions of conflicts involving the ‘others’, which are a summation of those individuals making up the groups engaged in conflict. Use of the term ‘construction’ suggests that ‘news’ is in fact stories created within a specific narrative frame, which arranges and places daily events in a wider context (Wolfsfeld, Gadi 1997). The news constantly presents verbal definitions and graphic images concerning various groups and social identities, and thus constructs identification with a certain group, our perceptions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Kellner, 2003), and our conscious grasp of our nationality (Anderson, 1991), which is also an artificial cultural creation (Avraham, 2010).

The representation process was influenced by both the social-political reality and the symbolic reality within which the process exists (Adoni & Mane, 1984). The social-political reality is influential in two respects. First, the occurrence of events in a given time and place (for example, the eruption of a conflict) intensifies both polarizations between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and uniformity within each group. Secondly, the relation between the Government and the media powerfully influences viewers as well (Caspi & Limor, 1999). The symbolic reality, within which the representation process occurs, consists of various methods of expression, among them literature, art and media including the news, the central site in which our political/social/economic agenda is constructed.

Media carried out their role as an ideological instrument in shaping, distributing, and reproducing the limits of legitimate discourse. News people make use of available framing mechanisms and social-cultural codes to turn uncommon, extraordinary events into understandable media events (Gitlin, 1980). Media organizations are constantly involved within a changing social-political
environment, making representation a dynamic process. In this environment, cultural suppositions regarding society’s central values influence news people’s work patterns, news production processes, and the end result. News people thus prefer stories that were recognized as efficient and receive professional approval, as well as stories that are culturally acceptable. Editors are influenced by the perceptions they hold of their target audience, and they tend to believe that the majority group has little interest in minorities unless their actions might interfere with the majority’s day-to-day life (Avraham, 2002).

Identity has become a contentious issue in modern times because defining the characteristics of modernity is uncertainty of all knowledge, which destabilizes the core of individual selves Media and modern institutions heighten the dynamic nature of modern society as they “Propel social life away from the hold of pre-established precepts or practices” and establish relationships across wide spans of time and space (Giddens, 1991). According to Anderson (1983/1991), nation states and national identities were created thanks to print-capitalism that enabled people who shared linguistic affiliations, but may never have been face to face, to imagine themselves as a community and a nation.

Appadurai (1996) says that in the case of ‘electronic capitalism,’ the 'community of sentiment' shaped by conditions of collective reading, criticism and pleasure, can extend well beyond the national boundary. Hence, the examination of identities and consciousness in modern mediated societies is within situations, which have disturbed the relatively settled character of many populations and cultures. Further, he has confined that “contemporary society’s identities are more fluid, less predictable, more dependent on performance and less dependent on inherited tradition”.

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In scholarly circles, especially cultural studies, construction of identity is being explored within the contexts of cross-cultural contacts that involve migration, and movement, in terms of colonization, trade and globalization, which are shaping vibrant new cultures. The aim and politics of cultural studies and postcolonial scholarship is to counter divisive ideologies that frame identities as stable, fixed, pure, or mutually exclusive. Hence, in scholarly debates hybridism and hybrid identities have emerged as important concepts, which challenge and undermine structural controls and research has focused on construction of hybrid sensibilities at the juncture of globalization and circulation of global media narratives. These concepts have become an important way to think about identity in popular culture, which celebrates interconnections between vastly different groups of people and their ways of life resulting from increased trade, travel and media. The minimal space offers opportunities to stand aside from all social positions including one’s own, in order to formulate unlimited 'alternative social arrangements' that undermine prestigious programs of authority and tradition (Mudambi, 2012).

In a contemporary networked world, which is converging, collapsing and celebrating hybridist, Islamic identity was presented in dialectic tension or in sheer opposition to the project of modernity. The next section looks at debate about Islamic identity within the global context and within the framework of Indian society (Marranci, 2004).

Amin (2005) analyzed a poster commissioned by the Government of India to promote national integration. The poster depicts the diverse regional, religious and linguistic identities that are part of the pan-Indian identity. His Turkish cap identifies the Indian Muslim in the poster. According to Amin, the task of procuring a Turkish
cap in a Muslim household would be as difficult as arranging for a Shakespearean costume. But stereotypes referring to Muslims as outsider continue to persist, regardless of material reality, because they support the claims of Hindu nationalists that Muslims do not belong to India.

Fazila-Yacoobali (2002) argues that media texts attempt to define Muslims within the 'Territorialized' and 'Territorially circumscribed' 'National order of things'. She refers to the popular Bollywood film, Sarfarosh, released during the brief but tense Kargil war with Pakistan in 1999, for an exceptional and “unabashed examination of Muslim identity in a post-Partition South Asia”. However, she points out that though the contentious issue of Muslim identity was raised in defiance of the dominant trend in Bollywood to maintain a silence on such issues, the real intent of the film’s narration was to indicate the Muslim audiences that they must give precedence to their Indian identity over any other affiliations. They find it difficult to answer the question where do the Indian Muslims belong and where do their loyalties lie? She says that the film has answered these questions in unambiguous terms. The loyalties of the Muslims must lie with the country and not with the de-territorialized collective Muslim community (or quam). If Muslims prevaricate on this issue, they have the choice: to either return to Pakistan or to go to the kabiristan (graveyard), as the slogans chanted during the destruction of the Babri Masjid clearly spelled out. Muslims who claims loyalty to both mulk and to the quam are rejected. The two loyalties cannot combine because communal identity is pitted against the national identity. In fact, the person who claimed loyalty to both country and community was cast as a sinister character in Sarfarosh. The character that epitomizes the national identity is the middleclass Hindu hero of the film. Indian
national identity there is no studies, which focus on how Muslims react to or receive media texts that present them as caricatures, deny their experiences and evoke the hegemony of the Hindu identity. This question is important because, according to the minority status of a community is a reflection of its relationship to dominant narratives.

Sharma (2007) in his book about Secularism and Ayodhya politics in India says,"People who do not share what they regard as the central symbols of the society invariably view themselves as a minority. It is not simply that a community lacks power, but rather that the symbols of authority, the values that are propagated from the center, and the culture that emanates from the center are viewed as not theirs".

Kumar (2011) in his study titled Mass media and Muslims in India: representation or subversion, has identified that, “Muslims are generally under-represented among the newsmakers, experts and citizens presented by the news media. When they receive attention by the media, they are more apt to be portrayed as villains. It is regrettable to note that neither any of the Educational Institutes, Colleges, or Universities in which journalism courses are taught to specialize individuals on topics such as human rights or minority affairs etc., nor do media houses ever try to train their staffs on these lines. The apathy of the institutes as well as the media houses towards these issues needs to be shaken. Though some of these institutions bring the best journalists of the country, they have very little say in shaping their ethics. At the end of the day, it is their job market that decides their fate and they fail to resist before the powerful pull of consumerism”.

Hajjar (1997) in his work entitled The United States and Islamic fundamentalists: the need for dialogues has concluded that some influential scholars
argue that the United States should not engage in dialogue with Islamic militancy opposition groups because all are extremist, in view of the author, "the basic assumptions about Islamic fundamentalists that underline the anti-dialogue portion are faulty".

Colachal (2008) in his article *Media threat and Indian Muslims* has concluded that due to the continuous efforts by the superpower and the transnational media mafia, the Muslims are now better known as the so-called 'terrorists' and, even worse, the 'suspected terrorists', especially in India, Israel and US, the so-called emerging strategic partners. Given the existing anti-Islamic international environment it won't be surprising if, sooner than later, the encyclopaedias and school text books define Islam as the religion of terrorists and suspected terrorists and a forum that generate 'terrorist outfits' and encourage 'cross-border terrorism', etc, and requiring children, even in Arab nations that promote US interests in Middle East, to learn by heart similar definitions'.

William and John (1990) argue that the Islamic threat to the West is a myth and that Islam is not antithetical to democracy and supporting traditions of social and political pluralism.

Muhammad and Yamani (1997) in his article entitled *Islam and West: The need for mutual understanding* has stated that the falsification of Islam that was restricted to the newspapers, has now expanded to all forms of media. Almost all the media ranging from billboards to movies have been used as a device for spreading the misrepresentation of Islam in the West. Further, he has added that mainly fictions and non-fiction remain among the most lethal vehicles for distorting the image and concept of Islam in the minds of American and European audience.
Engineer (1999) in his research paper *Remaking Indian Muslim Identity* states that, ‘Muslim identity is seen not only as hateful and alien, but to be dominated and ruined and made politically impotent. Greater assertion of Muslim identity in the political process is projected as its appeasement and a distortion, if not rape, of secularism’.

Clarence J. Bouchat (2004) in his research work entitled *A Fundamentalist Islamic Threat to the West* has explained that Islam was poorly understood as a driving force governing the relations between Western and Muslims states. A better understanding of Western fears of Islamic fundamentalists and an explanation of Muslim actions in the international arena was gained by placing basic Islamic precepts in context. The greatest mania western hold is of united fundamentalist Islamic force systematically organized against them, a bugbear reminiscent of the fear of communism.

Nasr (1995) in his research paper entitled *Democracy and Islamic revivalism* has analyzed the issue in comprehensive manner and described the reason of revivalism that crisis of governability which create circumstances that are conducive to the growth of Islamic revivalism. Similarly, the prospects for democracy have drastically changed the political balance in the Muslim world and renewed apprehensions over the prospects for prominence of Islamic revivalism. In his view, the democracy will open the doors of political process to Islamic revivalism and will provide it with a new avenue through which it can pursue its political motives.
3.4 Studies related to the media coverage of Muslims Post 9/11

After the 9/11 issue, generally people in the Muslim community would limit their usage of artefacts related to their religion in order to avoid the unprecedented image on them. But, there was an alternative effect observed by Mohammed, a student of the Canadian Muslim University in England. He stated that, girl students were extra conscious about wearing cloths related to their religion. The studies conducted in U.S.A. and U.K. confirmed the same result those studies have not proven theoretically why this is encountering like so. But a theory of reactive ethnicity stated that people who strongly attached with their religious customs and experience racism, they strengthen their identity related to their ethnic background (Portes, Alejandro, Rubén & Rumbaut, 2005).

A case study about Muslim identity formation conducted among the people who were highly educated in Canada. The study stated that the ratio of migrants entering into Canada and USA is still increasing. Hence, it was identified as the fastest growing religion among other in North America. They are highly educated, but they have not given high salary. These signify that people who belong to the Muslim community in Canada may be confronting some kind of financial marginalization (Baljit Nagra, 2011).

Mohamed (2007) in his study entitled Where are the real Arabs and Muslims? a content analysis of the portrayals of Arabs and Muslims in online, print and video news reports, has clearly stated “Arabs and Muslims were consistently associated with war, conflicts, radicalism, terrorism and violence and while referring to the coverage of women, he clearly maintained the non-existence in the news media coverage. When present, women were portrayed as victims or targets of
violence committed by other Arabs or Muslims.” Thus, it is clearly understand the one-ended approach of the media towards the Muslims, showing them as the root cause of all conflict in the society.

After the 9/11 attack in U.S.A, Muslims in Western countries were started discriminating and they are forced to undergo strict surveillance. The reasons for forming the identity of Muslims were identified. They were indicating the importance of the factors involved externally in constructing identities towards the Muslim community. Research on ethnic studies clearly states how people in the Muslim community react to such discriminations. The term ‘reactive ethnicity’ signifies if the particular ethnic group experience discriminations then they tend to reinforce their self identity towards ritual, other religious customs (Baljit Nagra, 2011).

According to Orbe and Harris (2008), after the 9/11 incident, terrorist cataloguing has been identified as Muslim fundamentalists or Islamists, which has increased some prejudices, discriminations against, and attacks on Muslims or Middle East. Infact, some labels given are extremely contemptible such as uncivilized' and ‘barbaric'.

The struggles for independence such as in Palestine were portrayed as a terrorist movement. One of the examples is when CNN displays Islam as associated with terrorism in its program entitled Trauma or Terror that shows the sullenness faced by Israelis due to the struck made by Palestinians. International media also shows Islam as the next threat after the downfall of the Soviet Union. One of the Muslim journalists wrote: "Now that the Soviet Union, which former President Ronald Reagan described as an evil empire, is no more, they picked on the Muslims
and initially started a sinister media campaign projecting Muslims as violent people before openly branding them as terrorists and subsequently, the West triggered off military conflicts in different parts of the Muslim world" (Latheef, 2006).

Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005) in their report that examines the extent to which negative images of Islam are reproduced in the pages of *The Age* and *Herald Sun* newspapers post 9/11 found that *The Age* and *The Herald Sun* newspapers are not Islamophobic. But, the representation of Islam and Muslims was not problem-free. This project has publicized that there are degrees of ignorance in the Australian community in relation to Muslims and Islam. Ignorance contributes to a sense of unease. This is a society-wide issue that finds its way into the pages of the press. Journalists are shaped by their social environment and are open to a range of political and ideological influences, some of which are openly hostile towards Islam.

Lueg, Andrea (1995) in her article “The perception of Islam in Western debate” has presented that Western portrayal of Islamic world is characterized by ideas of aggression, brutality, fanaticism, irrational medieval backwardness and antipathy towards women, terrible news stories about Muslims are often heard, seen or read in print or electronic media of West or USA. Everywhere, one listens of militant Muslims or Frenzy Islamists Zealots, who draw the sword of Islam to assault non-believers.

Menchawi Fawal (2013) in his study on the representations of Islam and Muslims in popular media: Educational Strategies and to develop critical media literacy examined the representations and portrayal of Islam and Muslims in American popular culture, especially Hollywood movie productions. The findings indicate that Islam and Muslims received negative exposure. A consistent
stereotyped association with violence, terrorism, fundamentalism and extremism marks the representations of Islam and Muslims in Hollywood movies. These representations summarize the perception of Islam and Muslims by mass media to the point it becomes very difficult to perceive Islam and Muslims differently.

In America, famous Muslim singers started making revolution through their songs (lyrics & music) against the perception of Americans towards their people and community. After the incident of 9/11, America changed its viewpoint on Muslim community than ever before. Alternatively, Black Muslim singers wanted to change the projected negative image on them through music. They set a counter culture against the dominant cultural system. People who belong to Muslim community and are victimized by America, they are forced themselves to reinforce their cultural identity (Khan, 2007).

Hasan (1989) his Muslim approach suggested that the false, distorted and unrealistic portrayal of Muslims (whether due to bias or unwittingly) in a significant section of the press renders the community as straw in the eyes of the sister communities. Distorted news about Muslims, misinterpreted Muslim situations and twisted or misinterpreted events have led towards a climate of suspicion and mistrust. Thus, Indian media have always been in an idea of misrepresentation of Muslims.

Kellner (2004) states that, analyzing media becomes prominent after the attack of Pentagon by the terrorists. Many scholars and media people have started analyzing the back issues associated with the terrorists attack. They stated that U.S. also executes counter-terrorism action against the terrorists and to the country where they are suspected to live in.
Steuter and Erin (1990) analyzed the concept of labelling on the coverage of news items related to terrorism done by *Time* magazine in the year 1986. The author acknowledged and explained how principles work in the publication of the news related to terrorism. Also he tried to identify the differences in the usage of 'terrorists' and 'freedom fighters' labels in relation to the authenticity of group.

Al Aswer and Khalid (2003) in his research article entitled the *incorrect image of Islam in the Western Media*, has described that Western media increased negative campaign for distorting the portrayal of Islam after tragic incident of 9/11 and fixed model was devised linking terrorism to Islam. The researcher pinpointed that earlier, the Western media targeted former USSR, but after the disintegration of USSR, media in America and West has shifted the beam of propaganda towards Islam. It was found that language was used with stereotype approach about Muslims. Moreover misleading worlds and pejorative terms like fundamentalist, extremist or terrorist are used as labels/ tag in order to depict image of Muslims. This article reveals that after 9/11, 75% of media, coverage in West was about Islam and approximately 60% of news and other content were comprised of negative stories.

The perception of the people in the west changed their way of using of the term 'terrorism' in the post 9/11 attack. They frequently used the words such as safety, security, peace, progress, and war after the terrorist attack. Ryan and Michael (2004) analyzed the content of 104 editorials published in the 10 large circulation newspapers in U.S. The report confounded that the reporters not only narrated the interference of U.S. armed forces but also believed the constructive output.

The perception of people in the west towards Arab Americans has changed after the 9/11 attack. Americans strongly believed that members of Al-Qaeda are
responsible for the attack of 9/11. Most of the members were Arabs specifically from Saudi Arabia. Mass media has the power to enlighten the issues to the public by enhancing or putting down the images people see on regular basis (Yahya, Kamalipour & Carilli, 1998).

Ali (1998) in *Tamil Media and Muslims* has stated the following: Daily newspapers in Tamil Nadu have a habit of reporting in great detail news that are not favourable to Muslims, highlighting their sins of commission and omission. But, if as a follow-up, there is some information available which shows the misdemeanour of members of other communities, the information occupies only a minor space. In the recent past, communal clashes have occurred in Tamil Nadu, resulting in loss of many lives and massive destruction of property. News of these occurrences is report in dailies deliberately placing Muslims in bad light. Media thus becomes a party to the conflict. Though, investigative journalism is in vogue in Tamil Nadu, no paper or journal makes any effort in helping the law bring the culprits to book simply because they are non-Muslims. These newspapers also fall easy prey to rumours spread by fascist outfits that the Pakistani military intelligence, ISI, is behind the clashes. All this is in spite of the fact that Muslims also read and subscribe to these papers in large numbers. They also extend advertisement support. The treatment meted out to Muslims is biased and partisan.

Mamdani's (2005) Interpreted analysis of the good Muslim-bad Muslim dichotomy within American political and cultural discourse, this article analyses Hindu nationalists' violent campaigns against India's Muslim minority through a discussion of the reportage of two significant instances of this violence in Indian English language newspapers. To explain the contradictory responses of the Indian
press to these instances, the article argues that the prevalent liberal consensus of Indian nationalism, of which the press is a part, is responsible for the ambiguity that characterises mainstream responses to majoritarian violence against Muslims.

According to Nafisa H Kattarwala (n.d), the Indian Mass Media has stated Islam as the 'outsider's faith' as depicted in Indian movies that has more harmful images than its counterparts do. In most aspects, Indian cinema has negatively endorsed the identity of Islam to the Indian sub-continent. The study examines Indian cinema and Muslim image from 2002 to 2008 and indicates that Indian cinema is distorting the Muslim image and anti-Muslim propaganda carried out not only in India but also at international level. From the very beginning and particularly since 9/11 incident, the Indian film industry very often portrays the Muslim with stereotype image. After the 9/11 incident, Muslims are being looked as suspicious people and portrayed as terrorists.

Sheikh (2013) in her article on Manufacturing Muslim Image through Bollywoood Cinema points out that biased portrayal grew in time when numbers of Muslim youths were framed and fabricated with false terror charges. The accumulated against the partisan communal profiling of Muslims outburst was a protest against the movie Vishwaroopam.

Narayana and Kapur (2011) in her research on Indian Media Framing the Image of Muslims as an analysis of news coverage of Muslims in English Newspapers of India points outs that, there is a significant difference in the framing and slanting of Muslims in different English newspapers. Unlike its communal language press counterpart, the English language press framed and prejudiced the Gujarat communal riots heavily loaded in favour of Muslims, exposing the
communal elements in the riots during the study period. Nevertheless, regular stories followed a conventional pattern that has not helped much in perceiving the Muslim community in India differently.

Kazmi and Kumar (2011) in their research on *The Politics of Muslim Identity and the Nature of Public Imagination in India: Media and Films as Potential Determinants* got increasingly reified into the sense of majoritarianism and hate-the-other impulse. Media and films, benefited by the virtues of globalization, appear to have emerged as crucial factors in nurturing this majoritarian logic, largely among the expanding Hindu middle class by foretelling the minority Muslims as a distinct other and as potential threats to the security of Hindus.

3.5 **Media coverage on the conflict related to Coimbatore Bomb Blasts**

The Coimbatore Bomb Blasts conflict has led the Tamil Muslims to face many troubles; until a few years back, only certain Muslim communities were ignored and isolated for this particular reason, while now it has actually spread to overall Muslim society in almost every district of Tamil Nadu.

At the International level, only after 9/11 there were negative attitudes towards Muslims. But when Tamil Nadu is concerned, it has started probing from 2009 on the wake of Coimbatore Bomb Blast conflict. Media has played a vital role with regards to this matter and has induced people to use common words like 'Islamic terrorism', 'Muslim terrorist' etc. However, though the conflict ended up in 14th February 1998, the media keeps on inducing that the Coimbatore is an unsafe place to live in anytime disastrous, as before, because of Muslims.

There are not many research conducted on the Coimbatore Bomb Blast conflict, except one which is discussed below. Hence, the literature for the conflict
has been obtained from the stories that have appeared in the newspapers, magazines and in books on the conflict. Some excerpts that are considered vital to be discussed have been taken for review by the researcher and have been presented below.

Mohammed (2004) expressed his disgust about the irresponsible words published by the Tamil newspapers about the Coimbatore Bomb Blast to the extreme extent that, there were many fake complaints recorded on the innocent Muslims and strong investigations were recorded in the Muslim majority areas. This has disturbed the peace and livelihood of the Muslims. News portrayed by Dinamani newspaper on 25th February 1998, conveyed that Islamiya viduthalai padai is functioning in Tamil Nadu with its headquarters as Ramanathapuram district, and as the district is located at the sea banks, many illegal social activities were seem to be encouraged. Hence, special police groups were sent for investigating the terrorists at Keelalarai, Kerala and Mumbai further tensioning the situation of Muslims in that area.

Dinaboomi Tamil newspaper portrayed news that the Coimbatore Bomb Blasts was first planned for keelakarai (Ramanathapuram district). An important personality who belonged to Sri lanka was also part of the issue, providing the ship facility for the terrorists to escape from keelakarai to Srilanka, and sent Pakistan terrorists to keelakarai via ships who reached Srilanka in flight. Hence, the Muslim society of that locality was linked with international terrorists. That alleged news published by this newspaper made the Islamic society miserable. Instead, the keelakarai Muslims acted against the news that the newspaper does not publish the truth actually (ibid, 2004).
Dinamalar in its February 19th 1998 issue published that Addul Karim was arrested near Palakkad in Kerala, under the heading "Plan to deplete Coimbatore- an important person was arrested". But this newspaper confused people without any authenticity that Abdul Karim was connected to the Coimbatore serial Bomb Blasts.

Dinamalar on 20th February 1998 revealed that a Delhi reporter evidenced for advanced bombs supplies from Pakistan to Coimbatore via Thrissur, and the Coimbatore people were in touch with ISI terrorist and Kashmir terrorists along with Afghanistan and Taliban terrorist groups, who have trained the Muslim society of Coimbatore. But, the Gokula Krishna report clearly says that the Coimbatore issue had no connection with any foreign agencies, but was planned at the local level.

Junior Vikadan published an article under the head Dangerous Movement Ababils introduced the initiation of a new terrorist group named ‘Ababils’ which has scared the intelligence police. It was supposed that the name hails from the group of birds that has helped the spiritual leader Muhammad Nabi during times of depression. Further, it stated that Police have raised doubts that the movement has spread across Tamil Nadu creating tensions. Thus, this article has portrayed a negative image on the supreme belief of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad. Further, in an article published on November 21th 1998, they have suspected that in the place of arrest of the terrorist there were traces of Pakistan ISI entries and plans for further attacks, without any authentic evidences. This has facilitated further harassments of Muslims (Suraj, 1998).

An article in Kalachuvadu (2008) discussed the coverage of Coimbatore Bomb Blasts by various newspapers, has declared ‘Newspapers have sensitized the issues and exaggerated them and have blamed the entire Islam community
provoking hatred on them among the society. Especially, stating general
terminologies ‘Islamic Terrorists’, without specifying the groups involved, has been
the regular routine of the evening dailies and a morning daily who primarily look for
sensitization as their main ideology. Many a times, they have published fake news in
their dailies. For example, news about the confiscation of weapons in a mosque in
Selvapuram was been proved wrong, which serves as a valid proof for the case.

Mohammed Yusuff (2010), in his publication, forecasted that the news about
the Coimbatore issue seems too different from journal to journal, which is clearly
presented below.

- **Dinamani on July 23rd, 2006**: Portrayed that 5 gangs with photos and
document about adverse plan have been secured and the plans were
terminated.

- **Daily Thanthi on July 23rd, 2006**: Building sketches-photos, CD,
confiscation- plan to explode Coimbatore city: 5 arrested with bombs- thrill
confession.

- **Tamil Murasu on July 23rd, 2006**: Connection with Mumbai Bomb Blast
terrorists? 'Three cities to be depleted': Witnessed by arrested gang in
Coimbatore.

- **Malai Malar on July 23rd 2006**: A plan to induce Bomb Blast at eight places
and to kill Hindu leaders: Coimbatore terrorists arrested: plan came to light.

- **Dinamalar on July 24th, 2006**: Is Coimbatore dangerous? Serial Bomb
Blasts panics common people- Coimbatore gangs doubted to be Mumbai
terrorists.
- **Dinamalar on July 25th, 2006**: Next to Coimbatore, is Salem in danger?

  Madurai under serious Police supervision.

  The CBCID case report has filed matters like there were no actual investigations, witness, cases, bombs, etc. and revealed that all the news were fake and imaginary. This has proved that there is no genuineness in this case as said by R. Balan.

- **Malai Malar on February 23th, 2013**: Hyderabad Bomb Blast continues in Coimbatore, by terrorists. There were no issues and situations favouring the Coimbatore Bomb Blasts. Nevertheless, news published in many newspapers were fake and were in no connection with the exact issue.

  Ali (2013) said that media acts as if they have a thinking of national well-being and right to contribute to the nation, but practically it does not satisfy the minds of various people. Actually, the media should serve as the voice of the individual's minds on each and every issue and must support the minorities, women, illiterates, neglected people, etc. Media must be a mirror to reflect the minds of people and must give importance to the authenticity of the circumstances of the daily society, so that it reaches the population directly. But, when it comes to the case of conflicts against Muslims, media without analysing the impacts creates images against the Muslim society, and blow up small issues in a bigger level and vice-versa, thereby isolating them. Recently, a popular newspaper has published an article titled *Muslims get free rice, but not Hindus*. The actual idea behind the story was that the free rice was supplied during Ramzan fasting, but Hindus are never provided rice for free lunch at the temple. This simple practice literally kindled strongest the minds of people and makes enmity between the two religions.

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Hasan (2013) has noted that a religion's temple at Bihar was demolished using bombs. However, the people over there and the investigation revealed that the persons behind the blasts will be prosecuted and enquired to punish them under law. But contrastingly, before the issue could end-up, Dinamani (July 8th, 2013) published a news that Muslims terrorist were the reason behind that Bomb Blast. They have suggested that Muslims were the only enemies of Buddhists in the state and hence they should be the cause for the riots, without any authentic evidence.

Umar Farooq (2008) expressed his views on Muslim women that during 1st week of December, 2nd week of August, 4th week of January, generally Muslim husbands avoid going on long journeys and do not allow their wives too. Arunthathi Roy expressed her disgust that "Being the Indian Muslims were much risky job in the world". The continuing Bomb Blasts throughout the nation was the cause for all these issues. Thus, without being the reason for such disasters, through the media, they were made the root cause of all the trouble and lose their identity, which is widely spread to the nook and corners of India.

PUCL (1998) stated that the state should check each and every media to expose all organizations that spread communal hatred. For example, Coverage on palpable anti-Muslim represented the mind-set of a section of the police force and the unjustifiable biasness in their normal discourse. It revealed that, generally the media portrayed an incomplete and partial coverage of events involving Hindus and Muslims.

Due to the non-evident media news related to CBCID, The Crime Branch IG-Paramveer Singh, Coimbatore, 1998 requested the Print Media and Televisions to prevent fake events related to Coimbatore conflicts. This news linked with special
investigation creates merely a sensation without proper evidence and has no use for the population progress. Moreover, there is no evidence about the information on 'Transistor Bombs' revealed by the 8 arrested accused. All such related activities may affect the future investigation and media must avoid the sensational news among the people (Dinamani, 1998).