

Representing Islam Comparative Perspectives

5 & 6 September 2008

Book of Abstracts

University of Manchester with the
University of Surrey



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Programme

| | 5 September 2008 | | 6 September 2008 |
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| 07:00 - 09:30 | Breakfast (Weston Hall residents) | 07:00 - 09:00 | Breakfast (Weston Hall residents) |
| 09:00 - 10:45 | Registration and Coffee | 09:00 - 10:30 | Parallel Sessions 3 |
| 10:45 - 11:00 | Opening Remarks | 10:30 - 11:00 | Coffee Break |
| 11:00 - 12:30 | Parallel Sessions 1 | 11:00 - 12:30 | Parallel Sessions 4 |
| 12:30 - 13:30 | Lunch | 12:30 - 13:30 | Lunch |
| 13:30 - 15:00 | Plenary Session 1: Islamophobia and the Media | 13:30 - 15:30 | Plenary Session 3: The Multiculturalism Debate |
| 15:00 - 15:30 | Coffee Break | 15:30 - 15:45 | Closing Remarks and Publication Plans |
| 15:30 - 17:00 | Parallel Sessions 2 | 15:45 - 16:30 | Coffee |
| 17:15 - 18:45 | Plenary Session 2 : Islamic Activism and the Islamist Threat | <i>N.B.: The registration desk will be open in the main foyer of the Samuel Alexander Building between 9am and 4pm on 5 September, and between 8:45am and noon on 6 September</i> | |
| 20:00 - 22:00 | Conference Dinner | | |

Sessions at a Glance

| Session | Date | Time | Chair | Room |
|--|-------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Plenary Session 1: Islamophobia and the Media | 05-Sep | 13:30 – 15:00 | Henri Nickels | Arts Theatre |
| Plenary Session 2: Islamic Activism and the Islamist Threat | 05-Sep | 17:15 – 18:45 | Stephen Hutchings | Arts Theatre |
| Plenary Session 3: The Multiculturalism Debate | 06-Sep | 13:30 – 15:30 | Chris Flood | Arts Theatre |
| <u>Panel 01:</u> Queerness, Islamophobia and the War on Terror | 05-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Henri Nickels | A101 |
| <u>Panel 02:</u> Islam and Violence | 05-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Rachad Antonius | A112 |
| <u>Panel 03:</u> Political Islam | 05-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Galina Miazhevich | A113 |
| <u>Panel 04:</u> Islam and Popular Entertainment | 05-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Mazin Motabagani | A114 |
| <u>Panel 05:</u> Women and Islam | 05-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Lucy Michael | A104 |
| <u>Panel 06:</u> Islamophobia | 05-Sep | 15:30 – 17:00 | Adi Kunstman | A101 |
| <u>Panel 07:</u> Media Representation of “Islamic Threat” | 05-Sep | 15:30 – 17:00 | Luke March | A112 |
| <u>Panel 08:</u> Islam in Political Discourse | 05-Sep | 15:30 – 17:00 | Lucy Michael | A113 |
| <u>Panel 09:</u> Islam and Secularism | 05-Sep | 15:30 – 17:00 | Rachad Antonius | A114 |
| <u>Panel 11:</u> Museums, Islam and Representation | 06-Sep | 09:00 – 10:30 | Sue-Ann Harding | A101 |
| <u>Panel 12:</u> Islam, Muslims and (Mis)Representation | 06-Sep | 09:00 – 10:30 | Tereza Capelos | A112 |
| <u>Panel 14:</u> Islam and Social Cohesion in Britain and France | 06-Sep | 09:00 – 10:30 | Deepa Kumar | A113 |
| <u>Panel 15:</u> Islam: Issues of Translation | 06-Sep | 09:00 – 10:30 | Mona Baker | A114 |
| <u>Panel 16:</u> Representations of Islam in Visual Arts | 06-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Galina Miazhevich | A101 |
| <u>Panel 17:</u> The Self Representation of Muslims | 06-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Katya Braginskaya | A112 |
| <u>Panel 18:</u> Islam and the New Media | 06-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Deepa Kumar | A113 |
| <u>Panel 19:</u> Islam and the Multiculturalism Debate | 06-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Salman Al-Azami | A114 |
| <u>Panel 20:</u> Translating Islam and the Qur’an | 06-Sep | 11:00 – 12:30 | Mona Baker | A104 |

Plenary Session 1: Islamophobia and the Media

5 Sep, 13:30 - 15:00, Arts Theatre
Chair: Henri Nickels

Thomas Deltombe

Paradoxically, Islam is not the only target of Islamophobia. This is the conclusion that can be drawn when one studies public discourses produced in France in the last 30 years. From the 1979 Iranian "Islamic Revolution" to the 2004 banning of the "Islamic veil" from state schools, French opinion makers have forged what can be called an "imaginary Islam" thanks to which the elites could define a new political consensus and assert a conservative conception of national identity. With the emergence of the misleading concept of "Islamism" in the 1990's, this "imaginary Islam" constructed by the media industry and the political forces turned into an ideological instrument that casts suspicion on various segments of the population and creates dangerous censorship effects.

In his book "Imaginary Islam: The media's construction of Islamophobia in France", the political scientist and journalist Thomas Deltombe reveals certain parallels in the way Islam is perceived by the French media and by ultra-conservative Muslims. In France most of the members of Muslim minority hail from the former French colonial possessions of Morocco, Tunisia, and especially Algeria. Deltombe's preparation for the book included analyses of numerous press articles and of the two most important TV stations in France: the privatised "Channel One" TF1, and the public broadcaster France 2. Deltombe examines their coverage of Islam in the period from 1975 to 2005.

Greg Philo

This paper examines contemporary arguments about Islamophobia and how they relate to issues such as world conflict and the manner in which this is represented in the mass media. It gives specific examples from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and also points to what can be done to better inform the public on these matters.

Professor Greg Philo is based at Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Applied Social Sciences, University of Glasgow. He is also Research Director of Glasgow University Media Unit (Glasgow Media Group). The Media Unit is a research based grouping of academics within the sociology department of Glasgow University. The purpose of the Group's work is to promote the development of new methodologies and substantive research in the area of media and communications. Professor Philo's research interests are in the area of the media and cultural reception. Greg Philo has recently written a report on Cultural Transfer between Britain and China for the British Council.

Plenary Session 2: Islamic Activism and the Islamist Threat

5 Sep, 17:15 - 18:45, Arts Theatre
Chair: Stephen Hutchings

***Alisher Khamidov* - Thriving Under Repression: Moderate Islamic Activism and State in Central Asia**

The paper explores multiple views concerning the role of Islam in Central Asian republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. In particular, it explores views of state officials, scholars, ordinary people, and Islamic clerics on Islam's role in public sphere, religious education, the question of tolerance and political participation. It finds that the Central Asian governments exaggerate the dangers posed by Islamic extremists while remaining suspicious of potentially helpful moderate Islamic groups they perceive as threatening state authority. The paper argues that the increasingly popular Islamic associations—fed in part by dissatisfaction with current political and economic trends—are supporting areas inadequately served by the state, while the state's repressive measures against opposition forces and the Muslim clergy are undermining its diminishing public support base.

Alisher Khamidov is a journalist originally from Kyrgyzstan. From June 1998 to July 2001, he served as Director of the Osh Media Resource Center (OMRC), a nonprofits independent media association in southern Kyrgyzstan. He has also acted as the regional coordinator of the Central Asian Media Support Project. Khamidov has written a series of articles on religious and ethnic conflict in the Ferghana Valley and political developments in Kyrgyzstan and in Central Asia, and is a frequent contributor to Eurasianet and IRIN. Khamidov is pursuing his PhD in Russian and Eurasian Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University.

***Elizabeth Poole* - Three Phases of Representation 1994–2008: British Islam in the British press**

This paper will examine three phases of the representation of British Muslims in the British press from 1994 - 2008. The paper will demonstrate the importance of analysing the political and social contexts of reporting given the shifts in representation over this time. Firstly, we have a period in which Islam had only recently been politicised in the UK. Critical theory drawing on the work of Edward Said (1978, 1981) argued that in the context of post war politics Islam was a new and convenient enemy of the West committed to establishing a global capitalist hegemonic project. Evidence of this was apparent in the media in terms of a global violent aggressor. Yet the reporting of British Islam was much more complex, a situation based on national concerns about segregation and cultural difference. Struggles over national identity and inclusivity took precedence. September 11th

changed this and provided the opponents of Islam with 'evidence' for what had previously been an 'imagined threat'. Whilst Britain, at the time, stood very much by America's side in the war on terror, and much of the discourse being produced at the time followed a similar line, the physical distance from the event in question allowed for a greater range of discourses to be voiced. For some a seriousness was re-injected into the tabloid press (Bromley and Cushion, 2002). Then came 7/7. The physical threat brought a new reality but ironically led to a distancing from Islam to the violence in order to maintain positive relations within the national context. How then have these different historical and political moments been played out in the press? This paper aims to demonstrate these complex relationships by revisiting the representation of British Islam over a highly volatile time.

Dr Poole is a Senior Lecturer in Media and Cultural Studies at the School of Humanities and Social Science, Staffordshire University, UK. She is an Award Leader of MA Media Management and Media Futures. She specialises in the area of race and representation, new media and audiences. Dr Poole has significant postgraduate teaching experience and published widely in the area of Muslims and the news. (*Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims*, 2002; *Muslims and the News Media*, co-edited with John E. Richardson, 2006).

Plenary Session 3: The Multiculturalism Debate

6 Sep, 13:30 - 15:30, Arts Theatre

Chair: Chris Flood

Kenan Malik

The multicultural debate is in large part a debate about how one defines a 'community' and decides who speaks for it. The term 'multicultural' has come to define both a society that is particularly diverse, usually as a result of immigration, and the policies necessary to manage such a society. It has come to embody, in other words, both a description of society and a prescription for managing it. The trouble is that the descriptive and prescriptive aspects of multiculturalism all too often get conflated. Far from being a response to a culturally plural society, multicultural policies themselves have often helped create the communities to whose needs those policies are supposedly a response. In doing so they have helped undermine diversity, not engage with it. I will illustrate this by looking at recent developments in Bradford, Birmingham and East London.

Kenan Malik is an Indian-born British writer, lecturer and broadcaster. He is Senior Visiting Fellow at the Department of Political, International and Policy Studies at the University of Surrey. He is a presenter of Analysis on BBC Radio 4 and has written and presented a number of radio and TV documentaries. His books include *The Meaning of Race* (1996) and *Man, Beast and Zombie* (2000). He is trained in neurobiology and the history of science. His main areas of interest are the history of ideas; the history and philosophy of science; the philosophy of mind; theories of human nature; science policy; bioethics; political philosophy; race, immigration and multiculturalism.

***Tariq Modood* - The multicultural state we're in: Muslims, 'multiculture' and the 'civic re-balancing' of British multiculturalism**

British multiculturalism is alleged to have buckled under various Muslim-related pressures. Indeed, some intellectuals, commentators and politicians of different political persuasions have pointed to evidence of a 'retreat' to be found in an increased governmental emphasis upon 'integration' and 'social cohesion'. One response to these developments, from defenders of diversity related politics, has comprised a discursive re-orientation of British multiculturalism to focus upon an anti-essentialist 'multiculture' that can transcend the alleged hitherto reification of British multiculturalism. This article offers an alternative appraisal of British multiculturalism. We contest the idea that British multiculturalism is subject to a wholesale 'retreat' and suggest instead that it has, and continues to be, subject to a productive critique that is resulting in something best characterised as a 'civic re-balancing'. Simultaneously, and rather than seeking comfort in a de-politicised 'multiculture' view, we defend the ideal of a dynamic political multiculturalism,

comprised as an outgrowth of discourses and policies originating from a Racial Equality paradigm inaugurated by the first Race-Relations Act (1965). It is argued that this tradition has successfully and legislatively embedded a recognition of 'difference' – with the goal of promoting equality of access and opportunity - into Britain's self-image which has led to some significant accommodations for certain groups. Muslim minorities are currently seeking similar accommodations and this is one means of achieving greater civic inclusion for Britain's Muslim minorities.

Tariq Modood is Professor of Sociology, Politics and Public Policy and the founding Director of the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship at the University of Bristol. Besides producing extensive academic publications and co-editing the journal *Ethnicities*, he is a regular contributor to the media and policy debates in Britain, was awarded a MBE for services to social sciences and ethnic relations in 2001 and elected a member of the Academy of Social Sciences in 2004. His recent publications include *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*, (Polity, 2007); and as co-editor, *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach* (Routledge, 2006) and *Secularism, Religion and Multicultural Citizenship*, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming August 2008).

Tariq Ramadan - Muslims, Multiculturalism and Postintegration

Professor Tariq Ramadan is Professor of Islamic Studies. He is currently Senior Research Fellow St Antony's College (Oxford), Doshisha University (Kyoto, Japan) and at the Lokahi Foundation (London). He is a Visiting Professor (Identity and Citizenship Chair) at Erasmus University (Netherlands). Through his writings and lectures he has contributed substantially to the debate on the issues of Muslims in the West and Islamic revival in the Muslim world. He is active both at the academic and grassroots levels lecturing extensively throughout the world on social justice and dialogue between civilizations. Professor Tariq Ramadan is currently President of the European think tank: European Muslim Network (EMN) in Brussels.

Panel 1: Queerness, Islamophobia and the War on Terror

5 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A101

Chair: Henri Nickels

Jin Haritaworn: Loyal Repetitions of the Nation: Sexual Citizenship in Times of War

The question of sexuality in the 'war on terror' has gained academic respectability. Queer discourse no longer ignores how gay rights discourse has joined women's rights discourse as a source of ideological justification for war in the Middle East and racist backlash and the rollback of migrant citizenship and immigration rights in the West. However, this tendency has been presented as a sole problem of the state, thus leaving intact a Notion of an innocent gay subject. My paper complicates the debate by positioning queer agency in the 'war on terror'. Taking the case of Britain and Germany, it documents the participation of gay leaders in this war. Interrogating the coincidence of the war with the entry of some gay subjects into the political mainstream, I re-examine racism and imperialism as enabling factors for gay citizenship. This also renders necessary a return to questions of racism and exclusion within the gay movement, and the ways in which the new debates around 'religion v. sexuality' serve to contest or repeat the exclusion of queer Muslims and other queers of colour from queer spaces and queer discourses.

Adi Kuntsman: Cyberfantasy, Warring Nationalism and the Limits of Queer Solidarity

The paper brings together some insights from my recently completed project on sexuality, immigration and nationalism in Israel/Palestine and in cyberspace and my on-going research into Islamophobia on the Russian language Internet. Conducted at the time of the raging warfare in Israel-Palestine and the post-9/11 globalised 'war on terror', my research looks into the relations between political violence, ambivalent subjectivities and cyberfantasies. At the centre of this presentation will be one ambiguous figure, an on-line persona with nickname 'Daughter of Palestine', whom I met on the on-line discussion forum of Russian-Israeli queers. From the moment of her appearance, 'Daughter of Palestine' immediately caused waves of suspicion among other participants. Was she a Russian-speaking Muslim? A Palestinian woman passing as a Russian? Russian-Jewish? Russian-Israeli? Or was she neither? And most importantly, does it matter? This paper follows the case of Daughter of Palestine in order to explore the ways Islamophobia plays out in queer sexual fantasies and identity games, merging together hatred and erotics, racism and patriotism, violence and wit. I will do so by examining on-line passing and outing as performance of borders. I look at the ways imagined borders between Israel and Palestine and identity categories of 'Jew' and 'Arab', 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim', 'straight' and 'queer' are questioned and reinforced, and how passing becomes the very tool of constituting the borders it aims to cross.

Jeniffer Petzen: A Call for an Unenlightened, Feminist Queer Politics

European debates surrounding Muslim and migrant women signify the ways in which racialised bodies have come to define acceptable and unacceptable ways of being European. This paper argues that the intervention of mainstream gay/lesbian groups¹ concerning the headscarf and honour killings are particular ways in which ‘Muslim’ genders are produced, condemned and held responsible for posing a threat to the modern, civilized and emancipated European homosexual. According to some European g/l groups, the values of the Enlightenment are what have produced this modern homosexual, and it is the lack of the Enlightenment and its peculiar European modernity that have caused the oppression of homosexuals and women in Eastern (i.e. Muslim) and Southern countries. In this paper, I want to interrogate the engagement of European groups into the headscarf and honour killing/forced marriage debate, questioning the politics behind their alignment with an increased post-9/11 Islamophobia. While my fieldwork was carried out in Berlin, Germany, similar trends can be seen in the work of g/l groups in the UK, the Netherlands, and ILGA-Europe. I conclude with a call to end feminist and queer work based on the vision of the Enlightenment as a guide. Work by g/l groups to ban the veil or articulating a blanket denunciation of Islam as a cause of violence against women will only further entrench unequal power relations, obscuring neo-colonial feminist and queer practices and creating divisive fissures where strength is needed. Making honour crimes and veiling the focal points of Muslims’ and migrant women’s lives also serves to deflect attention away from the more pressing issues of structural racism and poverty. Finally, it is vital to examine these discourses as an extension of historical racism and not an innocent defensive posture provoked by the ‘problem’ of migration and migrants’ so-called inability to integrate into Europe.

Panel 2: Islam and Violence

5 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A112

Chair: Rachad Antonius

Line Fransson: Help, our embassies are burning!

Until 1990, the Norwegian Middle East and Islam-debate have been more nuanced and multiple than for example the American, as Edward Said presents it in *Covering Islam*. It was not until 1991 that Islam came up as an enemy-picture in Norway – and then in limited degree. These findings will be presented this February by the academics Elisabeth Eide and Anne Hege Simonsen, after studied 100 years of Norwegian press - covering *The Other* (1902-2002). A change came after the 11th of September 2001. The bombs in London and Madrid also lighted fire, but my guess is that the Mohammed-caricatures and burning Norwegian embassies in Syria, Lebanon and Iran autumn 2005 is what really shocked Norwegian people and media. With which consequences? In my master, I will examine the three biggest Norwegian newspapers in the aftermath of the Mohammed-caricatures, September 2005 (VG, Aftenposten, Dagbladet). My data will be from 2005, 2006 and 2007. Has Islam grown to be the new enemy, or is Islam in Norwegian newspapers still richer than Said's American media-discourse mentioned above? I will use Orientalism and Occidentalism theories (Buruma & Margalit, Carrier, Said...), and look into if, and if so why, the internal security-discourse has changed, based on security-theories. Also implementing interviews with Muslim women in Norway. Muslim women are often talked about, but seldom talked to. What have, according to my interviewed women, happened in Norway? And to what extent have the press been part of this?

Tim Jacoby: Violence, Culture and the Muslim Menace

Recently, there has, as Mark Duffield notes, been a growing tendency to see the violence of the non-Western “other” as rooted in ‘the reappearance of ancient tribal hatreds and other forms of biocultural determinism’. Sharpened by the supposed pointlessness of “new” forms of warfare overseas and the apparently growing “religious” flavour of Muslim militancy at home and abroad over the last decade or so, attention has moved away from political and economic explanations of motive (beyond avariciousness or mere recidivism) and towards an emphasis upon culture, ideology and atavism. Despite the considerable influence over both international and domestic policy that these types of approaches have garnered, few studies have sought to explore the theoretical underpinnings and social implications of seeing violence, in general, and terrorism, in particular, in these limited terms. This paper suggests that such culturalist interpretations have their roots in (and, to some degree, derive legitimacy from) the “natural” science of evolutionary biology and its, commonly implicit, commentary on race and culture. The result, it is proposed, is a hybridised vision of social action which, following the end of the Cold War, has become of paradigmatic salience in the image of non-Western “others” and their peculiarly violence proclivities. The paper then goes on to conclude that, while this culturalist

discourse continues to operate as a means of explaining such violence outside the West and its primary function has been, particularly since the attacks on Washington and New York in 2001, to construct and maintain a connection between Muslims, Islam and violence and present this as the primary threat – both internal and external – to the West “itself”.

Mari Maasilta: Islam in Finnish Mass Media

My paper presents the main results of the study on media representations of Islam in Finnish mass media conducted at the University of Tampere in 2007. The research material was collected from newspapers, magazines, and TV news and current affairs programmes in February 2007. The material was analysed with the help of quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods. The main result of the study was that there was quite a number of media coverage related to Islam in Finnish media but, at the same time, very little was told about religious or cultural aspects of Islam. There is no overt hostility against Islam and Muslims in Finnish media but the image given about Islam was monolithic, one-sided and violent. Most of the stories were foreign news, which linked Islam with terrorism and other political violence in the Middle East. Islam is linked with violence by combining religious terms (Muslim, Shia, Sunni) to words such as terrorists, revolts, militants and others. Religious terms are also used about combating parties even if reasons behind the conflict were political or economic. The stories about Finnish Muslims made the only exception to this dark image: Finnish Muslims were not connected to political violence or terrorism. The few stories about Muslims in Finland were about their cultural habits and conflicts they sometimes create with the Finnish society. The only Islamophobic messages found in the media coverage were some opinion columns written by Finnish members of audience. The public discussion on the Internet site of the biggest Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat after the publication of the results of the study however revealed that there are suspicions, fear and hostility underneath the smooth media coverage which is not expressed in traditional media.

Hagai van der Horst: Regarding the overlapping of anti-Arab and anti-Jewish racisms in the Guardian and the Independent newspapers since July 2000

This research examines the coverage of the al-Aqsa Intifada in the Guardian and the Independent newspapers on the background of rising of both anti-Jewish and anti-Arab racisms in Britain. For centuries, the Jew and Arab were hated in Europe via different roots and routes: the Arab as the external political enemy and the Jew as the internal religious enemy (Anidjar, 2003). Interrogating such historical contingencies and positionalities in relation to news values and racialised discourse found in the liberal news media, this research makes use of quantitative content analysis (highlighting the frequencies of the appearance of themes) and qualitative discourse analysis to explore nuanced meanings and linguistic constructions. The focus is not whether either paper is ‘pro-Palestinian’ or ‘pro-Israeli’ but whether dominant news values (such as immediacy, simplicity, drama, or ethnocentrism) work to promote non-elite people, processes or positive developments affecting the respective communities. My hypothesis is that through the conflict’s ‘packaging’ the sides are

reduced into two sedimented polarised identities (Anidjar, 2003) where no Palestinian exists outside the articulation of being oppositional to the Israeli through difference marked by violence, and vice versa. Orientalist notions of childlike irrationality, emotionality and dependency are depicted in bipolar opposition to anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic notions of an ultra-manipulative world power motivated by possessive greed and religious zeal. Mutual recognition or reconciliation are presented as impossibilities, as going against the very 'nature' of each side. A news-values model of two oppositional ideological icebergs emerges. Only that which represents Palestinian-Arabs as entirely opposite to Israeli-Jews floats up and becomes amplified while that which does not is suppressed. Both peoples are essentialised, stereotyped and inferiorised, the discourse aimed against one always implicating the other.

Panel 3: Political Islam

5 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A113

Chair: Galina Miazhevich

Reza Afkhami: Fundamentalism-reformism: Similarities and Divergence in the Iranian Shiite Context

Fundamentalism-reformism is a dominant continuum of attitudes in the contemporary Iranian socio-political orientations. We would argue that both of these have been informed by their own particular understanding of the religious teachings. The key problem addressed in this article is: what leads some people to be reformist liberal and others to be conservative in their socio-political stance? Why is there a polarised system of social and political beliefs, which is far from monolithic? Given that the contradiction revolves around an authoritarian-libertarian orientation, there is a profound impact on popular support for domestic and foreign policy issues. After establishing the close link between religious dimensions (beliefs and practice) and Islamic conservative political beliefs, my argument is that this association has strong authoritarianism implications on domestic issues such as attitudes towards ethnic religious minorities/social marginal groups and on foreign policy issues namely attitudes towards the West and in particular anti US sentiment. Using a sample survey of Iranian students (N 687), this paper has two principal questions. First, what is the nature of socio-political attitudes in Iran? Second, what is the source of these different socio-political beliefs? In other words, it asks why people have different political beliefs. While the answer to the first question is descriptive and historical, the second requires an explanatory and analytical model.

Fatemeh Azimifard: The Image of Islam in Western Media

Nowadays numerous media campaigns are going on against Islam and Muslims. Western media with considerable financial resources and multiple channels try to show a rough picture of Islam to their public. At the same time Muslim groups through various media outlets attempt to convey their messages, but in comparison to the global dominance of western media, their efforts are somehow vain. As a result, messages lead to nowhere and disappear in air. Western media, especially after the September 11 use this event to capitalise political gain. Western media depict Islam as "fundamentalism", "extremism" and "radicalism". Of course in the post-modern world, where the role of media is central, the image of reality becomes more real than the reality. These media have tried to represent Muslims as "terrorists" who violate women's rights and pose a threat to western security. By doing so, they try to justify the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. In recent decades, this approach has led to emergence of "Islamophobia". However, little effort has been made to respond to these negative campaigns. On the contrary, the act of terrorist groups who kill people, especially western hostages, help their media to show that they are victims of terrorism. This paper is an attempt to explore the image of Islam in western mass

media after 9/11. French channels (Tv5, France24) are used as the data source of this study.

Fatemeh Azimifard will be unable to attend the conference, but the paper can be downloaded here:

<http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/research/documents/CP-FatemehAzimifard.pdf>

Irina Koudryuashova: Political Islam in Russia: Words and Meanings

The politicization of Islam has become an essential side of the process of religious revival which began in Russia with the democratization of its political system. The most difficult situation has emerged in the North Caucasus where the confessional and ethnic contradictions provoked acute conflicts with an Islamic colouring. Scientifically and politically the conceptualization of this new phenomenon has become a very important and up-to-day issue as well as its comparison with the politicization of Islam in other parts of the world. Drawing a cultural parallel with the Islamic countries the Russian advocates of the “unofficial” interpretations of Islam and its role in the society were called Islamic fundamentalists, Islamists, Wahhabites, Islamic radicals and salad. In conflict circumstances these names frequently were perceived as synonyms for terrorism and extremism that elicited an aggressive image of Islam. We have studied the essence of these definitions within the specific political context (Chechnya, Dagestan) to understand the limits of conceptual stretching and also tried to analyze the correlation between the meanings and their authors (academicians, traditional Muslim religious leaders, advocates of Islamic revival, governmental circles) to form various clusters. The study shows the heterogeneous character of Islamic spiritual and political reality in Russia (Islam itself appeared as both a factor of ethnic and cultural identity and a political tool) and the complexity of its evaluation after a long period of official atheism and discontinuing of religious tradition.

Luke March & Katya Braginskaya: Russia and Islam: Domestic Debates, Radicalization and the 'War on Terror'

The main purpose of this paper is to provide an assessment of conflicting interpretations of the contemporary 'threat' presented by radical Islam in Russia. We challenge more extreme alarmist scenarios of an imminent Islamization of Russia, not least for simplifying and exaggerating a more complex and differentiated picture of Islam in Russia. Islamist radicalisation remains, certainly, a continuing problem in the North Caucasus and there is evidence that some of these dynamics are being displaced from Chechnya, where a degree of stability is increasingly being cemented, into neighbouring republics like Dagestan and Ingushetia. There is, though, much less evidence of such radicalization processes extending to the Muslim Tatars who primarily reside in the Volga region and in the principal Russian cities, such as Moscow and St Petersburg. However, the contention by Putin and his supporters that stability is now ensured and that the threat only comes from foreign sources exogenous to the country, and not from domestically-driven dynamics of radicalization, is just as contestable. Radicalization processes, and the attraction of a

more universalist Islam, appear far from overcome. This paper explores these contradictory dynamics through three cases. The first is Tatarstan, where Moscow's drive for centralisation has provided a struggle for the appropriate locus and interpretation of "official" moderate Russian Islam, with competing ambitions for a Tatar-based "Euro-Islam" and a more all-encompassing and centre-dominated "Russian Islam". For many Tatars and other Russian Muslims, though, the implicit assumption that Islam must be strictly subordinated to secular power, whether to the region or to the centre, appears deeply problematic, making more rigorous and politicised interpretations of Islam attractive. The second case is focused on the republic of Dagestan where radicalisation appears to be emerging as a potential consequence both of the "Chechenization" process, as well as the particular strategies of the Dagestani political and religious elite that have relied on coercion and repression rather than accommodation to fundamentalist currents. The final case is that of Moscow city where the confluence of a large-scale Muslim immigrant community and rising nationalist sentiment has potentially similar destabilising and radicalising consequences.

Panel 4: Islam and Popular Entertainment

5 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A114

Chair: Mazin Motabagani

Ahmed Khalid Al-Rawi: The Image of Arab Muslims in the 1970-80s English Popular Fiction: Clash of Cultures or Religions?

After the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and due to the oil embargo which Arabs imposed on the West, the image of the Arab character in English popular fiction changed mainly from a bloodthirsty terrorist towards a more distorted one. This new picture was related to a Western fear that the unprecedented Arab wealth could be used in endangering the West's interests in the region and sometimes in the West itself. Hence, the image of a wealthy Arab womanizer, who was stupid and debauched, appeared. Then, he would be generally transformed into a Muslim fanatic determined to destroy the Western dominance in his country. Popular fiction writers dealt with this new image because they simply reflected the prevalent stereotypes in their societies, yet they emphasised the shortcomings of the Arab culture particularly in relation to intercultural marriages and the treatment of women. This paper discusses the following novels: Harold Robbins *The Pirate* (1974), Maggie Davis *The Shiek* (1977), Michael Thomas *Green Monday* (1980), and Laurie Devine *Saudi* (1985), and it makes some references to other similar novels.

As a matter of fact, the rhetoric of those novelists implies that the cultural problems like maltreating women are widespread among all the members of the Arab societies, and they are directly linked to Islam. This overgeneralization technique is partly due to ignorance of the Arab culture and prejudice against Islam. Unlike the majority of Arab writers who relate the shortcoming of Western cultures to their secular orientations and never to their Christian roots, many English popular fiction writers relate the shortcomings of the Arab culture to Islam and try to interpret the events and the motives of the characters accordingly.

Catherine Curran Vigier: The Conversion to Militant Islam in Film and Literature in France

This paper proposes to consider the way in which a character's conversion to political Islam is presented and contextualised in three different narratives which have been either moderately or very successful with the public and critics in France. The first document is the 8-part television drama "La Commune" ("The Commune") which was shown on Canal plus in November and December 2007. The second is the novel "L'étoile d'Algiers" (The star of Algiers) by the francophone Algerian writer Aziz Chouaki, a film version of which is to appear in 2008. The third document is the international bestseller "L'Immeuble Yacoubian" ("The Yacoubian Building"), the film version of which was shown on Canal plus in the fall of 2007. This paper argues that despite the different geographical and cultural settings for the narratives - Paris, Algiers and Cairo - a common thread is visible in the way in which the decision of key characters to engage in political activity under the banner of radical Islam is

represented. While each of the documents describes social and economic injustice, hardship and frustration, the key element in the person's "conversion" to extremism is in fact violence – the experience of violence and the participation in acts of violence. Thus the decision to engage in a form of political action – whether terrorism or community activism – is detached from the experience of injustice and discrimination and placed in the domain of the psychological. The traumatised, socially isolated or manipulated characters lend support to the perception of politically engaged Muslims as irrational fanatics on the one hand, hopeless utopians on the other.

Ali Isra: Getting Serious: Comedic Representations of Islam in American Pop Culture

There is no disputing that Islam has become an intense focus of American news media in the wake of 9/11. One by-product of this fascination is a proliferation of comedic representations of Islam in American popular culture. Whether it is popular television shows such as 30 Rock and Saturday Night Live producing representations of Islam as part of an on-going commentary on the current state of the world or the recent creation of a show like Aliens in America as part of the current pre-occupation, which depicts the culture clash of a Pakistani exchange student in the suburbs. Are these representations simply reflections of the anxieties of the day? Or do these shows offer some insight into how Americans are coming to terms with the flow of information from news media and other institutional authorities on Islam and its followers as the new enemy, and the concurrent rhetoric that differentiates Islamic fundamentalists from moderate Muslims living in the United States and beyond? These fictional representations grapple with significant concerns for American audiences including what it means to live in a world where terrorism is a threat, where there is pervasive political dysfunction and an open cultivation of prejudice. Often they do so in more complex and contextualized terms than news media. In these representations of Islam there is an on going commentary on the process of creating an enemy in a highly mediated environment, in this moment, and in the United States.

Priyasha Kaul: Exploring 'Anwar': Religion, Identity and Nationalism

Religion has become an extremely important identity marker in the post 9/11 world. In this climate, multicultural societies have struggled to become/remain inclusive, often forcing religious minorities to live under a constant threat of suspicion and distrust. This paper explores the identity politics around 'being Muslim' in contemporary India through an exploration of the critically acclaimed 2007 Bollywood film Anwar. Although the marginalization of Muslims as a religious minority has been touched upon in recent films such as Mission Kashmir (2000), Fiza (2000), Dev (2004). Anwar, for the first time talks of the issue explicitly and emphatically by firmly placing it within the larger contemporary geo-political dynamics. It is the story of an idealistic Muslim young man named Anwar, studying temple architecture in a small Indian town, who happens to get 'caught' in a Hindu temple by local right wing politicians and immediately branded as a 'terrorist' and ultimately killed in the midst of a media frenzy. Using this film, this paper explores the articulations of voluntary and involuntary identities and their interaction with

religion, gender and class against the backdrop of communalism, party politics and exclusion. Through this paper therefore, I aim to probe the representation of dynamics around religion and identity in contemporary Indian society, and to examine the possibility of understanding its relationship with larger trends in world politics.

***Urvi Mukhopadhyayi: From the Nawabs to the Jihadists:
Representations of the Islamic ‘Other’ in Popular Indian Films***

This paper intends to explore the politics of representations of the Islamic characters in the mainstream Indian films, otherwise known as Bollywood films. The focus will be particularly on two distinct periods, the first around 1940s and another around 1990s till date when the communalisation of the broader political culture reached its apex. This paper follows a comparative mode in investigating the process of articulations of the so-called ‘Islamic’ semiotics in these two different periods and would like to unearth the role of the wider international political rhetoric responsible for these depictions. This paper selects few genres, such as so-called ‘Muslim socials’, medieval or Islamic historicals or the contemporary film-noir styled ‘Taj Mahal’ films which depict Muslim characters and looks to explore the genesis of these archetypal characters in their respective socio-cultural milieu. This study, I hope, would help in situating the process of ‘othering’ Islam as a community in popular Indian films before and after the explosion of satellite information and media systems.

Urvi Mukhopadhyayi will be unable to attend the conference, but the paper can be downloaded here:

<http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/research/documents/CP-UrviMukhopadhyay.pdf>

Panel 5: Women and Islam

5 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A104

Chair: Lucy Michael

Tereza Capelos: An Experimental Test of Political Tolerance: Understanding the Impact of Fear, Anger, Values and Gender on Evaluations of Islam

In this paper I focus on the role of political values and gender on expressions of political tolerance towards Islamic groups. In an experimental setting with Dutch participants, I manipulate the emotional appraisal of an interaction with a fictional Islamic group, and examine how emotions of anger or fear interact with support for democratic values and gender to determine expressions of tolerance judgments in the Netherlands. I show that support for democratic values mediates the impact of fear but not anger. Specifically, while it reverses the otherwise negative impact of fear on political tolerance, it has no effect under conditions of anger. I also show that women experience significantly more intense negative emotions than men, but their levels of tolerance are indistinguishable from their male counterparts. This research is timely in this era of widespread threat perceptions, where support for tolerance and civil liberties is eroding.

Anita Greenhill, Terry Biddington & Nadia Estwani: Being a Muslim Women's Chaplain

This paper will present the findings of a six month pilot project exploring the viability of, and response, to the presence of a woman Muslim chaplain at a Higher Educational Institute in the United Kingdom. The paper will present an outline of the project, descriptive dialogue and a narrative of the project, outlining the experience encountered when establishing a Muslim women's chaplaincy in the UK. This project has significant implications, as the pastoral role of women in the Muslim community remains largely under researched. Furthermore pastoral roles available to Muslim women are predominantly associated with the woman's role within the family. Research already conducted, such as *Women Living Under Muslim Law* (1997) has shown that the complexities of being a Muslim in contemporary societies occupies a broader context for women than their familial role alone. As stated in *Women Living Under Muslim Law* (1997, pp. 21) "To me, to be a Muslim today or any day seems exceedingly hard. For, to be a Muslim one has to constantly face the challenge first, knowing what Allah wills or desires not only for humanity in general but also for ones self in particular, and then of doing what one believes to be Allah's will and pleasure each moment of ones life." This project aims to encourage and facilitate the pastoral role of a woman Muslim chaplain and their contribution to the everyday life for Muslim's as a means to enhance the experiences of student life for Muslim women in Higher Education. In particular we believe the results of this study will have further application for other HEIs considering how to address critical issues relating to the care of Muslim, and other non-Christian, students.

***Chloe Patton*: “People Think Our Lives are Dark”: Diasporic Resistance to the Metaphoric Darkening of Female Islamic Identity**

Metaphors of positive transformation are often structured around the binary poles of darkness and light. In Plato’s cave allegory a move from darkness to light serves as a metaphor for the positive effect of intellectual education upon the soul, while for Kant the transition from an imitative state of consciousness to one that is rational represents “enlightenment”. In other transformational metaphors darkness and light operate as the metaphorical stand-ins for entire religions, cultures or even continents. This paper is concerned with the contrast between the metaphorical move from darkness to light that often figures in contemporary Western representations of the female Muslim body and the way young Muslim women choose to represent themselves. Focussing on visual representations of the Islamic headscarf, I explore how this transformation metaphor has recently been played out in a variety of contexts, from media coverage of the unveiling of Afghani women after the US-led invasion of 2001 to recent debate over the right of young women to wear headscarves in French schools. Drawing on the findings of a visual ethnographic study involving members of a Melbourne Islamic youth association, I examine how young Australian Muslim women, when presented with the opportunity to create photographic self-portraits, used the headscarf to challenge dominant visual representations of their identity as dark. I argue that this illustrates Hall’s (1990) claim that identity is constructed from within representation, and constitutes corporeal engagement with the Australian public sphere.

***Bushra H Rahman*: Images of Muslim Women: A Case of International Magazines Time and Newsweek, 1979- 2002**

It is generally assumed, that media texts do not “mirror” realities as is sometimes believed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the ideological disposition, social positions, interests and objectives of those who produce them. Some scholars argue that the way this powerful organization, particularly the Western media, has misrepresented Islam and Muslims only reflects a good deal of bias and ethnocentrism. The images of the Muslim female in particular have been systematically dehumanized and disincarnated. The study of the images of Muslim women has become particularly pertinent in the present political scenario where the wide impact of religion on politics is evident especially since the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979. At the same time the threats to the Western world from the Muslim world are being asserted. A popular view of ‘clash of civilizations’ between east and west is projected in the works of Samuel Huntington in 1993. The proposition is that the most serious threats to the West, is Islamic “fundamentalism” and that the values of Islam have more than superficial resemblance to European fascism. However, Huntington’s work is severely criticized by Said in 2003 as “a recycled version of the old war thesis, that conflicts in today’s and tomorrow’s world will remain not economic or social in essence but ideological, and if that is so then one ideology, the West’s, is still point or locus around which for Huntington all others turn”. The researcher endorses that a critique on Orientalism is not meant to create a division as advocated by Huntington. She draws her insight from Edward Said’s work, and

intends to focus her work not as a 'crisis manager' but as a student of civilization and as a 'reconciler' between the civilizations. The objective of Orientalism is to study the historical dynamics of the experiences of the East and the West at certain point in time. The idea is not to play up 'the conflict of East and West.' Orientalism is meant to be a study in critique, not an affirmation of warring and hopelessly antithetical identities. This academic endeavour is to understand how the construction of identity, in the present case Muslim women, is bound up with ideological bias and power and to uncover how systematically, in a particular historical and socio-political context stereotype images of Muslim women are framed in the media. The spirit is to explore those socio-cognitive processes (propounded by van Dijk in 2001) which are underlying discourse on Muslim women. The asymmetrical relations shown in the discourse, of superior 'Us' and inferior 'them' may be unintentional but needs to be addressed with a spirit of minimizing the confrontation. This spirit of understanding the 'Other' may also help in stopping the reactionary negative behaviour of the 'Others'. She believes that we must move beyond a monolithic worldview that sees Muslims and Muslim world as a unity. Similarly Europe or the West should also be appreciated in their diversity and complexity. The research examines how and in what context Time and Newsweek magazines constructed the images of Muslim women from the year 1979 till 2002. This general question is broken down into sub-questions. The study explores whether the discussions on Muslim women are restricted to topics of veils, patriarchy and polygamy to promote their images as helpless, uneducated, and passive beings along with the images of potential threat? Are the negative images of Muslim women used, to malign Islam? Are the stereotypical images of Muslim women framed and given prominence in the media in a certain socio-religious and political international scenario? Time and Newsweek are chosen for they are mainstream, U.S.A based, prestige international publications. Furthermore, they represent one of the main opinion leader roles in the USA and abroad. The two methods used are quantitative content analyses and Critical discourse analysis. Content analysis is a method that aims to produce a 'big picture' it is well suited to deal with the large body of mass media. However, this big picture tends to skate over complex and varied processes of meaning-making within texts. To overcome the limitations of this method, critical discourse analysis is adopted to study the deep questions about textual and discursive forms. The approach to discourse analysis followed in the dissertation is the CDA of Fairclough and van Dijk, Another reason for combining the two methodologies is because one of the criticisms on Said's critique on Orientalism is that it is too passionate to meet the scientific criterion. So to ensure the scientific criteria, the researcher combines the content analysis with critical analysis. Through this process it is possible to measure frequencies of coverage, which provide an indication of the importance newsmagazines accorded to Muslim women. Research questions are discussed in the light of the quantitative data collected. Correlation tests were employed to test the hypotheses, which deal with prominence and negative images of Muslim women, and correlation between negative images of Islam and negative images of Muslim women. Particular attention is given, in analysis and interpretation of results, to dominant, recurring themes, such as oppression, potentially dangerous and backwardness, with special reference to socio-religious and political context. Findings also include year-wise patterns of framing of the images women of different Muslim countries separately. The study also examines discursive structures and practices adopted in framing the images of Muslim women in a particular socio- political context in the two magazines from the year 1979 till 2002.

Panel 6: Islamophobia

5 Sep, 15:30 - 17:00, Room A101

Chair: Adi Kunstman

Salim T S Al-Hassani: 1001 Inventions versus 1001 Nights: Shifting Public Perception of a 1000 Years Amnesia

A cursory survey of the traditional media, new media and school curricula revealed startling results. There is public perception that after the fall of the Roman Empire there was an extraordinary dark period after the fall of the Roman Empire that lasted for about 1000 years, from about 600 CE to the European Renaissance in the 16th century. This temporal segment in human history is supposed to be empty of any civilisational activity and is generally called the “Dark Ages”. In fact, such a conception of history is a misnomer, for precisely during this millennium there was an exceptionally rich burst of civilisation that manifested itself in a dynamic scientific tradition and intellectual activity that radiated from Baghdad and along a glittering crescent through North Africa and into Spain and Southern Italy. For many years, people in the West associated Baghdad with stories such as the 1001 nights (or Arabian nights) and today there is negligible information in schools’ curricula or in the media about the enormous inventions and innovations from that period that still affect our lives. Such amnesia has a negative impact on people’s attitudes and tends to reinforce stereotyping of Muslims and at the same time nourishes a superiority complex in the attitudes of non-Muslim Americans and Europeans. This gap reinforces the divide in that people in the Muslim world associate the “West” with negative traits and those in the West, especially Americans, say nothing or little good about the Muslim world. There is a worldwide hunger for dialogue, but the language used has, in the main, been confined to religious or political dialogue. This has unfortunately been met with limited success.

Inez Mahony: Indonesian Islam in the Australian Press: A Comparative Study of Three Major Bombings

Studies of Islam in the media show that Australian perceptions of Indonesia and Indonesian Islam are changing. Rather than ‘our Asian or northern neighbour’, Indonesia is now more often referred to as ‘our Muslim neighbour’. This paper examines how global narratives of Islam and terrorism have influenced representations of Indonesian Islam in the Australian print media through a comparative analysis of newspaper content following three events directly affecting Australians and Indonesians: the bombings in Bali in 2002 and 2005, and at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in 2004. It argues that on one level the media are largely objective and follow the basic principles of journalism in reporting on issues involving Indonesian Islam, other levels of analysis reveal the principle of balance is grossly undermined in the wider context of this study. It is the salience and absence of related issues that significantly determine meanings in this text. For example, articles are characterised by a striking absence of ordinary Indonesian Muslim voices and an emphasis on the extreme views of suspected terrorist groups. Stereotypical Orientalist

images of Muslims and Islam are increasingly associated with Indonesian Islam and reinforced throughout these case study periods. The high concentration of articles about Islamic terrorism in conjunction with the lack of reference to any other kind of Indonesian Islam and the relatively insignificant and diminishing number of counter-stereotypes presented contribute to an overall, increasingly negative perspective of Indonesian Islam.

Mohammad Fathi Niya: Semiotic Analysis of the Representation of Islam in the TV Documentary ‘God’s Warriors’

One of the most frequently used images employed by the Western media for representing the religion of Islam, especially after September 11 terrorist attacks, is the image of ‘Islamophobia’. Collocating the word ‘Islam’ with words such as ‘threat’, ‘terror’, ‘violence’, ‘Anti-Human Rights’- observable by launching any simple internet search in different Western news agencies- verifies this kind of image making of Islam by the Western media. This measure taken by the Western media has prompted an anti-Islam illusion in the Western public opinion and consequently deprived Muslims of some of their civil rights. A case in point is the second part of three-episode documentary titled ‘God’s Warriors’ by Christian Amanpour, CNN senior correspondent (broadcast in August 23 2007). This program employs a third person narrator who expresses the ideas of the interviewees, leaving the judgment to the audience. However, in fact it, using particular ‘signs’, emphasizes the image of ‘Islamophobia’. Using semiotic analysis of the second episode of ‘God’s Warriors’, the present paper sheds lights on how the documentary employs particular ‘signifiers’ and ‘signifieds’ to represent Islam as a religion of violence, terror, discrimination and violation of women rights. Representing Islam as a religion whose laws and principles are old-fashioned and backward, which is at odds with the present needs of society, as well as warning over the spread of Islamic radicalism among young people in some Western countries such as England, U.S., and Dutch are other issues addressed in the present paper.

Mohammad Fathi Niya will be unable to attend the conference, but the paper can be downloaded here:

<http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/research/documents/CP-MohammadFathiNiya.pdf>

Marco Scalvini: Italian Islamophobia: the Church, the Media and the Xenophobic Right

Although Italy is not usually considered a xenophobic country, the country’s “elites” have endorsed certain “Islamophobic” trends. Right wing leaders, respected Catholic bishops, famous writers, and journalists have been successfully disseminating and promoting prejudices against Islamic religion and culture. Very often, Arabs and Muslims are depicted as people who cannot be integrated within Italian culture and society because they are dangerous agents of the subversion and dissolution of Western and Christian civilization. My questions regarding Italian “Islamophobia” are: Was “Islamophobic” trends well established in Italy before September 11, 2001? To what degree are discourses on Islam and immigration closely linked? How did the cultural elite generate and perpetuate discourses that played an important role in the

construction of images of Muslims as “the enemy”? How did the image of Muslims, as reflected in Italian newspapers, reinforce “Islamophobia” within the radical right? My hypothesis is that negative representations of Muslims are not only a by-product of terrorism in recent years. Xenophobic attitudes were already in existence prior to the events of 9/11, although the attack on New York served as an amplifying factor of the Italian “Islamophobia” more than a decisive one. This kind of “Islamophobia” could primarily be the expression of a “culturalist” racism as opposed to a biological one. Thus, I will argue that the elitist dimension of Italian “Islamophobia,” through the stigmatization of Islam, has provided a political framework to discriminate against Muslims. Therefore, Italian “Islamophobia” seems to have three political trends that interact and feed into each other: the first one is the secular liberal-reactionary trend, represented by some editorialists and political scientists. The second is the Catholic-Crusade trend, headed by some local exponents of the Church and by the so-called “devoted atheists.” The last is the visceral and popular trend, incarnated by xenophobic groups such as the Northern League (“Lega Nord”). In order to map discourses on cultural hostility towards Muslim communities before and after 2001, this paper analyzes principal media frames that support Islamophobia in Italy. Major Italian newspaper databases were searched for all stories, columns, and editorials concerning the image of Islam and Muslims. The research methodology combines elements from: (a) an elite theory of racism as a form of ethnic dominance and inequality, and (b) an analysis of elite discourses, in general, and of press, in particular.

Panel 7: Media Representation of “Islamic Threat”

5 Sep, 15:30 - 17:00, Room A112

Chair: Luke March

Muhammad Arifin Kevin Brice: Media Representations of the White British Convert to Islam: Harmless Eccentric or Threat to Society?

According to the 2001 Census, White British Christians form the largest single ethno-religious group in Great Britain, accounting for approximately 70% of the population. White British Christians clearly represent the majority (dominant) ethno-religious group of Great Britain. While Islam is the second largest religious group in Great Britain (with just under 3% of the population being Muslim), Islam is often considered as a foreign religion that has little in common with the indigenous culture of Great Britain. However, there is a small but growing population of White British converts to Islam in Great Britain. These White British converts to Islam appear to present a paradox; they are members of the majority ethnic group but are also affiliated to a minority religious group that is characterized as foreign and alien to the majority ethnic group. Mainstream media representation of minority groups heavily influences the views held by the majority group regarding those minorities. In this paper I contend that the mainstream media seeks to explain the paradox of White British converts to Islam by portraying them either as harmless eccentrics or as a dangerous and sinister threat to society. In the first part of this paper I shall look at instances of the portrayal of White British converts to Islam in mainstream media as well as the view of some of the fringe media. In the second part of the paper I will then contrast the mainstream media portrayal with that of the Muslim media.

Muhammad Ashraf Khan: The Image of Pakistan in Prestige American Newspaper Editorials: A Test of the Media Conformity Theory

This study examines the theory that claims the American mass media generally conform to the foreign policy of the U.S. government. Since Pakistan is a key ally in the U.S.-led anti-terrorism coalition, it was posited that Pakistan would receive a more positive portrayal in the U.S. news media after 9/11 than it had before. This study tests the media conformity theory using a content analysis of the editorial coverage of Pakistan in three elite American newspapers—The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Wall Street Journal from October 1999 to May 2007. A total of 130 editorials were retrieved from the Lexis-Nexis database and analyzed. The findings do not support the media conformity theory, but instead conform more closely to a cultural difference theory advanced by Galtung, Said, Graber and Karim's. The results indicate a general bias against the Muslim world by American editorial writers.

Deepa Kumar: Islam, Political Islam, and US Foreign Policy: News Media Representations from 1945-2008

This paper begins by outlining the US's policy towards Islamist groups since 1945, when it took over the reigns of power in the Middle East and North Africa from Europe. As is well known, the US adopted a position of allying itself and supporting Islamist groups during the 1950s and 60s to serve as a bulwark against secular nationalist and leftist forces. This made political sense for the US in the context of the cold war. However, once the cold war was over, the US's former allies turned into enemies and "terrorists." Research on foreign policy and the media suggest that the media typically take their lead from the government. This paper will examine the newspaper of record in the US, the New York Times and discuss its coverage of Islam and Political Islam since 1945. A search was conducted of the New York Times database since 1945 using the key terms "Islam*," "Muslim," and "Moslem." It yielded about 500-800 articles every decade since 1945. This paper will examine how and when religious identity is deemed significant in the construction of news items by the Times. Additionally, it will examine the ways in which Islam gets tied to politics. For instance, in the period between 1945-50 it is India and Pakistan that dominate the data set being cited the most often in relation to Islam and the formation of two new nation states. The paper will then analyze later periods to examine how the association of Islam with politics shifts to other regions and how Islamists go from being allies to enemies within media discourse.

Narges Valibeigi: How Do Media Represent Muslims in War Time?

How the media introduce Islam, which has only recently become a news worthy subject, and how Islam is characterized in the media are the major schemes of this paper. In particular, this paper focuses on the ways Western media represent Shiite Muslims, using the example of a case study of news reportage from the BBC's and CNN's websites during the Israeli Defense Force - Hezbollah war in 2006. This paper shows the way in which Western media represent Muslims, especially Shiites, as 'Others' and how stereotypes define Islam as a threat to global peace. To analyze the data in this study, this paper tries to answer the question: what are the major characteristics by which Western media introduce Shiite Muslim identity? Do the Western media refer to equivalent sources for their news to avoid any bias or discrimination? Do they present the news from both sides of the war or only refer to one side? Do Western media state enough evidence and definition for their news or is some information missed in these reports? At the end, this paper shows that the media can play an anti-peace-making role in globalization context based on the ways in which it represents a religion such as Islam. As a 'transnational' subject, religion could be represented as a connecting point among different cultures because of the similarities within individual religions across different cultures, but the media have consistently portrayed religion in a different way. Representing Islam as the most serious enemy to Western culture especially in times of war is one example that shows how the media do not contribute to the peace-making/keeping process.

Panel 8: Islam in Political Discourse

5 Sep, 15:30 - 17:00, Room A113

Chair: Lucy Michael

Silvia Chiarelli: Islamic Political Discourse, Media and Democratisation in Nigeria

The object of my paper is to analyze the compatibility of Nigerian Political Islam discourse (or so-called Muslim Politics) with the process of democratization which is involved the country from 1999 to 2007. So the main question of my study is: “Does Muslim Politics discourse fit with in democracy in Nigeria and how does it fit?” I would like to show how the Nigeria Muslim actors will develop a new way of understanding democracy. Indeed the return to a civil government has coincided with the introduction of Islamic law by the governor of Zamfara state as he had announced before his election. The subject is pretty interesting, because three consecutive elections (1999, 2003, and 2007) took place in a region as North Nigeria, where Islam is deep-rooted, because it doesn’t provide the election of a governor (caliph). So it’s fascinating to analyze how the religious elements and the democratic values are mixed in the Muslim actors’ discourse during the electoral campaigns. Secondly, I would like to comprehend if the discourse of Nigerian Muslim politics is homogeneous or not towards the democracy and the introduction of Sharia. Thirdly, I would like to realize if the Muslim political discourse presents new nuances comparing to the other three democratic periods from the independence till nowadays. The methodological approach present in the paper is qualitative. It’s focus on a selected bibliography from articles, reportages and so on (found also in Nigeria if I go there in June). The analysis approach is comparative diachronically and synchronically.

Patrik Ettinger: Switzerland – “Europe’s new heart of darkness”? The problematisation of Muslims in Public Communication in Switzerland

In September 2007, the British daily Independent described Switzerland, the former ideal type of democracy, as “Europe’s new heart of darkness” and depicted it as fore-runner in a European-wide trend towards problematising the “other” – mostly Muslims – and towards radicalising the (proposed) measures of how to deal with the “other”. Our contribution analyses the reasons of this increasing problematisation of Muslims in public communication in Switzerland for the last ten years. On the basis of a large database where coverage in the “leading media” and parliamentary debates are systematically captured and bundled into “communication events”, we are able to compare and evaluate the salience and importance of the debates on Muslims both in a quantitative and qualitative manner. The reasons we will discuss include the orientation crisis in Swiss society, the importance of “key events” such as 9/11, the strategies of right-wing populist actors and the role of an increasingly commercialised media system. In addition to that, our proposal discusses the consequences of this problematisation for the Muslim minority and Swiss society in general. In

Switzerland, elements of direct democracy built into the political system facilitate the problematisation of the “other”, as initiatives and referenda can have a direct impact on the law-making process. One example of this was the government’s proposal to liberalise naturalisation laws, which was rejected by a popular vote in 2004 as a result of a campaign which successfully triggered fear of Islam. Another initiative which aims to ban the building of minarets in Switzerland is currently prepared. At the conference, we hope to discuss with research teams from other countries how these developments in Switzerland can be evaluated in an international perspective.

Elena Melkumyan: The Relations between Russia and Saudi Arabia. The use of Islamic Problematics in the Political discourses of Both States

On September 17 1990 the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to exchange the diplomatic representation on the ambassadorial level. Despite the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between two countries, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation as its successor was not eager to create a base for rapprochement with Saudi Arabia. The activities of Saudi Arabia in the Muslim areas of Russia had presented a challenge to the Russian federal authorities. The contacts between Russia and the Saudi Kingdom were further influenced by positions taken by the two sides towards the conflict in Chechnya. The Saudi authority called on Russia “not to use force against the Chechen Republic”. The Russian newspapers represented the Saudi Arabia as “a native place of Wahhabism, which has brought a lot of problems to Muslim republics of the Russian Federation”. The rapprochement between Russia and Saudi Arabia has taken place in the 2000. Russian President V. Putin indicated that “Saudi Arabia is a leading state in the Muslim and Arab world”. Saudi Kingdom supported the Russian admission to the OIC as observer status. President Putin has stressed that “about 20 million of Muslims which inhabit in Russia have the right to be a part of Muslim world”. Two states in their political discourses explored Islamic problematic in different purposes: to oppose the negative for their policies results and to create a base for positive development of their relations in the mutual interests of both sides.

Leon Moosavi: Understanding the Representation of Muslims and Islam in Speeches by the British Government Between 2001 and 2007

Muslims and Islam are widely considered as the most misunderstood and misrepresented concepts throughout the world, yet inaccuracies and Islamophobia continue in the portrayal of Muslims and Islam. This paper is concerned with the ways in which Muslims and Islam were represented in speeches by Cabinet Ministers of the Labour Government between 2001 and 2007. It uses a discourse analysis approach to deconstruct representations concerning these concepts and also related issues such as multiculturalism, Britishness, integration, and terrorism. The paper provides a thorough analysis of 111 speeches with direct references to the representations that are given. The paper demonstrates that Islamophobia based on generalisations, assumptions and stereotypes of Muslims and Islam are present in the speeches given

by these Ministers. This is considered most worrying as these Ministers have such a huge influence on the rest of British society. The various ways in which this Islamophobia crystallises are explained by relating the representations to the academic debates concerning such issues.

Panel 9: Islam and Secularism

5 Sep, 15:30 - 17:00, Room A114

Chair: Rachad Antonius

Gianni Matteo, Karine Darbellay & Gaetan Clavien: Representing Women: Defining Islam? Identity – Difference Constructions in Swiss Media

Swiss society is going through a transformation of multicultural social and political dynamics. These have shifted from the accommodation of territorialized minorities to the problem of the accommodation of claims articulated by minorities for whose the territorial reference is not an issue. The increasing demographic, social and political visibility of the Muslim population plays a crucial role in this trend. This group can indeed be considered as the main target of the intellectual and political debate over the meaning of Swiss multiculturalism and of Swiss national identity. In order to contribute to grasp the implications of such broad trend, this communication aims at analysing the way Swiss French-speaking media (newspapers and public television) represent and construct Muslims and Islam as a category participating to the identity – difference constructions. In particular, we will focus on a specific hypothesis: the way the attributes of the specific category of Muslim women are represented in the media has a deep impact on the way the (broad) categories of Muslims and Islam are constructed and understood in Swiss public space. To test the validity of our hypothesis we will follow a methodology very much inspired by the work of Elizabeth Poole (2002). We will firstly analyse the media coverage of Muslim and Islam from 2004 to 2006. Secondly, we will proceed to a content and discourse analysis of selected stories occurring during this period.

Ebru Canan: Perception of Islam in Europe: Four Nation Study

The political and religious representation of the Islamic diaspora and Islam religion in Europe has gained a different pace in the recent years. In Germany, a secular democratic country with no full separation of Church and state, and a country with about 2,500 mosques, most of the mosques have affiliated religious associations. In all of Europe, France has had the most developed policies for the Muslim diaspora. However, the wearing of the Islamic headscarf has been enacted as incompatible with the French laïcité. The law decided that it was a symbol of religious expression. In the UK, where state is fully separate from Church, despite no specific policies for Muslim communities exist in the UK, suicide bombings in London (2005) have deteriorated this moderate temper of many British be it public and elite. Lastly, in the Netherlands, the government has started impelling the training of Imams according to European standards, especially after the assassination of Theo Van Gogh, the Dutch filmmaker. Furthermore, the ongoing debates on Turkish membership to the EU have constantly raised concerns about potential for 'Islamisation' of Europe. Would Europe be Islamised one day? European vox populi has been monitored in the last years on the debate over Islam with various different references to the issue. More than half of

French and Germans expressed their worries that in ten years time Islamic fundamentalism would affect their personal daily lives. Likewise, large majorities in these countries believe that Islam is incompatible with democratic norms and values upon which the European value system has been founded. However, it has also been acknowledged by majorities that the compatibility dilemma is to a large extent because of particular Islamic groups rather than Islam in general. While these are predominant attitudes there are country-specific variations. In contrast with prevalence of Islamophobic popular perceptions in France and Germany relatively more pro-Islam sentiments have been an asset in the Netherlands and UK. What engenders these variations in mass public views on the debate of Islam, be it in the form of religious and political representation? This paper intends to examine these two broad questions by focusing on public positions in the four European countries, with the highest number of Muslim diaspora and with longer periods of co-habitation and familiarity. The paper also analyses the potential impacts of variables as cultural vicinity, fear of international fundamentalist religious terror, concerns of large numbers of immigrants in the future coming into Europe mostly from Muslim countries, which blurs existing boundaries and changes Europe, alarm of 'uncontrollable' wave of Islamisation. Is 'Islam', really, perceived as a homogenous, religious or civilisational 'other' entity to Europeans with similar socio demographic characteristics, parallel political views, and same level of education or level of prosperity? Or, is Europe really looked as a 'Christian club'? Given these questions, this paper not only surges into differences in in-depth opinion patterns but also aims at carrying out cross-country comparisons. Comparative nature of the analysis is particularly important because one of the most important criteria for country selection is the predominance of Muslim populations therein. For a German a boy called Ahmet cannot be German, even if he is German-born and a native speaker. I argue that Christian-Islamic understanding and dialogue in these countries will lead to resolution of conflict and misunderstanding, and above all will provide role models to other EU countries with Muslim diaspora showing how Europe and Islam will accommodate each other in which seems a difficult task. To get at this point, decision makers need high level of awareness of popular perceptions. Therefore, opinion surveys are a crucial tool to analyse in this paper. Precisely, public opinion data obtained from these four European countries through Transatlantic Trends Survey series since 2004 will be the source of data. Moreover, country-specific socio-political context qualitative materials will be also employed to grasp representations of 'Islam' as perceived at mass public level.

Signe Kjær Jørgensen: Asmaa's Headscarf or How to Represent Muslim Women in the Danish Public

The headscarf-wearing Danish Muslim Asmaa Abdol-Hamid ran for office in the Danish election campaign 2007 for the communist party Enhedslisten but failed to get election. Before the campaign several controversies have gone through the Danish public caused by her utterances and appearance. First people with nationalist and feminist orientations questioned the appropriateness and legality of the fact that she appeared as an employee on the national broadcast service DR2 during Autumn 2006. Secondly her rejection to shake hand with men due to the Muslim call for female purity was looked upon with great indignation especially by Feminists. Thirdly her ambivalent utterances regarding the right of homosexuals to become parents were criticized by her party colleagues and other leftists. In the article I identify the

different discourses employed by on the one hand Asmaa Abol-Hamid and her affiliates and on the other hand those employed by her critics. I will map the major struggles for legitimacy and identify the linguistic-structural conditions that have influenced her highly fluctuating legitimacy and popularity in the Danish public from August 2006 to the election campaign in November 2007. The aim of the article is to explore how a headscarf-wearing Muslim female identity may be constructed as legitimate in a cultural Christian public sphere as the Danish one. The study is based on insights from linguistics and pragmatics and therefore provides a cultural sensitive analysis of the contemporary conditions for Muslim identity construction.

Erkan Toguslu: The Emerging of Islamic Actors in Laïc Context: The Case of Christian Muslim Relations in Paris

In this article my aim is to analyze, through the example of interfaith encounters between Muslims and Christians in a laïc context, the interpenetration of Muslims and Christians and border crossing examples. I argue that without thinking and comparing the social and political context that gives religious groups a set of resources of mobilization and construct their preliminary perceptions and following the idea that the collective memory of religious groups is treated an identity and we cannot deliberately separate from this building of memory. Secondly, I argue that the interfaith dialog between Christians and Muslims have certain affects such as changing boundaries between the inside and outside, other and us. This new remodelling the boundaries in new context in which Muslims and Christians live together in a secular society open new ways to talk about historical memories and contemporary religious identities in French case that is seen a laïc society. Breaking down old clichés about Christian and Muslim identity issue is relating also civilisational debates that matter on such issues about plurality, democracy, woman's place in society, violence and tolerance. Mutual perception of different religions cannot be isolated from their political and social context.

Panel 10: Women, Islam and the Media

Disbanded

Panel 11: Museums, Islam and Representation

6 Sep, 09:00 - 10:30, Room A101

Chair: Sue-Ann Harding

Malik Ajani: Objects, Knowledge and Representation: A Glimpse into the Rhetorical Discourse of the British Museum

It has been suggested that the events surrounding the French Revolution initiated the creation of the first modern museum: the Louvre. Through its inception, this institutions founders sought to demonstrate the goodness of a state and the civic thought of its leading citizens. The birth of the museum inspired the burgeoning of this institution throughout the West. Roughly around the same time as the Louvre, the British Museum was founded in London (1753). The museum literature articulates a pedagogical motive, where the institution claims to advance understanding of the cultures it represents. Upon reading this, one could at inquire: what kind of understanding is represented within the discourse of such institutions? By investigating such a discourse, one would aim to discover the subjectivities and rhetoric in which knowledge-power relations are carried. Bennet, in writing about the birth of the museum suggests that often there is a mismatch between the articulated rhetoric of the institution and the actual functioning of the institutional technologies that is part of the overall discourse. This is because there are illusive goals and rationalities at play that are harder to isolate. The purpose of this essay is take glimpse into the discourse associated to the British Museum, with one focal point being its exhibit of "The Islamic World".

Yasmin Khan: Museological Representations of Islam. Islamic Science in the Science Museum: A Case Study in the Representation and Interpretation of the History of Science

This paper begins by exploring the internal workings of the Science Museum as an 'intellectual institution': how it deals with the history of science in general, how this consequently affects the interpretation and representation of Islamic science, and how this is then received by the audience - since in our current politically sensitive climate, any museological display of Islamic related themes are laden with repercussions. This critical analysis includes an examination of the historical, social, cultural and philosophical issues surrounding the existence of the Science Museum and how these issues affect the interpretation of its collections, with specific regard to Islamic collections. Are the legacies of Orientalism, colonialism and imperialism still evident in the displays, discourses and rhetoric of the Museum? From a comparative viewpoint, are there Eurocentric interpretations of ethnographic collections in other British museums, or are some museums more successful in mitigating this risk than others? How does this contrast with the modes of representation of other international museums? Is there a general need for a change in museological paradigm and praxis? In visioning the museum of the future, the Museum is being redefined as an agent for facilitating social change. For instance, a plethora of lessons can be learnt from the

impact of the 1001 Inventions touring exhibition which sought to highlight our common Muslim heritage. Yet without the long-term commitment of the wider museum sector to address Islamic civilisation themes within the capacity of their own contexts, there is a danger that the limited benefit gained from other ambitious initiatives will merely be transitory and possibly risk being disregarded as an unintentional exploitation and commoditisation of Islamic history and culture. However, new exhibitions have already continued to prove that they too can be a powerful force in changing public attitudes towards religion, such as the recent Sacred exhibition at the British Library. Global politics and the perceived threat from the 'war on terror' have precipitated a further reappraisal, or at least refinement, of the assumed responsibilities of cultural institutions. Museums are now slowly beginning to recognise the need seek to assume a greater responsibility for encouraging a deepening understanding of the richness and diversity of Islamic culture and values at a time when the dangers of religious intolerance and cultural prejudice are heightened.

Mirjam Shatanawi: The Politics of Display: Representing Islam in a Museum Setting

The representation of Islam in European museums has a long tradition that is rooted in colonialism. In the past decades, changing perceptions of the social role of the museum has prompted museums to take up alternative positions in the public debate on Islam. In this paper I explore this phenomenon using a recent exhibition as an example. Urban Islam was developed and shown at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam (2004) and the Museum der Kulturen in Basel, Switzerland (2006). The exhibition set out to explore contemporary Islam in different parts of the world. In order to do so, it presented the individual stories of young Muslims living in five cities around the globe and their search for an Islamic identity in a rapidly globalising world. Through the use of interactive tools the exhibition aimed to serve as an arena for debate. In my paper I will discuss the negotiation processes that took place during the making of the exhibition as well as its reception by press and visitor groups. The ethnographic background of both museums, and its specific legacy of colonialism, framed the reception of the exhibition. Yet the dissimilar national contexts in which Urban Islam functioned determined its results. The different religious and ethnic make up of museum audiences as well as variations in the national political discourse had a profound effect. The paper deals with the question what role museums can play in the public debate on Islam.

Panel 12: Islam, Muslims and (Mis)Representation

6 Sep, 09:00 - 10:30, Room A112

Chair: Tereza Capelos

Daniele Cantini: Being (Mis)Represented: Feelings and Reactions of Muslim Youth to Representations of Islam in Europe and United States

In this paper I will analyse the various ways in which Muslims (and non-Muslims as well, even if in a lower tone) understand, and react to, the representations of Islam given by Western media. Drawing on my PhD research, which was conducted in Amman, Jordan, I will approach this issue and the consequences that it entails from different points of view. I will first discuss what young Jordanians perceive “the West” to be thinking about them, the bias that they feel upon themselves as Arabs and especially as Muslims. I am not interested here in the accuracy of the critics they make to the media system in “the West”, rather I will concentrate on what they feel as being the more common stereotypes and bias on Islam – interestingly enough, many Christians of Arab origin react negatively to such stereotypes as well. I will then turn, through the analysis of two examples, Theo Van Gogh’s assassination and the cartoons on the Prophet that appeared in some Danish media, to the reactions these events provoked among some students. I will finally try to establish some patterns of reaction, that is, how young people react to the representations of Islam they feel that are imposed upon themselves – often according to their social status and to what they believe their future lives will be like. I will try to show that their reactions are quite understandable in the context of their everyday lives and especially if their ambitions and expectations are taken into consideration.

Danila Genovese: Through the Mirroring Lenses of the Self: Representation and Self Representation of 'Radical' Islamism in the UK

In the aftermath of the London bombings of 7th July 2005, the revelation that the bombers were UK citizens- with one exception- British born has soon led some social scientists, academics, politicians, and journalists to dub London ‘Londonistan’: a centre for fanatic militants- ‘mullahs’- and ‘extremist’ teaching. This paper aims at examining the phenomenon of representation and self-representation- in relation to ‘radical’ Islamists in the UK- as interrelated. The study is conducted through a ‘collative’ analysis, between the author’s several interviews and personal chats with the leaders and members of parties considered as radical, like Hizbu ut Tahrir, Al Ghurabaa and the Saved Sect, and the articles, the news and the papers produced by several leading media institutions and eminent scholars on the phenomenon of radical Islamism in the UK. My argument is that there is a ‘mirroring effect’ between the essentialized representation of Islam and Islamism proposed by the Orientalist approach and the self -representation voiced by the ‘radical’ Islamists themselves. In other words, there is a sort of paradoxical dynamic, which means categories imposed

from above, that become unconsciously internalised from below, although both parties propose an inverted image of what is in reality: the mirroring effect. My point here is that the dismissal of this element in the analysis could mask a refusal to address our own failure to make a serious political examination of the phenomenon itself. The hope is that this paper will contribute to such an analysis as a prelude to framing 'real' issues, choices and instances.

Wang Jianxin: Representing Islam in China: A Case Study on the Religious Motifs of Uyghur Sermon Poems

There are 56 officially-confirmed ethnic groups in China, 10 of them are Islamic believers. The Uyghurs have a population about 9 million, which takes nearly the half of 20 million China's Muslim population. Though the basic factors of the cultural tradition of the Uyghurs belong to the typical ones of the oasis peasants living in Inner Asian desert areas, still their cultural traditions are strongly influenced by other two great world civilizations, Islamic and Chinese ones. In the nowadays, similarly as other Muslim ethnic groups in China, the Uyghurs are facing a quick transformation of their social structure and cultural norms, for which, Islamic teachings play a critically important organizational function from the local side of their society and culture, and Chinese political systems concern about officially-constructed social framework from the outside. It seems highly necessary that they always have to choose flexible stances between the two, by making clear their own point of view toward various socio-cultural events and even conflicts. Religious intellectuals in the Uyghurs, especially those standing members playing the role of socio-cultural organizers, are both the scholars teaching Islam and the administratively-appointed clerics responsible for the controlling of the spiritual world of their people at local mosques. Some of them use Uyghur folk poems to teach and preach their people, with the motifs and meaning of their sermon texts highly inspired by Islamic theology and the spirit of social criticism. They are always at the critical points of against bad social events and behaviour, therefore taking the risks of against corruptive social trends and offending political powers, but they never forget their holy work to make Islamic remarks on daily happenings. By this study, I will concentrate on the analyses of Uyghur sermon poems I collected in many fieldwork visits to Uyghur religious personals in the Turpan Basin, in 1990s, showing the way in which Uyghur religious scholars using Islam as a tool of their social criticism as well as the way in which they accommodating their social changes.

Lucy Michael: Islam as Civic Duty: Young Leaders, Rebellion and Conformity

The diversification of opportunities for minority ethnic community leadership (Anwar and Werbner, 1991) seen in Britain in recent years has compounded the effects of generational and social change to produce distinct new political representations of British Muslims. This in turn has resulted in new opportunities for young leaders to emerge within Muslim representative organisations and in competition with established leadership. In this paper, attention is paid to the capacity of young leaders to engage with Islam both as a resource for radical thinking about social justice and citizenship issues and as a resource for political strength in representing the needs and

desires of Muslims. Evidence is produced from a study of young leaders in two English cities to illustrate how they envision Islam both as inspiration for and mobilisation towards social change, and do so in ways that demonstrate both rebellion and conformity with civic society at large. In particular the paper addresses the question of how diverse views on representations of Islam are reconciled within Muslim organisations, examining three different types of organisation popular with young people, and how the negotiation or reconciliation of these positions impacts on the resultant activities of group members and on the growth of social networks protruding from these groups. There is room, the paper concludes, for greater depth of thinking about how young people manage popularly radical views within their own peer groups and, therefore, about appropriate responses to representations made by young leaders.

Panel 13: The Media and Islamist Militantism

Disbanded

Panel 14: Islam and Social Cohesion in Britain and France

6 Sep, 09:00 - 10:30, Room A113

Chair: Deepa Kumar

Salman Al-Azami: Representation of Mosques in the British Media: The Community Perspective

A contemporary report by the Islamic Human Rights Commission (Ameli et al. 2007) finds 'structured' and 'institutionalized prejudice' against Islam and Muslims in the western media. In recent times, Mosques have become centre of increased media attention. A number of stories, features, reports or documentaries published in the past one year depict a negative picture of Mosques in this country. This paper will examine three contemporary criticisms of British Mosques published in 2007 – a report by Think tank Policy Exchange, an article on The Daily Telegraph and a Channel 4 Documentary and will investigate whether these criticisms have influenced the attitude towards Mosques by the local community. The qualitative research will address the following questions: Do these reports and documentaries reflect the actual scenario of the Mosques in question? To what extent do they think these Mosques encourage, glorify or support extremism or extremist literature? What social role do these Mosques play? Do the neighbours in any way feel inhibited by their presence? The research will compare the stereotypes projected in the media with perceptions actually held on the ground. Semi-structured interviews will be conducted on the local community including Muslims, non-Muslims leaders of other faiths, representatives from the local authority and the local Police. The research will be based in the neighbourhood of three Mosques mentioned in these publications – The East London Mosque, The London Central Mosque and Birmingham Central Mosque.

Sylvie Bernard-Patel: A Comparative Study on Islam and Identity in Britain and France

Within the Muslim population in Europe, around two million live in Britain (mainly Southern Asian) and five million in France (mainly Maghrebi). The Muslim communities in the two countries have a certain number of features in common, but there are significant dissimilarities which can be attributed to two sets of factors. First each country's traditional relationship with its settled immigrant populations (related with the legacy of colonial practice) has constructed a social mode of reception (and rejection) which is specific to that society and for which the Muslim population has had to face. Second the internal structure of these populations and the groups which have achieved overall authority in the expression of their identity are not identical in the two countries. The conflictual link between the national model of settlement and the assertion of identity by Muslim population has been established in each case. In Britain, the model of integration of communities as organised blocs has encouraged the expression of a single Islamic identity. However, its limit was demonstrated in summer 2001 when Britain experienced some of the worst race related riots. In

France, the dominant Republican model of integration of individuals (bypassing communities) has given rise to more differentiated forms of expression of identity as demonstrated in the Islamic veil controversy in 1989-1990 and again in 2003. This paper will present a comparative account of Muslims in Britain and France by looking at how the two societies have respectively 'embraced' Islam and how Muslim identity is constructed. The work is derived from a comparative research conducted in secondary schools in Britain and France.

Tim Peace: The 'Muslim Question' and the Scission within the Anti-racist Movement in France

The question of Islam and the existence of Islamophobia are hotly debated and contested issues in France, particularly since the law banning religious symbols in schools (Bowen 2007). One aspect of this debate that has been neglected by scholars has been the way in which these questions have divided many on the Left in France, a situation that is particularly acute amongst French anti-racist groups. In this paper I will trace the roots of these divisions which can be traced back to the first Gulf War, tensions which have resurfaced and been exacerbated by episodes in recent years, in particular the parallel rise in Islamophobia and acts of anti-Semitism. I will shed light on the reasons for the splits and internal divisions that have been created within organisations such as the MRAP and examine in particular the Mohammed caricature controversy and the subsequent trial of the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo. I will argue that the divisions within these groups are less a product of the latent Islamophobia produced by the media (Deltombe 2005) and more a consequence of the deeply embedded norms and discourses within the anti-racist movement that has, to some extent, been thrown into practical disarray by the emergence of 'the Muslim question' (Geisser & Zemouri 2007). I will finally make an analogy with another key moment in the history of these groups when their function was challenged by migrant workers (Lloyd 1998) and show how once again they need to adapt in the light of current circumstances.

Pnina Werbner: Revisiting the UK Muslim Diasporic Public Sphere at a Time of Terror: From Local (Benign) Invisible Spaces to Seditious Conspiratorial Spaces and National Media Dialogue

Public exposés of hidden spaces where diasporic Muslims allegedly enunciate extreme anti-Western rhetoric or plot sedition, highlight an ironic shift from a time, analysed in my earlier work, when the Pakistani diasporic public sphere in Britain was invisible and local while nevertheless being regarded as relatively benign: a space of expressive rhetoric, ceremonial celebration and local power struggles. Suicide bombings on the London underground and revelations of aborted conspiracies have led to a national media debate in which Muslim leaders have come to be active participants. They respond to accusations by politicians and journalists that multicultural tolerance has 'failed' in Britain, and that national Muslim organizations are the prime cause of this alleged failure. Addressing this 'failure of multiculturalism' discourse, the paper questions, first, whether talk of multiculturalism in the UK is really about culture at all? Second, the paper explores

why Muslim integration into Britain – the so-called success of multiculturalism – has come to be ‘tested’ by Muslim national leaders’ willingness to attend Holocaust Memorial Day commemorations. The public dialogue reflecting on these issues in the mainstream and ethnic press, the paper proposes, highlights a signal development in the history of the UK Muslim diasporic public sphere: from being hidden and local to being highly visible and national, responsive to British politicians, investigative journalists and the wider British public.

Panel 15: Islam: Issues of Translation

6 Sep, 09:00 - 10:30, Room A114

Chair: Mona Baker

Salah Basalamah: Translating Islam in/and the West

Translation is generally considered a communication tool that facilitates mutual understanding among parties that would otherwise not be able to understand each other. In political science, as in other fields, effective management of citizens and the relationships between them relies, above all, on a certain level of understanding of the fundamental principles that govern the society. If this common understanding fails to reach the minimum level required, serious consequences can result. The society in question may face difficult challenges and find its delicate racial balance disturbed, while the people may fall into crime and subsequently be persecuted. This is where the old adage “the law is for all to know” applies. And yet, the social and political climate in western societies, European ones in particular, are progressively deteriorating because of a mutual lack of understanding between, for example, at least two conceptions of the role religion should play in a public secular democracy. This lack of understanding is not so much caused by a lack of integration by the so-called foreign elements of society (since they are at the very least first or second-generation citizens), but rather because of the power struggle between the different perceptions of the very principles of a political management system (state of law, secularism, public narratives, relationship between men and women, etc.). The challenge for this type of society will therefore be to identify appropriate actions to narrow the gap between these different ways of thinking, as well as what principles this effort (namely communication) must follow in order to function. Thus we must ask what will be the role of translation (defined more broadly as a paradigm) in order to overcome disparities among frames of references within the context of Western national constituencies? What are the possibilities the concept of “civic translation” (which will need to be defined too) could offer in this process and how can it effectively contribute to the expected social peace? What is the scope of the political metaphor of translation and what are its limits? What will the relationship be, considering the above, between translation and democracy? Hence, and in support of this specific task of translation conceived as a socio-political paradigm, I will be articulating my paper around Translation Studies research more generally and will rely more particularly on Jürgen Habermas’ theories of “Communicative Action” and “Ethics of Discussion”, of course with the necessary critical approach to it.

Mousavi Mehr Seyyed Mohammad Mahdi: Presuppositions Regarding Islamic Issues in BBC's Persian Language Website

Islamic issues are differently raised in western media than in Islamic communities. Regardless of this issue being intentional or unintentional, there could be a number of presuppositions used in western media in raising Islamic issues. This paper is an attempt to discuss presuppositions regarding Islamic issues in the following

categories: women rights, Pope Insults to Muslims, terrorism, Muslims enlightenment movement and publishing caricatures insulting The Prophet of Islam (PBUH). It seems there are a number of issues which can be considered: Seeking violence, sensuality, self-indulgence, oppressing women, Muslims atrocity towards the West, suppressing the enlightened and opposing democracy. This paper investigates materials related to Islam written in the BBC's Persian language website.

David Wilmsen: Mistranslating Anti-Semitism

Through a process of selective appropriation, wherein Arabic texts from newspapers and other media sources, especially television, expressing hostility to Israel or Jews are translated and made available to Western audiences through sites on the internet and through quasi-academic, popular press writings of dubious scholarly integrity, Arabic discourse is often represented as expressing alarming anti-Semitism. Some of these representations find their way into the press and into wider discourse about the Arab world, creating a monochromatic impression of Arab society as entirely populated by dangerous, unregenerate bigots. Such representations ignore other writings and media representations of a more inclusive tone. This paper will contest depictions of Arabs and by extension Muslims as anti-Semites through an examination of the writings of prominent thinkers and of media treatments of local Jewish communities from contemporary Egypt and Lebanon, proposing that an alternative discourse is available. In this discourse, local communities are recognized as having formed integral elements of national life, oftentimes expressing regret that historical forces, as momentous as the creation of the state of Israel and as mundane as economic downturns, have diminished their numbers. It is noted that such sentiments are often echoed by average citizens as well. In the presence of an alternative discourse such as this, it is clear that what is at play is something unrelated to classic anti-Semitism, and those who attempt to depict Arabic discourse as anti-Semitic do so for tendentious purpose of their own. Indeed, such discourse amounts to something of a reverse anti-Semitism.

Panel 16: Representations of Islam in Visual Arts

Sep 6, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A101

Chair: Galina Miazhevich

John Frederick Myles: Bourdieu, Islam and the the Scientific Status of the Photographic Image

The recent exhibitions in Graz and London of Bourdieu's Algerian photographs have revived interest in the anthropological period of his career, particularly as this coincided with the Algerian war of independence. Bourdieu would have challenged any attempt to make any extensive aesthetic or even political reading of these images and it is clear from Bourdieu's own statements at the time that the anthropological gaze was directing his lens. Bourdieu, was more a philosopher than sociologist at this time but he was influenced by Cassirer, who noted how images do not 'pass over' us, or completely 'penetrate' us, but rather require us to participate if they are to become images (Cassirer, et al. 1996: 30). However, Bourdieu would not have found much guidance from Cassirer on how such participation works when the subject of the image is someone who does not share the same culture of the image producer. After outlining Bourdieu's approach to representing Berber society in his photography, this paper goes on to discuss this in relation to Tournier's novel *The Golden Droplet* and Deleuze's discussion of Tournier's work in *The Logic of Sense*. The novel contrasts the western obsession with images with the Berber and Islamic preference for discourse, abstraction, lines. Tournier describes how images must be tightly controlled, symbolically 'pinned' down, to be contextualized, limited, tied to time and space. Tournier talks of 'cleansing the impurities of the moment' which photography characteristically avoids. In addition, Deleuze discusses Tournier's work as an example of how the Other also figures as non-sense, as the expression of a 'possible world' running parallel to, essentially, rationalist discourses. The paper then returns to Bourdieu's photographs which, like the French tourists at the start of *The Golden Droplet*, essentially 'snatched' moments of time rather than any eternal truths. So recent arguments which suggest, post hoc, that Bourdieu's photos are essentially subversive miss their overall status as images which must be understood in relation to the field in which they were produced, French anthropology operating in the context of an unruly colony marked by the radical otherness of Islamic culture.

Ahmed Achrafi: Islamic Arts: An Epistemology of the "Ab-surd"

It is often thought that Islamic arts developed as a result of the prohibition of figurative images. Consequently, architecture and ornaments are seen as a transformation of surfaces filling an artistic void. This view overlooks the aural underpinnings of Islamic arts. Even when the auditory is taken into consideration, as in Burckhardt's interpretation, the understanding of Islamic art institutes the artist as a reader rather than a listener. Yet the aural presence in Islamic arts is not only vigorous; it is also subversive. This paper shows the displacement effect of the aural orientation in architecture, calligraphy, and in miniaturization (Hamza Collection) and

investigates the re-assertion of the voice in the postmodern feminist work of Ghada Amer. It examines the epistemological assumptions behind the conventional understanding of art in Islam and presents a narrative of the tension between the aural and speculative that underlies the Islamic aesthetic pathos.

Anthony Downey: The Burden of Representation: Contemporary Visual Arts in the Middle East

What is at stake in the moment of visual re-presentation? Following on from Edward Said's insights in *Orientalism* (1978), in particular the idea that western culture was implicated in the economic and political exploitation of the Middle East, this question has found particular purchase in analyses of the visual arts. Commentators have noted, for example, that representations of the Middle East, by artists such as John Frederick Lewis, Eugène Fromentin, and Jean-Léon Gérôme (not to mention Delacroix and Ingres), went hand in hand with a visual syntax that consistently positioned the region in an ahistorical, morally suspect, retrogressive, and intolerant realm. To the extent that the above cultural disparagements have been discredited, they need not be further rehearsed here; however, there is a need to examine what was strategically absent from the above art historical canon: that is, representations by Middle Eastern artists of a modern, forward-looking, and multicultural version of both Islam and the Middle East. The following paper is constituted of two parts: the first is critical, examining western representations of the Middle East up to the present and noting the strategic elisions and prescriptive portrayals of both a region and its people. The second is more speculative, addressing as it does representations of the Middle East by contemporary artists who live and work there today. In the context of the latter, I am responding not only to the growth of the visual arts in the Middle East but to the international critical and financial interest in modern and contemporary art in the Middle East. Both of which, I will argue, have an immediate and enduring impact on how the Middle East and Islam are represented in the West today.

Guy Rak: Representing Islam in the Public Funerary Art of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey

Balkan (Rumeli) and Asia Minor (Anadolu) Muslim communities have witnessed a tremendous political change in the first half of the 20th century as the Ottoman Empire weakened and was later replaced by the Republic of Turkey. The emergence of a national identity in the Muslim communities and changes to that identity were represented in public funerary art. Ottoman *Abide-i Hürriyet*, initially the burial-memorial site of the soldiers killed in action following the "31st of March incident", and Turkish *Anıt Kabir*, the mausoleum complex of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, reflect different approaches to the notion of 'Islam' and its place in the political culture of the Empire and the Republic. The shifts in the representations of Islam are manifest in the choice of site, the architectural design and the ornamental scheme. The proposed presentation examines the change in the architectural discourse and its manifestation in the structural environment of both the Empire and the Republic, as reflected in their corresponding national memorial-burial sites. It presents the changes in the public architecture that uncover a tension between tradition and modernity and a different emphasis on what is Islamic and what is its place in the nation's agenda. Both

monuments express progressive conservatism but reflect a different level on the echelon between progress and conservatism. The visual art of Architecture in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey points to the complexity of the notion of 'Islam' and the heterogenous responses that it elicits.

Panel 17: The Self Representation of Muslims

6 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A112

Chair: Katya Braginskaya

Eduard J. Bomhoff: Malaysia's Muslims – as Seen by Themselves and Their Fellow Citizens

In the Islamic world, Malaysia is a happy outlier: both richer and politically far more mature than the average of the 58 members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. That makes Malaysia interesting for two reasons: 1. Theories of modernization can be tested for a prosperous Islamic country. My paper will analyze data from the first World Values Survey in Malaysia. Responses on “equality between men and women”, “interest in democracy”, “tolerance of different views” and “strength of religious beliefs” show to what extent Malaysia is a “modern” country on the definition of Inglehart and others. On some issues, Malaysia looks “Western”, but there are also areas where Malaysia is very similar to other non-Western Islamic nations. 2. Malaysia has 50 years of experience with power-sharing between explicitly Muslim parties and non-Muslim political groups. Whilst “moderate” Muslims dominate national politics (but need non-Muslim support), a conservative Islamic party criticizes the government for not being sufficiently “Islamic”. The paper will analyze the way in which the Malaysian political system and the country’s demographics have influenced political and media discourses on Islam – so different from the West. Freedom to engage in hate speech is much less than in the West, and public opinion does seem to attach more value to stability than to exploring the limits of free speech.

Mazin Motabagani: Orientalism Versus the Media: BBC as a Case Study

Many intellectuals think that Orientalists are mere scholars living in their ivory towers and have no real relation to the living world. This may be because most Orientalists either worked for certain governments as agents or experts, or were academics working in different institutions or universities. Many Orientalists or Middle East experts have taken their knowledge to the Media whether it was journalism, Radio, television and now the internet. This paper will take the BBC as a case study hoping to continue the research in this field. After the First World War many European countries have established radio stations directed to the Arab and Muslim World. Along with these radio stations magazines and newspapers dealt with topics that can be classified as Orientalism. To take but one example the BBC which was established in 1922 has started its Arabic section in 1938 with a clear agenda. The BBC started its magazine "Al-Mustamie Al Arabi" for many years. Then another magazine came out to support the audio services of the BBC which was "Huna London" Now this radio station has a magazine called "Al-Mushahid Assiasy". Just before the 2ed. World war some prominent Orientalists have written to the magazine, such as H.A.R. Gibb, Bernard Lewis, Arbery, Joseph Sachet and others. The Arab media took interest in

Orientalism as scores of articles were published in the leading Arab newspapers and magazines. For example Al-Madinah newspaper had a weekly column to deal with the Orientalism, other newspapers such as Okaz. Since then the media whether it be written, audio, audio visual or internet have given Orientalists and Middle East specialists' ample space to participate in the major programs or main pages of the media. In France for examples the major French Newspapers and magazines dealt with issues relating to the colonized countries and particularly to Islamic countries. In Algeria for example the reformist movement devoted much space in its magazines to refute some of the writings appeared in French newspapers such "Le Temps" or "L'observatoire" One of the BBC famous programs is " Politics Q&A" or "Assiasa bain Assael wa Al mujeeb" was mostly answered by Orientalists and Middle East specialists. The BBC has been studied as a directed radio station from communication point of view. Some of these studies were masters or PhD theses. However this may be the first study of BBC and its relations with Orientalism. It was rather difficult to find all the volumes of the first publication of the BBC "al-Mustame Al Arabi". The university library of Muhammad Ben Saud University has only few of these volumes. Here we will devote this paper to the BBC since the beginning in 1938 and its magazines mentioned above. The paper will be divided into three sections. The first part will be devoted to give a historical background to the relations between Orientalism and the media. The second part will be devoted to the BBC and Orientalism and will survey some of the major names in Orientalism and also major topics that are of interest to them. The third part consists of an examination of some of the material published in these magazines and apply content analysis on them.

Menon Nandagopal: Debating Islam in a Pluralistic Society

Islam and its followers cannot take criticism, claims one widely-prevalent, mass media-created notion. Not only that, Muslims frequently react with intolerance and/or resort to violence whenever the sacred figures or precepts of their religion are criticised or, worse, made fun of. The Danish cartoons crisis once again brought to the fore this strain of intolerance inherent in Islam, it is alleged. This paper challenges the stereotype of an "intolerant Islam" by drawing attention to a unique and vibrant tradition of recorded public debates between Sunni Islamic groups from the Indian state of Kerala. The recordings, made available to ordinary Muslims at cheap rates in video compact discs (VCDs), are produced and marketed by the groups themselves. Conducted in the local language of Malayalam, this genre of public debates is noteworthy for at least two reasons – it differs from the traditional Islamic sermon (khutba, which is essentially a monologue) and occurs in a milieu of inter- and intra-religious pluralism (in a Hindu majority region, which also has a sizeable Christian presence; and with four major Sunni groups vying with each other to retain or gain adherents). The debates usually deal with the sources of the faith (e.g., is the Qur'an, and not the Hadith and other writings, the one and only authentic guide to Islamic life?) and ritualistic practice (e.g., is devotion to Sufi saints Islamic/un-Islamic etc.). In fact, even the meaning and interpretation of an "unquestionable" cornerstone of the faith – the concept of "tawheed" (the unity of God, as expounded in the fundamental qur'anic creed la ilah illa'llah) – is debated in public. Inter alia, the debates suggest one fact: Faith (and its tenets) is no longer a secure reality; it is constantly contested and to be protected against critical onslaught not only from non-Muslims, but also from adversaries who swear allegiance to the same creed and its traditions. Islam

being the religion of “right practice”, such public debates mean that at issue is the dispute over a few central questions – What is “true” Islam? Who defines it? On what basis (i.e., topics of textual or clerical authority)? In Kerala, as each group claims to have a monopoly over the “truth” and criticises others who also claim to represent the “truth”, debates invariably result in the near disintegration of a monolithic, coherent category of “Islam”. More important, the method of “immanent critique” employed in the debates undermines Orientalist and mass media-generated ideas of an Islam intolerant of criticism and debates.

Muzayin Nazaruddin: Islam Representations in Religious Electronic Cinemas in Indonesia

The contemporary of Islamic revival in Indonesia shows many phenomena that are fragmented, separated and sometimes contradictory. For example, the growing of Islamic fundamentalism groups, Islamic education models and institutions, political parties which campaign Islam as its ideologies, or the rise of Islamic mass media (magazine, radio and television). One of these interesting phenomena was the booming of new genre of Indonesian electronic cinema since 2005, later on named “religious electronic cinema”. Straightaway, this new genre had a huge number of loyal lovers, occupied the prime time of Indonesian televisions. At the end of 2007, some of these religious electronic cinemas were still holding out in the prime time position. Indonesian electronic cinemas clearly represent Islamic symbols, the actor and actress wear Islamic cloths, reciting holy Quran, praying and others. The exact one, audiences watch them as “Islamic electronic cinemas”. In front of the audiences, these religious electronic cinemas represent Islamic teaching and values. So, the important question is “how is Islam represented by these religious electronic cinemas?” Answering this question, author approaches this phenomenon using Roland Barthes’s semiotic analysis. Author selectively watched some title of these religious electronic cinemas seriously, taking note and analyze using semiotic perspective. This study concludes some important points that are not related each other, fragmented and sometimes contradictory: 1). Islam looks at something in “black and white” views, 2). Islam permits violence as the problem solving, 3). Islam is full of superstitions, 4). Islam is traditional and irrational religion, 5). For Muslim, the death is terrifying, 6) Islam has cruel ways to punish any faults, 7). Women is source of sins and social problems, 8). For Muslim, repenting and asking God for forgiveness is very easy. 9). Teacher and social leader of Islam – called “kyai” or “ustad” has double face: very kind, but use violence to solve the problems.

Panel 18: Islam and the New Media

6 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A113

Chair: Deepa Kumar

Amira Halperin: The Use of the New Media by Islamist Groups in the Diaspora – Hamas Movement's Websites as a Political Communication Tool

Internet consumption in the Muslim world has increased significantly in recent years, and the Internet has become a prominent medium. Following Hamas's landslide victory in 2006 elections and its takeover of the Gaza Strip in June 2007, the Palestinian media became one of the most important factors for the main factions of the Palestinian Authority in their battle to gain political legitimacy. My research promotes knowledge of the Internet and international political Islam. More specifically, my interest is in the use of the Internet by Islamist movements to achieve political goals, and the audience response. I discuss the internet as political communication. Hamas uses its websites as a political vehicle and for news distribution. The websites' content can not be separated from the offline environment of the movement. It reflects Hamas's and the Palestinian people's political life, and main issues of concern relating to daily life. Hamas ascribes the media a very important role – the movement has built up a network of media properties- including websites, newspapers, magazines and television and radio stations; though, the prominent medium used by the movement is its websites. Hamas creates and uses a complex infrastructure of websites as a political vehicle and for news distribution. There are over 20 leading websites in 8 languages. Hamas uses different languages in order to reach a global audience. The content and design of each website is different, according to the target audience. Using different languages enables Hamas information campaign to reach audiences beyond the Arab world.

Mohd Faizal Kasmani: Dakwah and the Internet

Johnson and Scoggins (2005) in their preliminary quantifiable assessment on Islamic dak'wah stated that there are approximately 141, 630 da'wah groups that engage in foreign mission in 2005. One of the most conspicuous elements of the assessment is more than half of the groups choose internet as part of their medium for da'wah activities. The adoption of this globalization technology by Islamic da'wah groups means one thing; the outreach for da'wah is becoming more globalised. The internet has inevitably changed the face of Islamic da'wah (Racius, 2004). The concept of preacher in Islam (da'ei) for example, has been transformed by the nature of internet as globalised media. Almost anyone with knowledge on Islam and internet could create their own website and join the online da'wah community. The information distributed by da'ei through cyberspace can be accessed by millions of internet users who are coming from different religious belief and backgrounds. Not only that, information on Islam could be disseminated through so many ways from electronic mail, chatting application, to online and video conferencing. This has made the impact

of Islamic information placed on internet so pervasive. Almost any internet users could access the information on Islam, deliberately or accidentally, just from a click of a button. This paper is going to discuss several issues and challenges pertaining to Da'wah on the internet. First, is in terms of the content of da'wah. Most of literature on da'wah emphasize on the concept of wisdom where knowledge and content of da'wah is imparted based on the target group (Ab Aziz, 2001, p. 83). However that perspective of looking at da'wah content might be relevant in the context of conventional way of preaching which is in a form of person-to-person process. But with the internet, where the information is widely distributed to vast amount of audience, a more precise demarcation on the content of da'wah is imperative. Second is in terms of the method of da'wah. Since the net is also a many-to-many communication, the personalized concept of da'wah which has been widely espoused by Islamic scholar would requires a major re-conceptualization. The method of leading through example by the preacher and executing da'wah based on the target group, which has been discussed before become almost irrelevant in the world of internet.

Seyed Khodayar Mortazavi & Siavosh Naderi Farsani: The Media and Unbiased Reporting

The media has the unique and often gruelling responsibility of reporting fair and unbiased news stories. This makes the role of the media as informer and educator to the world public a crucial one, particularly when they are reporting to an audience about some concepts that may accidentally have some negative and even opposite equivalents in other cultures. In this paper we show how west media in general and Its internet sites in particular have been representing Islam in a biased way as a religion producing violence mainly due to the fact that western journalists could not differentiate between two concepts such as "Terrorism" and "Jihad". Had they the ability to decode these two different concepts from a deep stance such as that of worldview, they would not have employed the word "Jihad" as frequent as the word "Terrorism". Thus this paper not only will highlight this ignorance but it tries to show the differences between these two not equivalent concepts.

Panel 19: Islam and the Multiculturalism Debate

6 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A114

Chair: Salman Al-Azami

Vincent Crone: Dutch Current Affairs Television Shows on Islam, Terrorism and Integration: The Multicultural Debate

The role of the Islam is prominent in the discussion about the changing societies in Western Europe. Criticism aimed at the incompatibility of the Islam with Western culture grew after the terrorist attacks by Muslim extremists in the United States in 2001, in Madrid in 2004, and in London in 2005. Because of these events, the discussion about the multi-ethnic society in Western Europe not only evolves around Terrorism, Islam, and the preservation of a national identity. But also the ideal of multiculturalism: The political desire to accommodate any number of distinct cultures within one society without prejudice or discrimination. The reports in the media on these concerns contributed to the course of the debate in several Western European countries. In my research, I will examine Current affairs television shows from the Netherlands, such as Netwerk, EenVandaag and Nova, in which these social changes are described and commented on. Based on a discourse analysis, I will describe how truth and meaning of Islam, terrorism and integration are constructed in these Current affair television shows. It will make clear how these articulations played a role in the changing ideas about a multicultural Dutch society and national identity.

Andrea Meuzelaar: Angry Muslim Mobs on Dutch Television: the Rushdie Affair Before and After the Murder of Theo van Gogh

This paper will present part of my PhD project, entitled *Disclosing the Archive: the Representation of Islamic Migration and the (Re)construction of Multicultural Identities on Dutch Television*. This thesis examines how Dutch television has generated specific discourses on Islamic immigrants in the Netherlands and has shaped imaginations of its multicultural society. In this paper I will present a case-study of the representation of the Rushdie affair on Dutch television. It will trace the Rushdie affair through the Dutch audiovisual archive and will examine how the discourse has evolved. I will compare the way the affair was represented and addressed on television at the time, in 1989, to the way current historical programmes, made after September 11th and the murder of Theo van Gogh, look back at the affair retrospectively. I will analyse how archival images of the Rushdie affair have been reused and recontextualised in recent television programmes and I will examine how those archival images are now supporting a polarized discourse on Islam that is characterized by stereotyping, clash-of-civilization thinking, and monolithic conceptualization. My paper will argue that the contemporary discourse on the Rushdie affair reflects the current political debates on Islam in Dutch society. My aim is to shed new light on the changing perspective on Islam in the Netherlands as well as to contribute to contemporary archive and media theory.

Paul Nesbitt-Larking & Catarina Kinnvall: Representing Islam and Muslims: The Challenges of Essentializing the Essentializers

In this paper we discuss the challenges involved in representing Islam and Muslims in public and academic discourses. To what extent are media and those involved in the creation of public images essentializing Islam and Muslim identity constructions in Western Europe and Canada? To what extent are Muslim minority communities in these societies involved in such essentialization of identity? How can we as academics take a critical approach to tendencies to essentialize identity by group leaders at the same time as we attempt to avoid essentializing the essentializers? In this paper we take a comparative approach and discuss how different multicultural policies in western Europe and Canada have had various success in escaping essentialization of Islam and Muslims in response to 9/11 and the so-called 'war on terror'. In particular we argue that that practices of multiculturalism and integration in both Canada and Sweden have opened the way to a somewhat more reflexive and less essentialized range of possibilities for political identity formation than in other places (owing to history, culture and political economy). We also discuss our own research-based ways of attempting to avoid essentializing the essentializers. This we do through the use of empirically-grounded but open and complex classifications of essentialism, retreatism, and engagement and by insisting that the classifications are about majority as well as minority populations. Here we are especially concerned with integrating postcolonial approaches to hybridity and complexity with socio-psychological approaches to identity formation and identity change.

Antonius Rachad: Representing Muslims and Arabs in Canadian Newspapers

The public debate in 2007 in the predominantly French-speaking Province of Quebec, Canada, was almost monopolized by the theme of 'reasonable accommodation', i.e. the adjustments that must be made to accommodate new immigrants and religious minorities. The media played a crucial role in this debate, transforming minor issues into crises, and focusing specifically on Muslims. We formulate the hypothesis that while local issues determined what was at stake, the images and the words with which such local issues were discussed were provided by the international context. In discussing international issues, we will seek to identify how the notions of 'irrationality' and 'hatred' are used as explanatory factors for the behaviour of political Arab and Muslim actors, paving the way for the development of what we have called elsewhere a 'respectable' racism. In order to discuss these issues, we will examine the representation of Arabs and Muslims in five newspapers (four French-language and one English-language papers). Articles will cover the full year 2007, but we will also illustrate the trends with examples taken from previous years. Separate analyses will be made for the various sections of the papers, and local issues will be examined separately from international issues. The descriptive part will seek to determine the issues that are raised when talking about Arabs and Muslims, and the ways in which they are discussed. We use two complementary approaches: a grid of analysis that is applied to each text individually, and computerized methods that use text analysis software.

Panel 20: Translating Islam and the Quran

6 Sep, 11:00 - 12:30, Room A104

Chair: Mona Baker

Luai Hayajneh: The Translation of Stock Expressions Involving Allah

This study was prompted by the confusion resulting from the Egypt Air Flight 990 (Boeing 767-366ER) in 1999 concerning the relief first officer's utterance: "tawakkaltu 'ala llah" (Lit. I rely on Allah) just seconds before the plane crashed. The study deals with the translation of similar Arabic expressions into English where a reference to Allah (God) is made, such as: wahhidu llah ('Say that Allah is one'), ya'hl llah ('Oh! People of Allah'), 'in ša' allah ('if Allah permits'), 'in rad allah ('if Allah wants'). The study takes as its data the use of such expressions in two novels by Nobel Prize winner Najeeb Mahfouz. It examines the hypothesis that during translation process, the literal meaning of the individual words and the conventional idiomatic meaning for such expressions are not of that importance when compared with the contextual or conversational meaning. It examines the translatability of expressions like tawakkaltu 'ala llah with an eye to exposing the options available to the translator in terms of translation equivalence. Special attention is given to the dichotomy of form and function in the process of translating. To do this, tawakkaltu 'ala llah-like expressions are divided into semantically translated and pragmatically translated categories. They are also subcategorized according to the speech-act functions they play in language, such as: request, affirmation, promising, leave-taking, dissatisfaction, and supplication. The findings show that problems in translating such expressions are attributed to the difficulties in distinguishing pragmatic imports from semantic ones.

Catherine Moir: The Bible, the Quran and the Question of Translatability: A Comparative Study of the Representation of Religion Through Translation

This paper deals with the question of how, through the translation of its sacred text(s), a religion and the related religious community interact with one another and those outside the faith community. The question of "translatability" is central to the representation of Christianity and Islam through their sacred texts, the Bible and the Quran respectively (although there are other holy texts, particularly in the case of Islam, the research focus is on these two texts). The "success" of Christianity can in no small measure be attributed to the fact that scriptural translation is a fundamental tradition, the Bible reputedly the most translated text in history, whereas the "success" of Islam has been in the inimitability of the Quran and thus the "export", for religious purposes at least, of the holy language, Arabic, across most of the Islamic world. However, in today's multilingual, multipolar world, religious understanding, tolerance and, perhaps most importantly, debate is of increasing importance. The Quran can be seen as the textual flagship of Islam, as can the Bible for Christianity. How long can the paradoxical situation, whereby the Quran is doctrinally seen as "untranslatable",

yet Quranic “commentaries” and “interpretations” abound in English, as well as many other languages, endure? Is not the perceived inaccessibility to the Quran representative of a perceived inaccessibility to Islam? Translation can be a bridge between cultures and faiths, it can encourage dialogue and debate, but it can therefore also bring about religious change – can the Quran faithfully represent Islam in a tongue other than Arabic? Can the translation of a religious text be a meaningful representation of the faith community? These are the salient questions which this paper aims to address, by comparing issues past, present and future in Bible and Quran translation.

Abdelkader Senkadi: Ethnocentrism and the Translation of the Quran: Ignorance of the Others in the Target Language

No one denies that throughout the different steps of shaping his social identity, Man is to identify himself by distinguishing it from the Others, and then to shape their identities and translate them. Exchanging ideas and thoughts regardless the different tongues used has never been, for translators, a perfect task to be proud of. Translation is a finicky job as it has not yet been reduced to strict scientific rules. Such fussy duty is marked by the existence of Ethnocentric Translators who have always been considered as fingers of suspicion. A good example is the translation of some sensitive scriptures as the Quran. Aiming to minimize intercultural conflicts, or to achieve some ethnocentric scheduled desiderata, some translators focus on the target interlocutors, the consumers of the target language and not on the source ones. Discussing the matter within the Islamic various sources, a good example to mention is the Shia and the Sunna. Some translators, from both sides, when translating and interpreting some verses of the Quran, such as “Allah recommended you to kill a cow” it has been interpreted as “The mother Aicha”, on the other side, the Caliphs Omar and Abou baker have been interpreted as: The Moon and the Sun; stated in surrah of “Arahman”. Another vision, El Kadyania, a movement that is some how known today within the British public, states that the Imam el Mehdi, is their spiritual leader. And, finally a “woman” translation of the Qu'ran achieved by Bakhtiar, an American–Iranian woman has brought a new vision and interpretation - purely female ! - and this is due to her interpretation of the verse “bit them (omen)” as to leave them! This paper attempts to fathom the undergoing extent of the social representations of the others in the target interpretation of the meaning of the Quran, and to foster adjusting effective communication across-cultures and religions by simply recognizing the others.

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