the lack of Muslim voices or interaction with the media that causes misrepresentation of Muslims to occur.

A related recommendation to civil society is to interact and seek training from organisations and academics that have a shared understanding about the structural issues involved. It is also important that organisations and activists target the way politicians, the judiciary and security and law enforcement agencies use the media.

## Self-Renewal: Personnel and Product

In the wake of the Macpherson report's lambasting of institutional racism, the then BBC Director-General Greg Dyke claimed the organisation was 'hideously white'. In 2001 the union Bectu went further and claimed British television was institutionally racist (Doward and Wazir, 25 August, 2002).

The authors, here and previously, argue that this is not simply a question of personnel and ensuring that the faces of media institutions are more diverse. Representation in the media is both an issue of the substance of how and what is reported, whether fictionalised or variously portrayed, and as a matter of the demographic profile of those who work in the media. As Hoskote (2007 in ed. Merali, 2008) notes:

> "The tendency to reduce Islam's richly variegated tradition to... bigotry ... and violence..., the reflex of picturing it as a breeding-ground for fire-breathing ayatollah and kamikaze martyrs, obscures the fact that Islam was - for nearly a millennium – a vibrant cultural framework that linked South and West Asia with North Africa and West Europe, synthesising Arab, Greek, Persian, Indian, Turkish, Mongol and Chinese influences. During this millennium, civilization was embodied by the House of Islam (with its emphasis on the illumination urbane sophistication, learning, geographical mobility, and a mercantile economy)..."

That tendency to reduce can only be tackled through serious reassessment of how representation is produced. It is not enough (though much needed) to simply refrain from negative stereotyping. There has to be the enrichment of representation that humanises all subjects, and in the cases of out-groups like Muslims, this can only come from the presentation of the idea of a 'House of Islam' that has historical context and civilisational meaning. As a male respondent from Rainham expressed it:

... a proper appreciation [must] be made of Muslim contribution to society and historically in science and fighting for Britain in World War 2.

This does not mean that Muslims and indeed Muslim history must not be challenged or critiqued, but that can only be done when there is (a) multiple levels of representation of the outgroup including its histories, as well as (b) the levelling of the playing field in terms of interaction with the media. It is of no use claiming that free speech prevails when media production represents only certain ethnos, religions and class groupings to the exclusion of groups who cannot respond to or create a media with reach and the same audience.

The authors refer to their reference to the US Kerner Report (1967), which will be quoted here in part, which identified the issue of personnel and product. As has been noted elsewhere, at times the issue is portrayed as something that would be remedied if only there were a representative 'amount' of minority faces working within media organisations, without looking at how such measures can simply reproduce the same problem. The Kerner Report's recommendations are used as a basis for this report's recommendations below, in part because they still apply, as Gonzalez and Torres (2011) state, with respect to the subject of racist representation and its impact in general.

The racialisation of Muslims makes these recommendations pertinent to communities like Muslims in the UK (as well as the US, where the authors first cited these in Ameli et. al. 2013). The media needs to:

• (Adapted from Kerner, 1967) Expand coverage of Muslim community affairs and of race and Islamophobia problems

through permanent assignment of reporters familiar with the issues around these affairs, and through establishment of more and better links with the Muslim community. The Muslim community is a diverse one, and the media needs to engage with that diversity and not promote or rely on sensationalist or apologetic voices that simply help propagate deeply held negative ideas.

- Integrate Muslims and Muslim activities into all aspects of coverage and content, including newspaper articles and television programming. The news media must publish newspapers and produce programmes that recognise the existence and activities of Muslims as a group within the community and as a part of the larger community (adapted from Kerner, 1967). Ameli et al (2004a and 2007) emphasise the idea that a dual space for minorities is essential for any society to foster a sense of citizenship among minorities. To do this, a space for minorities to call their own is essential and a media that is supported in the conceptual sense by dominant society is essentially a part of that. Likewise, the mainstream media must also show as a norm that Muslims are an integral part of society.
- Recruit more Muslims into journalism and broadcasting and promote those who are qualified to positions of significant responsibility. Recruitment should begin in high schools and continue through college; where necessary, aid for training should be provided.
- Accelerate efforts to ensure accurate and responsible reporting of news concerning Muslims and all minorities through adoption by all news gathering organisations of stringent internal staff guidelines.
- Cooperate in the establishment of and promotion of any existing privately organised and funded independent institute(s) to train and educate journalists in Muslim affairs, recruit and train more Muslim journalists, develop methods for improving police-press relations, review coverage of Muslim related issues, and support continuing research in these fields.