

Covered?

Unraveling Damaging News about Islamic Fashion
and How Journalists Can Write More Responsibly

Molly Bullock

University of Missouri

Covered?

Unraveling Damaging News about Islamic Fashion
and How Journalists Can Write More Responsibly

This textual analysis of news about Islamic fashion seeks insight into the ways news outlets portray Islamic fashion and make meaning through stories. One purpose of this study is to research how textual elements dehumanize and de-legitimate Muslim interests in coverage of Islamic fashion. A second purpose of this study is to research how Muslims and Islamic fashion are portrayed as the self or the *other*, an undesirable outsider defined as separate from a more acceptable insider, in news about Islamic fashion.

Muslim women hold a variety of diverse beliefs about whether or how their religion calls them to dress. Some women cover up completely, and others ostensibly follow no religious guidelines on attire. Islamic clothing is an object of heated scrutiny in some societies. However, this study targets news about the Islamic fashion industry rather than about issues surrounding Islamic clothing.

This study offers insight into how news outlets across the world report on Muslims and Islam by examining coverage of Islamic fashion from media based in predominantly Muslim countries and media based in non-Muslim-majority countries. Fashion, a distinct aspect of culture and society, is a means of self-expression and an outward display of values and interests. As a cultural news topic, it can be portrayed responsibly or with devices that create divisions.

Literature Review

Othering and De-legitimation

Media representations of Muslims and Arabs and *othering* and de-legitimation have been examined previously in scholarly work. Said's (1997) well-known concept of Orientalism underlies much of this research. Orientalism is an oversimplified way of thinking about and responding to Islam that has prevailed for several centuries. In Orientalist thought, most of the world's area comprises the Oriental *other*. The rest, called the West or the Occident, is conceived of as normal and relating with the self (p. 4).

Woehlert (2006, pp. 3, 12, 5) and Creutz-Kämppi (p. 297-298) describe *othering* as the process of differentiating the *other* from the self. This includes accentuating certain traits, values and norms to craft a particular worldview and a sense of imagined collective identity. The imagined identity grows more distinctive when contrasted with that which it is not (Creutz-Kämppi, p. 298). Constructions of the self and the *other* vary across cultures (Karim, 2010, p. 161). Karim writes that *others* viewed as a threat to a culture's existence will generally be regarded with hostility and, possibly, attempts to eliminate the threat (p. 162).

Creutz-Kämppi describes *otherness* as distinctive from difference in that *othering* constitutes calculated disempowerment while descriptions of difference are merely explicatory (p. 297). Scholars have argued that, through repeated use of *othering* or racist language in media, such language becomes normalized and ingrained in societies, shaping the lenses through which issues and people are viewed (Creutz-Kämppi, p. 295; Steuter & Wills, p. 20).

Muscata highlights dehumanizing and *othering* representations of Iraqis in an essay about the political and media environment of the Gulf War. In Western media coverage of the war, "Iraqis became a scourge, a pestilence to be removed," Muscati observes (p. 132). Muscati also

notes the omission, or “dehistoricization,” of Arab and Islamic history in Gulf War coverage in favor of oversimplified and stereotypical accounts (pp. 135-136).

Creutz-Kämppi studies constructions of Muslims as the *other* through analysis of Swedish-language daily newspaper articles in Finland. She argues that a broader sense of shared European or Western identity is central to distinguishing the self from the Muslim *other* in Finland’s Swedish-language coverage of Islam (p. 299). The sample involves seven papers’ opinion journalism about Muslims and Islam during the Prophet Muhammad cartoon debate from parts of 2005 and 2006. Using qualitative and quantitative methods of discourse and rhetorical analysis and coding, Creutz-Kämppi focuses on how the material creates a polarized notion of Islam as an antithesis to the West.

Although she finds some arguments against polarization and discrimination, Creutz-Kämppi finds that the coverage pays little attention to Islam’s nuance, diversity and European history (p. 296). With this observation in particular, Creutz-Kämppi evokes the work of Muscati. She also finds a particular emphasis on religion even when other story elements were more significant. This is called religionization (pp. 296, 299). The *othering* discourses Creutz-Kämppi finds to be recurring in the text involve colonialism, violence, the clash of civilizations and secularization.

The discourse of violence Creutz-Kämppi identifies involves religionization, or causal linking of violence to the religious and cultural elements of Islam and grouping Muslims together as being a collective threat or as having natural inclinations toward violence (p. 299). Creutz-Kämppi finds that the colonialist discourse portrays Islam and Muslims as culturally deficient compared to the West and in need of correction. It draws upon the themes of the Enlightenment, as does the secularist discourse (p. 301). The secularist discourse expresses hostility toward

Islamic religiosity while glorifying the secular freedoms and values of the West (p. 302). Finally, the clash of civilizations discourse reflects the ideas perpetuated by Samuel P. Huntington's 1993 and 1996 works suggesting a dichotomous cultural or religious battle of Islam versus the West (p. 303).

Mahony (2010) studies *othering* in a comparative content analysis of discourse and framing in Australian and Indonesian newspapers following 2002, 2004 and 2005 bombings in Indonesia. Mahony finds that the Australian coverage lacks important perspective and contextual details (p. 744). She also finds that the Australian news does not reflect the diversity of Islam in Indonesia and that it disproportionately includes extremist Muslim voices (pp. 744-745).

Mahony finds the individual Australian stories to appear journalistically sound at first glance (p. 745). However, when she examines the coverage closely as a whole, she finds that "cultural racism permeates Orientalist images of Indonesians and Muslims ... albeit largely in a covert manner" (pp. 754-755). A blanket, "Muslim terrorist" stereotype takes shape in the coverage (p. 755). In contrast, Mahony finds the Indonesian news to separate terrorism from Islam and generally exemplify responsible journalism. Distinguishing violence from religion reflects "an orientation towards peace journalism," which "can minimize negative constructions of the largely peaceful religion of Islam," Mahony writes (p. 755).

In a study about disempowerment in journalistic constructions, Steuter and Wills examine Canadian print headlines related to the War on Terror. They survey headlines about the Iraq and Afghanistan wars from 2001 to 2009 that include metaphors relating to diseases and animals. Steuter and Wills note that the metaphors feed off of human anxieties and include references to rats, spiders, insects and other widely feared creatures that scurry, spawn and swarm; to disease

agents that metastasize; and to hunting and prey (pp. 13-17). They find that the Canadian media's metaphors portrayed Muslims and Islam as "an enemy-Other who is dehumanized, de-individualized and ultimately expendable" (p. 8).

Steuter and Wills emphasize that language like the above metaphors constitutes violence, and that its frequent use desensitizes people to violence (p. 20). Traversing the same line of thought as Muscati, Steuter and Wills argue that the headlines' generalizing treatment of Muslims and Arabs facilitates a "discourse of essential, hostile difference," with the potential result being rationalizing their eradication (p. 9). Highlighting the link between enemy dehumanization and genocide, Steuter and Wills liken this phenomenon to the representations of Jews by the Nazis, the Japanese by the U.S. and the Tutsis in Rwanda (pp. 18-19). This connection is similar to Karim's stance on *othering*.

Steuter and Wills find the dehumanization of Muslims and Arabs by Canadian media to be so substantial that it has become a broadly ingrained cultural frame of reference (p. 9). They argue that such denial of human identity enables the denial of other traits, like citizen identity, as in their example of the societal shift toward conceiving of Canadian Muslims as less than fully Canadian (p. 9).

Poole (2002) also studies the *othering* of Muslims in the news. She conducts a quantitative content analysis of coverage of Muslims and Islam from 1994 to 1996 by two British papers. Poole also qualitatively analyzes coverage of Muslims and Islam from 1997 by four British papers. In addition, she conducts focus groups to study how social construction of meaning from news occurs within cultures. She conducts discourse analysis with the transcripts. Poole finds that Orientalist notions pegging Muslims as a threat are continually recycled in response to changing circumstances and that a distinct enemy *other* is constructed using

meanings connected with Islam (p. 16). Poole argues that the continual definition and identification of an enemy *other* increases the public's awareness of that *other* and can be used to suit hegemonic powers (p. 16).

Dabbous and Miller (2010) highlight the politicization of international news in their qualitative framing analysis of disaster coverage by three Arab newspapers. Focusing on Hurricane Katrina and the 2004 Asian Tsunami, they examine the disasters' initial two weeks of coverage by the Lebanese *Annahar*, Saudi *Arriyadh*, and Syrian *Teshreen*. They look at focus, emphasis and omission, as well as reflections of governmental politics. Dabbous and Miller seek to learn how these framing elements affect the overall portrayal of the disasters. They also conduct a content analysis, with the papers' political agendas as an independent variable, and word count and story placement as dependent variables.

Dabbous and Miller discuss two prominent frames – a political crisis frame and a natural disaster frame – in the coverage (p. 1). They find the outlets' political circumstances and access to the disaster locations, as well as the media systems in which the papers were embedded, to be factors shaping coverage (p. 1). Pointedly, Dabbous and Miller note that the result of the bias is inequity in the disaster victims' representation, with tsunami victims subject to a natural disaster and apparently more worthy of sympathy, and Katrina victims as subject to a more politicized disaster brought on by man (p. 25). Dabbous' and Miller's de-legitimation finding is useful for the present study because it shows how bias can make some groups or interests appear less desirable.

As part of Columbia University's Muslims in New York City project, Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2007) quantitatively and qualitatively study how news outlets in New York City, the greater U.S. and across the world have covered Muslim Americans and Muslims abroad prior to

9/11 and after 9/11. They find that immediately after 9/11, written and spoken coverage of Muslims becomes generally more positive than before, shifts from largely episodic news to largely thematic news and uses more Muslims as sources (pp. 17-20). However, the researchers find that coverage from around the first anniversary of 9/11 and after reverts to some of the unfavorable pre-9/11 characteristics, including criticism and negativity directed at Arab and Muslim communities and lack of context and balance (pp. 26-28). They also find negative, stereotype-reinforcing slants in visual images of Muslim and Arab men and women (p. 51).

Additionally, Nacos and Torres-Reyna explore news about the torture controversy surrounding the detainment of the mostly Muslim and/or Arab terror suspects. They find that the counterterrorism, pro-torture stance dominates the news before the Abu Ghraib story breaks. After that point, the news media make seldom use of the word “torture” except while citing authoritative sources, namely, U.S. officials who deny the country’s involvement with torture (pp. 82-86).

Responsible Reporting

Schnellinger and Khatib (2006) offer recommendations for journalists, news outlets and organizations trying to diminish bias and cross-cultural misrepresentations in their reporting. These guidelines are based on a 2005 conference that brought together Arab and American journalists. They suggest choosing adjectives with caution, becoming more informed about the roles of religions and cultures in societies, and giving stories context and detail rather than reverting to sensationalist reporting or stereotypes (pp. 16-17). Schnellinger and Khatib also recommend including diverse voices; humanizing people affected by the issues being reported; and covering culture using high-quality, diverse news and features (pp. 17-18). Other

suggestions include outlining and creating policies for loaded language such as “terrorism” and collaborating in news production with reporters from other countries (pp. 19, 21, 24-25).

Theoretical Foundation

The theory of the social construction of reality serves as the foundation for this study. The basic premise of this theory is that reality is constructed in a social context. It is the task of the “sociology of knowledge” to study this process, according to Berger and Luckmann (2011). The authors define “reality” as a quality that applies to whatever we acknowledge as existing regardless of whether we will it to exist. They define “knowledge” as the certainty that something is real and has specific traits (Introduction section, para. 1).

Berger and Luckmann set up the theory by first discussing the broader sociology of knowledge, a term that, according to the authors, originated in the 1920s with German philosopher Max Scheler (Introduction section, para. 7). Notions of reality and knowledge vary across social contexts, and Berger and Luckmann argue that this must be considered as part of any evaluation of a social context (Introduction section, para. 4). This is the authors’ justification for a sociology of knowledge.

Having established the need for such a science, Berger and Luckmann elaborate on how this school of research should work. Sociology of knowledge should, according to the authors, address the variation in knowledge across societies. It should also examine the ways knowledge embeds as reality in societies (Introduction section, para. 4, final para.). The approach must delve into how knowledge is “developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations ... in such a way that a taken-for-granted ‘reality’ congeals for the man in the street” (Introduction section, para. 5). This is the process that the authors call the social construction of reality.

Berger and Luckmann note that a critical part of the social construction of reality is humans' use of signs to communicate meaning (Ch. 1.3, *Language and Knowledge in Everyday Life*, para. 3). Language is made up of configurations of signs. Language that transcends space and time and gives meaning beyond the immediate reality and context is called symbolic language. Symbolic language's transcendent themes are called symbols. Symbolic language can summon any reality and introduce it into one's own reality (Ch. 1.3, *Language and Knowledge in Everyday Life*, paras. 9, 10, 11). "Through language," Berger and Luckmann write, "an entire world can be actualized at any moment" (Ch. 1.3, *Language and Knowledge in Everyday Life*, para. 9). Further, language constructs looming symbolic representations that can be summoned and imposed upon everyday life (Ch. 1.3, *Language and Knowledge in Everyday Life*, para. 11). Thus, symbolic language is central to the way people conceive of reality.

By communicating an institutional order and lending validity and normativity to certain meanings, symbolism can serve a legitimating function, according to Berger and Luckmann (Ch. 2.2, *Legitimation*, paras. 1, 2, 5). Legitimation communicates "knowledge" and "values" by stating why something is the way it is and what is desirable or undesirable (Ch. 2.2, *Legitimation*, para. 5).

The theory fits with this study because of its attention to varying social contexts' different conceptions of reality. But the critical aspect of the theory is its focus on the ways these conceptions become ingrained. Media messages are one means of knowledge transmission, and in an increasingly globalized and digitally connected world, media consumers worldwide can be affected by a range of local, regional and international news (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, p. x).

The work of Rahman and Salih (2009) helps to articulate how social contexts can shape media messages and, thus, affect what knowledge gets transmitted. When they contrast Arab

media outlets' post-9/11 coverage of the war in Iraq with coverage by Western media outlets, Rahman and Salih find dramatic differences, such as the Arab media's discussion of colonialism and invasion versus the Western media's talk of liberation (p. 86). They attribute the differences to the unique access Arab outlets had to areas in Iraq and to their different levels of contextual and cultural understanding (pp. 86-88). These different levels of understanding and experience evoke Berger and Luckmann's theory by showing how the different social systems in which media outlets are embedded can shape the information that reaches the public.

Shoemaker and Vos (2009) take these concepts further. The authors argue that the significantly different social contexts of U.S.-based news outlets and outlets based in Arab countries shape news products but that this relationship is complex (p. 106). They describe these different contexts or "social systems" shaping media messages as being comprised of varying "social structures, ideologies, and cultures" (p. 106).

The theory of the social construction of reality and the perspectives of Rahman and Salih and Shoemaker and Vos justify this study's attention to media outlets across different societies. Islamic fashion, a convergence of socio-cultural and religious elements, seems likely to receive different treatment from news organizations in different social contexts.

Islamic Fashion

Karim (2006) writes that Islamic clothing is among a number of "visual signifiers in the transnational media's imaginaries of 'Islamic fundamentalism'" (p. 118). The international media tend to pick up on attire associated with Islam and connect it with Islamic fundamentalism.

Coverage of cultural topics like the fashion industry has value, just as news about conflicts and tragedies is important. If Arabs or Muslims only appear in the news when disaster

strikes or tension is ripe, a one-dimensional and damaging notion develops about these groups (Khouri, 2007, pp. 10-11). So, it is critical to understand how aspects of culture and society appear in the news.

Gökarıksel and Secor (2009) discuss the social and political position of Islamic fashion in Turkey and around the world. The authors write that Islamic fashion places women and their bodies in the midst of international dialogues and controversies about Islam and modernity (p. 7). They argue that the adoption, portrayal and monitoring of Islamic fashion has been a factor in geopolitical power plays, particularly involving veiling controversies in Turkey and Europe (p. 9). Gökarıksel and Secor also note Islamic fashion's inherent give-and-take in terms of Islamic ethics and capitalistic principles (p. 11). Furthermore, they argue that Islamic fashion is grounds for the creation of new conceptions of what it means to be female and Muslim (p. 13).

Jones (2010) analyzes Indonesia's Islamic fashion industry and lifestyle media by studying a monthly Indonesian Islamic fashion and lifestyle magazine called *NooR*. She notes that U.S. and European publications comparable to *NooR* "have struggled to put fashion and Islam comfortably in the same sentence, in part because of the profoundly stigmatized associations of political and racial identity with immigrant Islam in these regions" (p. 102). Intentionally or not, Jones supports the theory of the social construction of reality by attributing *NooR*'s approach to its situation in a Muslim society.

In addition, Jones finds the magazine to reflect, struggle with and play into societal debates about faith and consumption. Of substantial societal concern in Indonesia is the question of whether consumption of fashionable Islamic attire can be harmonious with true inner piety, according to Jones (p. 92). A related conundrum for the country is whether that which has been assigned an economic value can retain its virtuosity (p. 94). Jones also notes that *NooR*'s content

and approach reinforce the centrality of virtuous femininity in “Indonesian anxieties about Islam, even as those anxieties constrain editorial decisions” (p. 112).

Lewis (2010) discusses Islamic fashion coverage in English-language Muslim lifestyle media. Lewis notes the difficulty of featuring fashion in Muslim lifestyle publications because of the question of “what Muslim looks like, or what looks Muslim” (pp. 59, 84). Additional challenges in this realm involve conflicting audience expectations and positions on issues such as modesty (pp. 59, 70). Lewis notes that some Islamic lifestyle publications promote a broad definition of Islamic practices by using “fashion to announce the flexible boundaries of behavior informed by faith” (p. 86). Another strategy she highlights is the use of fashion to show that gender rules can still leave room for style (p. 86). Lewis observes that all of the predominant English-language Islamic lifestyle magazines exhibit an understanding of veiling as a woman’s personal choice (p. 84).

Although such literature exists about Islamic fashion as a social institution and Islamic lifestyle media, it appears there have been no studies of how news media cover Islamic fashion. This topic is unique and largely unexplored.

Research Questions

My research questions are:

RQ1: How do news outlets in Western nations and those in predominantly Muslim countries conceptualize the self and the *other* in news about Islamic fashion?

RQ2: What textual devices do these same news outlets use to de-legitimate or legitimate people, ideologies, fashion and lifestyles in news about Islamic fashion?

Methodology

Textual Analysis

Textual analysis, the method for this project, is a way to study meaning making (McKee, 2003, p. 1). To gain insight into how the media create meaning in coverage of Islamic fashion, the textual elements I consider during my analysis include selection of details, sourcing, word choice, juxtaposition of contrasting concepts, placement of facts within a story and imagery. This list is based on Muscati's discussion of textual devices in which bias might be found (pp. 138-140).

McKee describes post-structuralist textual analysis, which this study utilizes (p. 13). This means I compare the texts without suggesting that some present the absolute truth and others do not (p. 13). Although McKee's conception of post-structuralism seems to shy away from terminology such as "bias," my analysis intentionally makes use of such language (p. 17). The foundation of problematic coverage of Muslims laid out in the literature supports this choice. But I do not, as McKee warns, dismiss texts that appear to contain bias "without engaging with them" because doing so would prevent me from considering how the stories are told and the meanings made through the texts (p. 17).

Exploring the Research Questions

Studying conceptualizations of the self and the *other*, the goal of RQ1, involves looking for what Woehlert (2006, pp. 3, 12, 5) and Creutz-Kämppi (p. 297-298) describe as the process of differentiating the *other* from the self. This includes coverage accentuating certain traits, values and norms to craft a particular worldview and a sense of imagined collective identity.

Studying legitimation and de-legitimation, the goal of RQ2, involves looking for dehumanizing language, as in Muscati and Steuter and Wills; and animal, disease and hunting

metaphors, as in Steuter and Wills. Answering this question also involves looking for suggestions of causality between violence or other negatively charged concepts and Islam, as in Creutz-Kämpfi.

Sampling

Part of the sample originates from a LexisNexis Academic Power Search for stories from the past five years in “Major World Publications” with “Islamic” and “fashion” in the headline. This search, conducted on April 12, 2012, produced 11 non-duplicate stories. Replacing “Islamic” with “Muslim” resulted in eight additional non-duplicate stories. Replacing “Muslim” with “hijab” produced seven non-duplicates.

A wide variety of Western news outlets were among these results, so I narrowed my focus to *The Christian Science Monitor* (U.S.), *The International Herald Tribune* (U.S.), *The Guardian* (London) and *The Globe and Mail* (Canada). The results included two stories from each publication except *The Guardian*, which had four. This made ten stories from media outlets based in Western countries.

This search also produced two stories from news outlets based in predominantly Muslim countries: *The Daily Trust* (Nigeria) and *News Straits Times* (Malaysia). On April 24, 2012, I conducted a LexisNexis Academic Power Search for *Gulf News* (United Arab Emirates) stories from the past five years with “Islamic” and “fashion” in the headline. I added the two results to the sample, making four stories from media based in Muslim-majority countries. More results did not materialize when I searched for stories from Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

Instead, I performed an Advanced News Search on *The Jakarta Post* (Indonesia) website. I searched for “Islamic fashion” in any web category; in the headlines/title; and published from

Jan. 1, 2007, to April 24, 2012. Two usable stories resulted. When I changed the search terms to “Muslim” and “fashion,” five more stories resulted, bringing the total to 11.

On May 3, I searched Factiva for news with “Islamic or Muslim or hijab” and “fashion” in the same paragraph, from Jordan or Lebanon or Turkey or the U.S. The dates were Jan. 1, 2007, to May 03, 2012. I hoped to find stories from smaller news outlets to add some interest and variety, but this was a challenge.

First, I added two applicable stories of 20 non-duplicate results from the *Associated Press* and two of 16 from *The Washington Times* (U.S.), making 14 from Western media. I also added two of the three results from *Asian News International* (India), bringing the total of stories from media in predominantly Muslim countries to 13. Although India is not considered a Muslim country, it has one of the largest Muslim populations in the world.

On October 17, I noticed that several sample stories would not work because they were duplicates or not applicable. For clarity, they are not included in the description above. I replicated my search from May 3 but added Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain and Egypt to the other countries in the location criteria. As I had before, I used “or” between each location. I added one story each from *The International Herald Tribune*, *Plus News Pakistan* and *Bernamea Daily Malaysian News*. This brought the sample size to 15 stories from publications based in largely Muslim countries and 15 stories from outlets in Western countries.

Stories in the sample range from about 200 words to around 1,700 words. Keeping story lengths in mind for the sample helps to avoid the introduction of new variables, such as the brevity and simplicity of a multi-story news bulletin. Keeping the type and source of content

fairly consistent is also important for this reason, so each story originates within the news organization rather than from an outside news service.

Studying and Reporting on the Data

Sampling 30 stories allows me to closely study the texts but not exceed a reasonable workload. With this sample size, I present an educated initial impression of how Western news outlets and media from more Muslim countries cover Islamic fashion. I also make projections about the implications of my findings for broader coverage of Muslim interests in the news. However, the results are not necessarily transferrable for predicting how media outside the sample outlets write about Islamic fashion.

I safeguard credibility in my analysis using Seale's "low-inference descriptors" (1999, as cited in Silverman, 2010, p. 287). Rather than summarizing findings, I discuss the data in vivid detail, using concrete examples instead of inference-laden generalities. Additionally, I achieve dependability and confirmability by subjecting the texts to critical and thorough examination and by addressing exceptional cases and those that deviate from expectations. These methods reflect some of the steps to achieve validity outlined by Silverman, including Mehan's "comprehensive data treatment" (1979, as cited in Silverman, pp. 280-281) and "deviant case analysis" (Silverman, p. 281).

Discussion of Results

Media on each side of the sample construct and portray the self and the *other* using a range of techniques. The same is true for the legitimation and de-legitimation of actors, ideologies, clothing styles and lifestyles. As a whole, media based in non-Muslim-majority countries more frequently use *othering* and de-legitimizing devices in coverage of Islamic fashion. This is what I expected, based on the literature.

On the whole, media from predominantly Muslim countries present a much more thorough, in-depth body of Islamic fashion coverage. Still, their work is not without problematic descriptions and devices.

Constructions of the self and *other*, and legitimation and the reverse, occur variously in subtle, bold, unfortunate, commendable and even embarrassing ways in the sample. The specific textual devices used are illuminated across eight subject areas within the stories: designers, garments and collections, consumers, Islamic standards, combating stereotypes, beliefs about Islamic fashion, culture and animal metaphors. These categories organize my answers to the research questions. The findings naturally fit into these subject areas, despite that I did not initially set out to create such categories.

Designers

Descriptions of fashion designers' work and quotes about their perspectives, goals and inspirations can serve a legitimating function in stories. The treatment of designers can offer cues to readers about boundaries of the self and the *other*. In this analysis, media from Muslim-majority countries emerge on top in coverage of designers, who are normalized and legitimated quite consistently in the stories. Although Western media occasionally follow suit, a few stories come up short by *othering* and even de-legitimizing designers and employees in the Islamic fashion industry.

Media from Predominantly Muslim Countries

A *Bernama Daily Malaysian News* story gives an affirming nod to designers in a description of an Islamic Fashion Festival. A focus on artistry and diversity normalize the designers and their work. The outlet reports that “models sashayed down the catwalk in dazzling

haute couture ... reflecting the experience, background and creative spirit of 10 designers from Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan and United Arab Emirates (UAE)” (2008, para. 4).

A *Gulf News* story even includes the perspectives of fashion students, who are “spreading a message and marking their identity” (Moussly, 2010, Catering to demand section, para. 7). Moussly portrays the students as normal people with legitimate goals. One student in the story explains the multi-faceted significance of Islamic designs: ““As an Arab and Muslim woman I am affected by my culture and religion and I want to spread it to the world,”” she says. ““I want to show the world my message and the beauty in my heritage”” (Catering to demand section, para. 7).

Another student offers her take on designing: ““Fashion is about discovering with style and Islam is about being modest,”” she says (Untapped market section, para. 1).

Similarly, a story from *The Jakarta Post* goes into depth about an Indonesian designer’s background as both a professional and a consumer of Islamic clothing. The glimpse into the designer’s personal outlook and professional perspective normalizes Islamic fashion and people who wear it:

“My marriage was a turning point, when I started wearing Muslim clothing.” ... “At first, I made the clothes to suit my personal needs [Fashion house] Bilqis was born to accommodate my fashion ideas: elegant, trendy, without abandoning Islamic principles.”
(Nugroho Adi, 2011, paras. 10, 12)

Media from non-Muslim-Majority Countries

One story from the *Associated Press* covers a designing duo in a legitimating, normalizing way. The married designers are portrayed as hip, young people with a message (Grieshaber, 2010, paras. 2, 5, 8, 10). Their clothing bears slogans such as, ““Hijab. My right.

My choice. My life,” and the designers have a distinctive purpose in mind, according to the story (para. 1).

“We want to give people food for thought with our clothes and signal that it’s not a contradiction to be a practicing Muslim and to be modern, witty and critical at the same time,” one of the designers says (para. 24).

In contrast, a story from *The Christian Science Monitor* fails to mention a single designer by name and instead describes Islamic fashion industry employees in terms of de-legitimizing and *othering* animal metaphors. The discussion of animal metaphors includes an in-depth look at this story’s use of the device. As a brief example, Jaques writes that “a cluster of tiny women from the design company engulfs [a South African model] to help her dress” (2010, para. 2).

In addition, the only people directly referenced in the story are two foreign models who say that they do not understand Islamic fashion or have never seen it before (paras. 1, 2).

As another example, an otherwise-well-done story from *The Guardian* describes one fashion designer as an “American-born Muslim,” rather than simply an American Muslim (Qureshi, 2012, para. 2). Categorizing someone as “American-born” classifies him as originally from someplace else, despite that being born in America makes one an American. This shows how a writer can, even unknowingly, embed *othering* cues in a text. A reader might not pause on “American-born,” but the message still comes through.

Garments and Collections

Keeping the “fashion” in Islamic fashion also serves a legitimating function. Many media outlets from Muslim-majority countries attend to the specifics: the garments, fabrics, styles and designs. Although this phenomenon far exceeds that seen in the other half of the

sample, the latter is not altogether lacking. Still, problematic descriptions turn up in stories from both sides.

Media from Predominantly Muslim Countries

A story from *The Jakarta Post* features an Islamic fashion designer who bases some of her designs on traditional Korean clothing. The story describes her work in detail, presenting the designs as products worth talking about:

For her tailored, multiple piece outfits, Iva used contemporary colors of light green, shocking blue, yellow. She used contrasting colors for the scarves, dresses and outer layer of the gowns which gave an upbeat effect to her designs.

Iva also used floral motifs, mostly decorating the edge of the outer layer – the cloak.

(Fitri, 2002, paras. 9, 10)

This story also describes the work of a designer who studied industrial engineering (para. 11):

Using various materials like lace, hand-woven cloth, silk, cotton, velvet and chiffon silk, Nuniek experimented with Greek mythology concepts in her clothes, which were in blue, black and fluorescent colors.

Nuniek's ready to wear clothes have symmetric and asymmetric cuts for the skirts, head scarves, dresses and oversized belts. (paras. 12, 13)

Media from non-Muslim-Majority Countries

Although it appears less frequently in the sample stories, Western media displays some degree of attentiveness toward garments and designs. One story from *The Guardian* describes various ways to tie a headscarf and notes that the ideal style depends on the woman's activities.

The “flower hijab wrap” is pretty simple, according to a style blogger in the story (Khaleeli, 2008, para. 6):

“... You tie the scarf behind your head and then bring it over again to tie at the side like a flower.”

As for the question of which headscarf will be the hot trend this autumn, Jana plumps for the “Turkish” style – tied under the chin and wrapped around the neck, which she thinks “signals a return to more grown-up, sophisticated dressing and the end of the summer holidays.” (paras. 6, 7)

This story could benefit from a disclaimer that Islamic fashion is much broader than just headscarves; the same can be said about a number of stories from the Western outlets. However, Khaleeli’s story focuses on headscarves in particular, making this less of an issue. Also, the inclusion of detailed style information transports the story far beyond the realm of reporting on a different form of fashion that an *other* would wear. Khaleeli embraces Islamic fashion as a legitimate, normal interest for sensible people.

Problems on Both Sides

Sometimes, the attention aimed at Islamic garments is a double-edged sword. This is true for media from any country. For instance, a story from *The Jakarta Post* degrades Islamic fashion and builds it up again in the same breath. The story reports that, thanks to the cleverness of one featured designer, “Muslim attire no longer looks monotonous and rigid, suitable only for religious occasions” (Nugroho Adi, 2011, para. 3). Nugroho Adi writes that the designer’s “artistic flair has turned previously loose, unfashionable and detail-lacking Muslim fashion into designs with feminine and classic profiles ...” (para. 3).

Nugroho Adi's purpose here is clearly to legitimate the featured designer. However, the negatively-charged description of Islamic clothing before the designer came on the scene both *others* and de-legitimizes a large swath of the industry. This raises the issue of a journalist's right to have opinions and appropriate ways to color a story with those opinions. Although writers should not be forbidden from including their own perspectives in stories, there are less damaging ways to accomplish this than the approach Nugroho Adi takes. Journalists are entitled to opinions but should weigh their biases before throwing them full-force into a story.

However, this story also includes noteworthy descriptions of the designer's work. Nugroho Adi legitimates the designer and her creations by attending to the fine details of the collections and garments:

Her clothing is characterized by silk adorned with beads, feminine outlines and unfinished material. Tuty often smartens up her designs with creases in the collar, cuffs, chest or upper arms. Mostly in kebaya (traditional long-sleeved blouse) form, her products give an impression of dynamism. (para. 4)

On the other side, a similar problem subtly downgrades a story by *The International Herald Tribune*. In addition to covering transitions in the Islamic fashion scene, the story vividly describes a piece from a designer's collection. But references to some forms of Islamic clothing de-legitimate portions of the market.

Young (2007) notes that the first Tehran Fashion Week isn't limited to "just sober cloaks like the chador," and that shows in Afghanistan exchange "the all-enveloping contours of the burqa for less restrictive looks ..." (para. 18). Also, new conceptualizations of designs are described as a move toward "more practical, individualistic versions ..." (para. 22).

Although these cues are brief and difficult to catch in this 1,755-word story, they alert the reader to a “good fashion, bad fashion” mentality. The polarizing descriptions, however subtle when dispersed across several paragraphs, feed off stereotypes about Islamic attire. Taken collectively, adjectives such as “restrictive,” “sober,” and “all-enveloping” contrast sharply with “more practical” and “individualistic.” Young sends the message that traditional takes on Islamic fashion are an undesirable *other*.

A similar message results from a story by *The Washington Times*. The author describes an Islamic fashion shop as “filled with shapeless floor-length abayas - cloaklike overgarments - made in Kuwait or Turkey” (Duin, 2008, para. 2). This description hints that the *other* is someone from a foreign land who wears foreign clothing. Duin essentially says, “I can’t relate.” The *othering*, negatively charged message is driven home by her commentary on the shop.

“I could not find a price on any of them, and the lone cashier barely spoke English,” she writes (para. 2).

Then, discussing online Islamic fashion options, Duin describes a site that she says has “by far, the classiest wear” (para. 13). She implies here that many of the sites do not offer clothing with much class. Duin also reports that the site’s creators “ditched a lot of Arabic names for English words” (para. 13). “Ditched,” rather than “exchanged” or a similar verb, carries the connotation of something undesirable, in this case Arabic names, being thrown out. These descriptions downgrade Islamic fashion and make Arab culture into a lesser *other*.

Consumers

On the whole, media from Muslim-majority countries paint a much more personal, insightful picture of the women who wear Islamic clothing. Although Western media outlets

have a share in effective coverage of consumers, oversimplifications and sweeping generalizations make some publications look like they just didn't do their homework.

Media from Predominantly Muslim Countries

One *Gulf News* story reports a Lebanese fashion designer's assertion that "women in the Arab world are looking for individuality and uniqueness" when it comes to fashion (Badih, 2010, Market potential section, para. 11). Another *Gulf News* story includes normalizing perspectives on Islamic fashion consumers from the head of a university's fashion department in Dubai.

The department explains that young Muslims are increasingly "wearing western clothing in a layered manner to stay modest yet keep up with fashion trends" (Moussly, 2010, Getting creative section, para. 1).

In the same story, the head of a Dubai textiles and design school says consumers desire fashion that is "cutting-edge and reflects their own artistic and cultural aspirations" (Catering to demand section, para. 6). Both quotes demystify the choice to wear Islamic fashion by making it relatable, approachable and easy to understand.

Similarly, an *Asian News International* story describes the readership of an Islamic fashion magazine as "the educated, fashion-focused woman with disposable income who still believes in wearing the veil" (2012, para. 2). The magazine is for "fashion-conscious Muslim women wearing headscarves," according to the story (para. 1).

These precise descriptions, delivered seamlessly, combat stereotypes and legitimate Muslim women by resisting the tendency to group them into a homogenous lump. Not all Muslim women are fashion-conscious; they do not all wear headscarves; they do not all have disposable income.

On a different note, a story from *The Jakarta Post* addresses a woman's personal choice to wear Islamic clothing and notes that for many women, Islamic clothing "is more of a personal commitment to their religion rather than just a religious 'must'" (Hafiningsih, 2001, Personal commitment section, para. 1). The story also explains how the hajj pilgrimage leads some women to adopt Islamic clothing (Personal commitment section, para. 3). Several women give their takes: "I feel more comfortable and confident wearing tunics and scarves," one woman says (Personal commitment section, para. 4). Additionally, a former actress who switched to Islamic clothing says the choice doesn't bring an end to style: "I like bright colors, I still wear them whenever I like ... It's even easier for me now, as I clearly see the borders of the do's and don'ts in deciding what to wear" (para. 8).

Another story by *The Jakarta Post* features an Islamic designer in Indonesia who only began wearing Islamic clothing in 2000. The designer explains her shifting state of mind and why she decided to make the switch: "To be honest, I was initially reluctant to wear Islamic fashion. I wasn't ready mentally and there was the sense of being old and unsophisticated when wearing Islamic clothes" (Novita, 2009, para. 13).

She was inspired to begin designing Islamic clothing because of the limited designs available to her, according to the story (para. 16). She believes that "a clever woman adjusts her style to match her character and lifestyle, and can look chic and trendy without letting the beauty of the body peek through the clothes," Novita reports (para. 2).

Cumulatively, these quotes offer a wealth of insight into Muslims who choose to cover up. The content reflects depth and complexity and shows that the choice is nuanced and multi-layered. The rich reporting and writing normalizes and legitimates consumers of Islamic fashion.

Media from non-Muslim-Majority Countries

Although riddled with other problems, one story by *The Christian Science Monitor* portrays the audience at an Islamic fashion show in Istanbul as just like any other: “... Cellphones are whipped out to send images to friends,” and “... women wrapped in head scarves whisper to one another other [sic] ardently about the new colors and styles that still uphold traditional Islamic modesty” (Jaques, 2010, para. 2).

This description normalizes the attendees by indicating that they are tech-savvy, fashion-conscious and social. As an added bonus, the explanation of the fashion’s intent further normalizes the industry and legitimates the concerns of its consumers.

In a well-written story about the increasing number of Islamic style websites, *The Guardian* explores ways women and girls approach Islamic fashion. A style blogger in the story gives one take: “Muslim girls are very conscious of the way they dress. When you wear a headscarf you stand out as a Muslim, so what kind of message are you also sending out if you look drab or messy” (Khaleeli, 2008, para. 3).

Khaleeli goes on to explain that older women tend to style their headscarves according to traditions, but younger women are adopting techniques from around the Muslim world in combination with Western clothing (para. 4). Again, the demystifying explanations of ways women think about Islamic fashion normalize those who cover up.

Another story by *The Guardian* takes this a step further by quoting the work of young schoolgirls who are participating in a British Muslim fashion program. In this story, the voices of people who wear Islamic clothing legitimate the choice. An excerpt from a student’s portfolio explains her view of the hijab: “... Women wear the hijab for protection/Not for affection/We have education/And we want an occupation” (Manzoor, 2010, para. 9).

In addition, a story from *The International Herald Tribune* makes note of diversity among consumers of Islamic fashion while educating readers about its parameters. By stating that Muslim women have individual styles just like women of any other faith, the story legitimates them. Also, outlining the basics of Islamic fashion demystifies it. Gooch (2011) reports that “while taste varies greatly among Muslim women, Islamic wear is broadly defined as long-sleeved clothing that hides a woman’s body shape, reaches the ankle and includes a head covering” (para. 6).

On the flipside, some Western coverage of consumers, although possibly well-meaning, might do more harm than good. For example, *The International Herald Tribune* features a Turkish Islamic fashion magazine in a story that treats consumers of Islamic fashion with normalizing but somewhat problematic descriptions.

The magazine’s target audience is “the pious head scarf-wearing working woman, who may covet a Louis Vuitton purse but has no use for the revealing clothing that pervades traditional fashion magazines,” Bilefsky reports (2012, para. 2). At the outlet’s offices, “young women in head scarves sit hunched over Apple computers,” according to the story (para. 4). And Istanbul is described as a place where “hip young women in head scarves, skinny jeans and bright red lipstick throng the more than 80 shopping malls in the city” (para. 7).

These descriptions normalize Islamic fashion consumers and environments where these styles thrive. The story makes women in head scarves sound like any other women. But the descriptions borderline on caricature and take a few too many liberties. In the first description, Bilefsky takes for granted that women who wear Islamic fashion have “no use” for revealing clothing. In reality, some women wear more revealing clothing under their Islamic outerwear. Oversimplifying things in this way is de-legitimizing, as are the campy descriptions.

A story by *The Christian Science Monitor* also falls short of acknowledging diversity and nuance among Muslim women and Islamic fashion. Jaques (2010) writes that at one Islamic fashion show, “models in head scarves parade in floor-length trench coats that Islamic women wear out of doors” (para. 2).

Jaques short-changes readers by describing Islamic fashion as merely “floor-length trench coats” and head scarves. An equivalent account of a Western fashion show might be, “the women wore earrings and coats, which are commonly worn by women when they go outside.” My hypothetical case would not get past the editor of a story about Western fashion. Jaques’ is every bit as insufficient.

Adding to the problems is the assertion that “Islamic women” wear said trench coats “out of doors.” Not all Muslim women wear Islamic clothing. Many wear clothing one would find in any American shopping mall and are indistinguishable from non-Muslims. Furthermore, describing all of Islamic fashion as “floor-length trench coats” overlooks a wealth of rich and varied designs, silhouettes and styles. Finally, “out of doors” oversimplifies the circumstances in which women who cover up do so.

Islamic Standards

Ideological subjects such as Islamic fashion are wide open for the media. Reporters can find voices that make certain standards seem outlandish, or they can highlight perspectives that bring a topic down to earth. Stories on both sides of the sample normalize Islamic guidelines for covering up.

Media from Predominantly Muslim Countries

In a *Gulf News* story, the head of a Dubai university’s fashion department says Islamic standards accommodate “loose-fitting fabrics, embroidery and colours” (Moussly, 2010, Getting

creative section, para. 2). Normalizing the clothing, he names pieces that allow women to “be trendy and wear Islamic fashion” (Getting creative section, para. 1). These include “skirts, jackets, hijabs and business suits for Muslim women” (Getting creative section, para. 1). He also downplays Islamic standards: “Modesty is not that hard to achieve, you just have to redraw the proportions of the body so cuts are not hour glass but mostly A-line” he says (Getting creative section, para. 2).

Additionally, the source also says Muslims are just a segment of the potential market for Islamic fashion. The desire to cover up is common, he says: “There are conservative Christians as well as Jews all over the world and we can cater to all these people” (Catering to demand, para. 1).

Media from non-Muslim-Majority Countries

Similarly, a story from *The Guardian* portrays modesty as a legitimate professional and personal choice for fashion models and others in the industry. The founder of a Muslim modeling agency says in the story that models should not be pressured to abandon their principles. She says that “being modest isn’t just a Muslim concept. Beautiful women who have always wanted to venture on to the catwalk but have declined because of their beliefs now have a chance” (Qureshi, 2012, para. 3).

A modeling agency director also emphasizes the mass appeal of modesty and even portrays it as a potential plus for the fashion industry. He says that “Modesty appeals to millions,” and that “photographers shouldn’t have issues with models who are specific about what they will and won’t do – this could be a great opportunity for very creative shoots” (para. 5).

Along the same lines, a story by *The International Herald Tribune* features an Indonesian designer who takes in stride the challenge of meeting Islamic requirements for his designs. He normalizes Islamic standards by categorizing them alongside all the other tasks in the life of a designer. He says that “designers always face certain limitations, whether they be customers’ proportions or pricing constraints, so meeting Islamic requirements are ‘just one of the challenges,’” (Gooch, 2011, para. 12).

An earlier story by *The International Herald Tribune* also normalizes Islamic standards for fashion. The editor of a women’s Islamic lifestyle magazine narrows the separation between women who choose to cover up and those who do not. Additionally, she offers an eye-opening, alternative way to think about the global fashion market:

“The potential to design for Muslim women and girls and to market to this audience is enormous,” Khan said. “Imagine the clothes you see in most contemporary and popular fashion outlets – Muslim girls and women are buying them and then creatively filling in the gaps. But they would absolutely buy the same clothes with higher necklines, longer hemlines, a more voluminous fit and so on.” (Young, 2007, para.13)

Combating Stereotypes

Content about countering anti-Muslim stereotypes can have the opposite effect if improperly written. Although I find effective coverage of the topic on both sides of the sample, a misstep by a major Western media outlet feeds into an all-too-common misconception.

Media from Predominantly Muslim Countries

In a story by *The Jakarta Post*, a marketing director for the Indonesian government says Indonesian culture is diverse and non-discriminatory. He expresses hope that showcasing Islamic fashion can help “shed the ‘scary’ image of Muslim wear,” according to the story

(Sabarini, 2010, para. 13). He says “the clothes are peaceful, stylish; an image that is not scary.

There’s no boundaries between the one who wears the clothes and other people” (para. 14).

Approaching the subject from this angle, Sabarini acknowledges misunderstandings and ignorance about Islamic fashion without playing into the problem. The alternative perspective on Islamic clothing helps to legitimate and normalize it while fighting stereotypes.

Media from non-Muslim-Majority Countries

A story from the *Associated Press* also helps combat stereotypes by presenting a complex, multi-layered picture of Islamic fashion. The story quotes a designer’s website, which offers what some might consider a paradox:

“In today’s society, it is not easy for a woman to wear a headscarf. Often she is exposed to discrimination and prejudice ... even though from an Islamic point of view, the headscarf is a symbol for women’s liberation from society’s constraints.”

(Grieshaber, 2010, para. 12)

Grieshaber legitimates the choice to cover up by shining light on an Islamic voice usually shut out in societies where Islam is not the norm. The designers’ perspective, although likely a common one among many Muslims, has little traction in the Western world’s oversimplified perception of the headscarf.

Another story from the *Associated Press* also helps to counter stereotypes. At first, the story offers an oversimplified description of the abaya as “an enveloping cloak worn by Muslim women” (Chen Sampson, 2008, para. 1). Not all Muslim women wear the abaya, and many do not even wear a headscarf. “Worn by some Muslim women” would be a more accurate description. However, Chen Sampson features a U.S. fashion instructor who has traveled to Qatar and helps reconcile the issue. She says that “there’s a huge spectrum of how covered or

uncovered [women] are, dependent on family and tradition” (para. 8), and that ““just because the women wear this doesn’t mean they’re oppressed”” (para. 14).

The unique insight of a U.S. fashion student in the story also offers eye-opening perspective. The student reportedly finds it interesting that Muslim women “can wear ‘pants and cute little tops’ underneath and shed their abayas in women-only gatherings” (para. 12).

In contrast, a story by *The International Herald Tribune* seems to make an attempt at counteracting stereotypes but does so using an unfortunate quote. The founder of the Islamic Fashion Festival says he started the event “to show the world that ‘Islam was not just about terrorism,’” Gooch reports (2011, para. 10). Most Muslims around the world would say that Islam is not about terrorism at all. To say the religion is “not just” about terrorism is to say that Islam is about terrorism plus other things. The intent appears to be countering anti-Muslim stereotypes and dissociating Islam from terrorism. This goal would be better achieved by paraphrasing, not quoting, the source.

Beliefs about Islamic Fashion

A broad spectrum of beliefs surround Islamic fashion. News that acknowledges this legitimates the industry as well as the diverse religion related to it. Media from both sides of the sample successfully convey this message.

Media from Predominantly Muslim Countries

A story from *The Jakarta Post* includes an Islamic studies professor’s opinion that, although it is ““really good to see so many women have chosen the right path to be true believers of Islam,”” Muslim women who do not wear Islamic clothing are still Muslims (Hafiningsih, 2001, Personal commitment section, paras. 6, 7). ““We can’t judge people by the extremes,”” he

says (Personal commitment section, para. 8). In addition to reflecting depth and complexity in beliefs about Islamic fashion, Hafiningsih's choice of quotes normalizes the professor.

An *Asian News International* story also shows diversity among Muslim beliefs about the faith-based fashion industry. Some disagree with the concept of an Islamic fashion magazine because they think women should not be on display, the outlet reports. But the magazine's co-creator says this is “not our understanding of Islam ... ” (2012, para. 2).

Media from non-Muslim-Majority Countries

A story from *The International Herald Tribune* also reflects contrasting beliefs. A Muslim intellectual who takes issue with an Islamic fashion magazine says Islam “encourages us to act and live in modesty, not like the world represented by” the magazine (Bilefsky, 2012, para. 14). He says Islamic fashion magazines promote excessive consumerism (para. 14).

As a foil, one of the magazine's co-creators says good Muslims shouldn't feel they can't also live a good life. He says some detractors might just want to keep women down (para. 15). The magazine's editor offers a third perspective. She says the magazine's portrayal of “fashionable veiled women” demonstrates “the empowerment of a generation of pious women” and helps combat stereotypes about headscarves (para. 18).

The skepticism of a conservative political leader also makes it into the story. She says the magazine sends a “mixed message to pious women” (para. 22). As she sees it, “Islam is a religion that promotes modernity, ... but when you wear a Gucci head scarf, that doesn't make you a more modern woman” (para. 23).

A story from the *Associated Press* also reflects complexity and depth in beliefs about Islamic fashion. A featured design company reportedly receives mail “decrying its use of Islamic-themed sayings and symbols” (Grieshaber, 2010, para. 25). The mail typically comes

from “devout Muslims who say the fashion label does not promote the seriousness of the faith,” (para. 25). A quote from a young Berlin imam adds a third perspective to the story: ““Friends told me about it and I right away ordered a black “I Love My Prophet” hoodie”” (para. 28). The inclusion of both opposing and dissenting Muslim responses to the Islamic label adds richness and depth to the coverage and acknowledges the existence of a diverse array of Muslims rather than one homogenous voice.

Culture

Explaining pertinent aspects of history, culture and religion enriches coverage and legitimates and normalizes Islamic fashion. Stories from both sides of the sample reflect depth and diversity among Islamic cultures. However, media from non-Muslim-majority countries also exhibit a few big failures to responsibly present cultural information to readers.

Media from Predominantly Muslim Countries

A story from *The Jakarta Post* reflects cultural diversity by explaining that Indonesian Islamic fashion differs from that in the Middle East. Although the article inaccurately reduces Middle Eastern Islamic clothing to “dark abayas, burqas, and niqabs,” it is significant that the story distinguishes the regions’ fashions (Sabarini, 2010, para. 7). Indonesian designs, according to the story, include “colorful Indonesian fabrics of batik and ikat with interesting cloth design” (para. 7).

Another story from *The Jakarta Post* provides background on the holiday “Idul Fitri,” as it is spelled in the story, and explains why high-quality attire is important during the holiday (Khaerani, 2010, para. 6). Khaerani also explains why the color green has special significance in Islam (para. 10). These details legitimate Islamic culture by reflecting depth and meaning in traditions and symbols.

Media from non-Muslim-Majority Countries

Some stories from Western media outlets also reflect cultural complexity. One example is *The Guardian*'s story about Princess Hijab, a secretive street artist who paints black veils on racy fashion advertisements around the Western world. Princess Hijab legitimates Muslims and other diverse populations by saying that France has problems with diversity and that Arabs are still among the country's outsiders (Chrisafis, 2010, paras. 12, 13, 14): ““If it was only about the burqa ban, my work wouldn't have a resonance for very long. But I think the burqa ban has given a global visibility to the issue of integration in France”” (para. 13).

In contrast, a story from *The Christian Science Monitor* presents one Islamic culture as simply bizarre. Although Iran is notorious for its ultra-conservative tendencies, the story completely *others* and de-legitimizes the country. The bit about Iran is presented as one of “the world's strangest fashion bans,” so from the start it is understood that the reader should view the ban as outlandish (Zirulnick, 2011, para. 1).

“In its latest crackdown on Western, ‘un-Islamic’ fashion, the Iranian government has banned men from wearing necklaces,” the story cites *The Guardian* as reporting. “Other items on the banned list for men? ‘Glamorous’ hairstyles (sorry, Bieber fans) and shorts ...” (#5 No more neck bling for Iranian men section, para. 1).

The story goes on to report that Western “cultural invasion” is a concern for the government and that dog ownership is looked down upon and may become illegal (#5 No more neck bling for Iranian men section, para. 2). Additionally, a few bans pertaining to women's clothing are listed. But the story fails to include any voices, governmental or not, that express why Western influences might be a legitimate concern. No one is given the opportunity to

explain why the bans have been put in place, however reasonably or not. Instead, a mocking tone de-legitimizes the mindset behind the bans and generally *others* and makes light of Iran.

The dog issue is presented as the nail in the coffin for Iran's legitimacy. Missing an opportunity for complexity and cross-cultural insight, the story excludes the contextual information that dogs are generally considered extremely lowly creatures in Islam, not just in heavily-Islamic Iran.

Another shallow portrayal of culture plagues a story by *The Globe and Mail*. Although the story purports to be about Pakistani fashion prevailing despite terrorism and instability in the country, the emphasis on terrorism and the use of stark contrasts far outshine fashion.

Readers are bombarded with words and phrases such as, "a riot of colorful style and a show of women's flesh," "scandalous," "conservative Muslim country," "a country of daily terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists," and "firebrand mullahs and Taliban insurgents," all in the first two paragraphs. These phrases charge the story in a way that frames Pakistan as a *dangerous other*. By juxtaposing these images with models that "pranced down the catwalk in couture fashion that was elegant, racy and indelibly Pakistani," the writer furthers this effect:

With a riot of colourful style and a show of women's flesh considered scandalous in this conservative Muslim country, models pranced down the catwalk in couture fashion that was elegant, racy and indelibly Pakistani.

In a country of daily terrorist attacks by Islamic extremists, Pakistani designers and models are challenging firebrand mullahs and Taliban insurgents by launching the country's first-ever "fashion week" in Karachi. (Shah, 2009, paras. 1-2)

A designer's quote adds to the problem by saying there is far more to Pakistan than "just suicide jackets and al-Qaeda" (para. 3). To him, Pakistani fashion is "sheer defiance" (para.

3). But in this story, Pakistani fashion is actually overshadowed by terrorism. The heavy emphasis and dramatic contrasts take the focus off of fashion. There's the threat that “militants might strike,” and the week is postponed once because “extremists attacked military headquarters” (para. 5). In addition, there is “fortress-like security” because of the growing number of “terrorist attacks” (para. 5). Although these extreme conditions are certainly newsworthy, their positioning ultimately makes the story more about terror than fashion.

The story only describes fashion to the extent that it defies conservative norms and pushes back against terror threats. Descriptions of specific designs are essentially nonexistent. Shah reports that one designer put models in facial veils but bare shoulders, and another had models wear hot pants over tights (paras. 8, 9, 11). Although “Western evening dresses fused with eastern design, rich embroidery, silk tunics, feathery hats, lacy tops ...” (para. 4) and other items are seen at Karachi’s fashion week, the designs are largely described in terms of negative space: “... Daring amounts of female skin were one display. Exposed midriffs, bare shoulders, plunging backlines, even modest cleavage and legs to just above the knee, were visible” (para. 8).

Although defiance is indeed the story’s angle, it diminishes the real accomplishments of Pakistani designers by hiding them behind a cloud of security issues, for which Pakistan is better known to a Western audience. By pushing the flashpoints, *The Globe and Mail* misses an opportunity to legitimate and shine light on a little-known corner of the fashion world. A fashion story from Pakistan should be thought of as expanding the variety of international news about the country. Instead, by focusing so heavily on terror, the story primarily reinforces the idea of Pakistan as a danger zone.

Animal Metaphors

Although animal metaphors do not appear frequently in the sample, two particularly damaging deployments of the device stand out. Both come from media based in non-Muslim-majority contexts.

An *Associated Press* story reports that one Islamic fashion designer got his start during the 2006 Danish cartoon controversy, when “Muslim mobs rampaged across Europe” over depictions of the Prophet (Grieshaber, 2010, para. 3). The brief description isn’t central to the otherwise legitimating story, but it has important implications. The image of mobs rampaging across Europe evokes thoughts of wild beasts stampeding through an otherwise peaceful land. Interestingly, Grieshaber writes in the same paragraph that the designer was “fed up with the anti-Muslim stereotypes that sprang up over the protests as well as the rioters’ attempts to stifle free speech” (para. 3). In other words, the author calls attention to the problem of anti-Muslim stereotypes and plays off of them simultaneously.

Another negative animal metaphor appears in a story about an Islamic fashion show in Istanbul from *The Christian Science Monitor*. Jaques (2010) does not refer to designers by name. Instead, she portrays fashion industry employees more as little birds than professionals. They are juxtaposed with a foreign runway model to a further de-legitimizing effect: “A South African model remarks that she’s never even seen a head scarf before as a cluster of tiny women from the design company engulfs her to help her dress,” Jaques writes (para. 2). This description *others* the professionals and reduces them to a flock of small animals. In addition, the fashion story’s failure to mention a single Islamic designer de-legitimizes its subject matter.

In addition, Jaques refers to the people filming the fashion show as “leering men ... lured by the foreign models, many of whom seem to be feet taller than they are” (para. 2).

Again, the emphasis on the workers' short stature seems unnecessary and de-legitimizing. The men are described here in a negative, base and animalistic way; they leer and have been lured. Although the men's nationalities are not explicit, this *othering* representation encourages generalizations about Middle Eastern men. By describing industry employees this way, *The Christian Science Monitor* misses an opportunity to present the Islamic fashion industry as a legitimate operation. The racial, belittling undertones drown out any such attempts made in the story.

Conclusion

Certainly, media from predominantly Muslim countries could consider some changes in the way they report on Islamic fashion. But compared with media based in countries where Islam is less prominent, these outlets display a much higher comfort level and self-identification with the topic. On the whole, they report much more effectively on Islamic fashion. Readers benefit from these stories more.

Media from Muslim-majority countries consistently legitimate and normalize designers. Although media from non-Muslim-majority countries do so in some cases, I find several cases of de-legitimation and *othering* of fashion industry professionals. Media from Muslim-majority also countries pay far more attention to the specifics of garments and collections. The other half of the sample attends to these details to some degree. However, I find problematic coverage of garments on both sides of the sample. Next, media from predominantly Muslim countries present a more personal, insightful picture of consumers than the other media, which effectively cover consumers at times but also generalize and oversimplify them. Interestingly, stories on both sides of the sample normalize Islamic standards for fashion. The same is true for acknowledging a broad spectrum of beliefs about Islamic fashion. Although this is also mostly

the case for reporting on combating stereotypes, one Western outlet shows poor judgment in this area. Media from non-Muslim-majority countries also falter several times in coverage of culture and present several damaging animal metaphors.

These findings make sense in light of Berger and Luckmann's theory of the social construction of reality (2011) and the findings of Rahman and Salih (2009). Media with cultural and contextual expertise related to a topic are likely to present information differently than media that lack such assets (Rahman & Salih, 2009, pp. 86-88). In line with Shoemaker and Vos (2009), these differences likely result from complex interactions of "social structures, ideologies, and cultures" with these media systems (p. 106).

Media use of symbolic language is informed by the contexts in which they are embedded and those about which they are knowledgeable. Through symbolic language such as the animal metaphors found in the sample, or the biased descriptions of older versus newer Islamic looks, a news story can impose a particular version of reality on a reader's own reality (Berger & Luckmann, 2011, Ch. 1.3, Language and Knowledge in Everyday Life, paras. 9, 10, 11).

Indeed, as Berger and Luckmann write, "through language, an entire world can be actualized at any moment" (Ch. 1.3, Language and Knowledge in Everyday Life, para. 9). This "entire world," in this case the realm of Islamic fashion, depends on which media outlet creates it.

These results matter because of the way transmitted understanding "congeals for the man in the street" as reality (Berger & Luckmann, 2011, Introduction section, para. 5). It's not a direct injection that controls how we see the world, but symbolic language in the form of news significantly shapes our conceptions of reality. Language that de-legitimizes Muslim interests has a deleterious effect on the way Muslims are viewed by news consumers. Portrayals of

undesirable Muslim *others* leave negative, fearful impressions about Muslims. Bearing this in mind, journalists should consider what realities they shape, and in what ways.

This study matters to journalists for several reasons. The analysis is useful on the practical level because of the increasing visibility of Islam in the world and the often politically and emotionally charged attention directed toward the religion. This study is also useful because it highlights damaging coverage of Muslims, who comprise about one-fifth of the world's population.

In the interest of the public good, journalists should strive to fairly represent issues and people and to make informed choices about the words and devices they use to this end. This analysis includes specific examples of problematic textual devices and phrasing that appear in news representations of Islamic fashion. Also included are examples of effective, responsible devices and phrasing. Journalists can consider where their own work falls along this spectrum and adopt a more informed approach to reporting on Muslim interests.

Limitations: Matters of Interpretation

As with any research, this study involves a number of limitations. One of the most far-reaching limitations, discussed by McKee (2003, p. 7), is the vast variation in ways of perceiving and making meaning across the world. Because of this range, my own interpretations are inherently limited. At times, it is difficult to determine which of the many possible interpretations is most accurate. A number of factors play into this decision. For instance, two *Gulf News* stories on the growing global influence of Islamic fashion quote a Dubai fashion institute director, who says that “Arabian styles” are “steadily influencing European street fashion,” and that this “proves the potential of this emerging niche” (Badih, 2010, para. 3; Moussly, 2010, Catering to demand section, para. 2). The director also names several top

Western designers pursuing the Muslim market. My first instinct is to consider such descriptors de-legitimizing to the Islamic fashion industry. Using the European fashion industry as a standard for judging the worth of the Islamic fashion industry seems to detract from the stand-alone legitimacy of the latter. Although this take is worth considering, it seems more appropriate to interpret these elements as legitimizing Islamic fashion by portraying it as an influential and promising industry. The European fashion industry seems to have become a fixture long before the Islamic fashion industry, so it makes sense to compare the two and to examine the newer industry's potential to influence the more established industry. In addition, stories about the global reach of Islamic fashion would, naturally, gauge the industry's potential in international markets. In other words, stories' context and focus are important factors to consider during a textual analysis of individual story elements, and it isn't always clear which interpretation fits the best.

Limitations: Confused Meanings and Missed Cues

It can also be difficult to decipher the intended meaning of a writer or a source. For example, a story from *The Jakarta Post* about the diverse Islamic fashion offerings in Indonesia closes as follows: "With so many designs on offer, traditional, simple, casual, modern and formal, it will probably be unwise to wear veils or other Muslim garbs that only makes it difficult to keep up with the fashion trends" (Khaerani, 2010, para. 24). This sentence would certainly be made clearer with a thorough edit, and might actually be complicated by a language barrier. Whichever the case, without asking the writer, it is impossible to determine the intended meaning. Based on my analysis of the rest of the story, I give the writer the benefit of the doubt. I find no problematic metaphors or de-legitimizing descriptions elsewhere in the story. So, I assume the odd sentence is a warning to avoid outdated styles and an encouragement to keep up

with trends. Although this problem seldom arises in the sample, it limits the reliability of my analysis to some extent.

Similarly, I might miss cultural or contextual cues embedded in the stories. This is especially possible for stories from media based outside the U.S. Being most familiar with only my own culture and context, it would be easy for me to miss innuendo and nuance that have meanings in other places. A future study could test this by recruiting several people from, for example, Indonesia, to read the stories I sampled from *The Jakarta Post* to see if they notice any elements I do not. Doing this with each story from a foreign media outlet could tell me the extent to which I miss or hit the mark with my readings of foreign media outlets' coverage.

Limitations: Brevity, Obscurity and Relevance of Sample Stories.

It is also difficult to analyze stories that fail to provide much meaningful information. For instance, a *Daily Trust* (2010) story about an Islamic fashion show in Nigeria fails to describe any garments, quote any consumers or even offer an idea of the types of clothing involved in Islamic fashion. Similarly, a *Plus News Pakistan* story essentially gives bare-bones details about the 2009 Kuala Lumpur Islamic Fashion Festival (Staff Reporter, 2009, paras. 5-9). Also, the story mentions that the wife of the Malaysian Prime Minister hopes to tell Michelle Obama that she wants to bring Islamic fashion to the West (paras. 1-4). These are the only two topics the story covers. These examples illustrate the difficulty of analyzing texts that are sparsely reported and poorly written. The stories just don't offer much material for analysis. Fortunately, this is seldom a problem in my sample. These stories are on the shorter end with regard to word count, at around 200 and 300 words. Most stories are longer and include substantially more detail.

Additionally, some of the stories are less relevant to my topic than I initially thought when I retrieved the sample. From the piece about strange fashion bans to the story on fashion in Pakistan that involves little Islamic fashion, I questioned whether to keep a few of my stories in the sample. However, significant insights emerge from several of these more tangentially relevant stories.

Limitations: Scope

Scale and scope are other limitations; the study must fit within the parameters of a master's project, which has boundaries of time, expense and manpower. This limits the number of news topics, news outlets and articles for consideration in the study. The number and depth of interpretations that result are, therefore, also limited. It was difficult to recover a relatively standardized and organized sample. Search efforts did not result in a large number of applicable, non-duplicate stories from which to choose. However, in-depth analysis of the 30 stories in the sample required a significant investment of time and attention and produced a variety of interesting findings and examples. Despite that the findings cannot be widely generalized, journalists can certainly benefit from considering how the findings relate to their own coverage of diverse populations and interests. The sample size of 30 was a good choice for this study, but a larger sample might produce results with a broader reach.

Areas for Future Research

There are many possibilities for future research in this area, particularly because so little exists on this specific topic. One direction would be a similar study with attention to more and diverse media outlets such as *Al Jazeera English*, the *BBC*, *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *United Press International* or *Reuters*. This would allow for a picture of the broader media climate surrounding Islamic fashion. Another important area for research that is beyond

the scope of this project is the examination of visual images of Muslim women's clothing. Many visual representations of veiled Muslim women depict them as shrouded in darkness, and these images affect the way non-Muslims think about the religion and the practice of veiling.

Research promoting responsible visual representations of this population could help guide newsmakers in a positive direction. Another possibility for future research is a comparative analysis of news about Western fashion and news about Islamic fashion. This would further illuminate de-legitimizing, dehumanizing or *othering* devices in fashion coverage.

References

- Anti-Muslim Bigotry Intensifies in U.S. (2011, March 8). *Anti-Defamation League*. Retrieved November 29, 2012, from http://www.adl.org/main_Extremism/muslim_bigotry.htm.
- Badih, S. (2010, March 2). Islamic fashion goes global. *Gulf News*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (2011) *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge* [Kindle Edition]. New York: Open Road. Retrieved from http://www.amazon.com/The-Social-Construction-Reality-ebook/dp/B004X36R6G/ref=sr_1_1?s=digital-text&ie=UTF8&qid=1334342542&sr=1-1.
- Bilefsky, D. (2012, March 30). The veiled and the beautiful. *The International Herald Tribune*. Retrieved October 17, 2012, from Factiva.
- Birch, N. (2008, June 9). Scarf dispute exposes divide. *The Washington Times*. Retrieved May 3, 2012, from Factiva.
- Chen Sampson, Z. (2008, May 13). US fashion students design abayas with help from Qatar counterparts. *Associated Press*. Retrieved May 3, 2012, from Factiva.
- Chrisafis, A. (2010, November 11). Veiled attacks: Princess Hijab daubs Muslim veils on half-naked fashion adverts on the Paris metro. *The Guardian - Final Edition*, Guardian Features Pages p. 4. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Creutz-Kämpfi, K. (2008). The othering of Islam in a European context: Polarizing discourses in Swedish-language dailies in Finland. *NORDICOM Review*, 29(2), 295-308.
- Dabbous, Y., & Miller, A. (2010). Same disasters, different stories: How three Arab newspapers framed the Asian Tsunami and Hurricane Katrina. *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*, 1-38. Retrieved from <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=00e76d8a-2f0c-4bc5-905c-46f0f6f1998c%40sessionmgr15&vid=3&hid=24>.
- Duin, J. (2008, July 20). Web fills a void in Muslim garb. *The Washington Times*, Religion; Stairway to Heaven p. M14. Retrieved May 3, 2012, from Factiva.
- Fitri, E. (2002, November 3). Muslim fashion: Getting Ramadhan, Idul Fitri in new style. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Gökarıksel, B., & Secor, A. J. (2009). New transnational geographies of Islamism, capitalism and subjectivity: The veiling-fashion industry in Turkey. *Area*, 41(1), 6-18.

- Gooch, L. (2011, February 18). Finding sales in Islamic wear. *The International Herald Tribune*, Leisure p. 14. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Grieshaber, K. (2010, March 9). Muslim street wear from Germany spreads across Europe with trendy designs, tolerant message. *Associated Press*. Retrieved May 3, 2012, from Factiva.
- Hafiningsih, T. (2001, February 16). Style still counts in Muslim fashion. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Hamid, H. (2010, June 24). 'Be an Islamic fashion hub.' *New Straits Times*, Local p. 21. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Islamic fashion dazzles in Dubai. (2008, March 31). *Bernamea Daily Malaysian News*. Retrieved October 17, 2012, from Factiva.
- Jaques, M. (2010, April 27). In Istanbul, Islamic clothing for women combines modesty with high fashion. *The Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Jones, C. (2010). Images of desire: Creating virtue and value in an Indonesian Islamic lifestyle magazine. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 6(3), 91-117.
- Karim, K. H. (2010). Self and other in a time of terror: Myth, media and Muslims. In Ismael, T. Y., & Rippin, A. (Eds.), *Islam in the Eyes of the West: Images and Realities in an Age of Terror*. (pp. 160-176). London: Routledge.
- Karim, K. H. (2006). American media's coverage of Muslims: The historical roots of contemporary portrayals. In Poole, E., & Richardson, J. E. (Eds.), *Muslims and the News Media*. (pp. 116-127). London: I. B. Tauris.
- Kelly, D. (2011, October 1). From Neiman Marcus to Mogadishu. *The Globe and Mail*, Globe Style p. L20. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Khaerani, H. (2010, August 29). Islamic fashion: A Parade of options. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from www.thejakartapost.com.
- Khaleeli, H. (2008, July 28). The hijab goes high-fashion. *The Guardian - Final Edition*, Guardian Features Pages p. 2. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Khouri, R. G. (2007). The Arab story: The big one waiting to be told. *Nieman Reports*, 61(2), 10-11.

- Lewis, R. (2010). Marketing Muslim lifestyle: A new media genre. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 6(3), 58-90.
- Mahony, I. (2010). Diverging frames: A comparison of Indonesian and Australian press portrayals of terrorism and Islamic groups in Indonesia. *International Communication Gazette*, 72, 739-758.
- Malaysia: Rosmah aims to bring Islamic fashion to America. (2009, November 18). *Plus News Pakistan*. Retrieved October 17, 2012, from Factiva.
- Manzoor, S. (2010, July 22). Muslim schoolgirls give traditional dress a makeover: More than 100 girls competed for a place on Islamic fashion course. *The Guardian – Final Edition*, Guardian Home Pages p. 10. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- McKee, A. (2003). *Textual analysis*. London: Sage.
- Moussly, R. (2010, March 21). Islamic fashion, a growing trend. *Gulf News*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Muscati, S. A. (2002). Arab/Muslim 'Otherness': The role of racial constructions in the Gulf War and the continuing crisis with Iraq. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 22(1), 131-148.
- Nacos, B. L., & Torres-Reyna, O. (2007). *Fueling our fears: Stereotyping, media coverage, and public opinion of Muslim Americans*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Nigeria; Muslim Identity Collection Organises First Islamic Fashion Show. (2010, December 13). *Daily Trust*. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Novita, N. (2009, September 16). Monika Jufry: Islamic fashion trendsetter. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from www.thejakartapost.com.
- Nugroho Adi, G. (2011, September 5). Tuty Adib Ajiputra: A modern, Muslim fashion designer. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from www.thejakartapost.com.
- Poole, E. (2002). *Reporting Islam: Media representations of British Muslims*. London: I. B. Tauris Publishers.
- Qureshi, H. (2012, February 21). Fair coverage Muslim modelling agency puts its faith in fashion. *The Guardian - Final Edition*, Guardian Features Pages p. 13. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Rahman, A., & Salih, A. (2009). The media and American invasion of Iraq: A tale of two wars. *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, 2(1-2), 81-90.

- Sabarini, P. (2010, June 28). Making Indonesia the mecca of Muslim fashion. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Sabarini, P. (2008, December 21). Muslim fashion giving a nod to spandex. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved April 24, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Said, E. W. (1997). *Covering Islam: How the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Schnellinger, L., & Khatib, M. (2006). *Fighting words: How Arab and American journalists can break through to better coverage*. Washington, D.C.: International Center for Journalists.
- Shah, S. (2009, November 5). Defying terror threat, Pakistani designers and models dare to bare. *The Globe and Mail*, International News/Fashion p. A17. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Vos, T. P. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory* [ebrary Reader]. New York, NY: Routledge. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/umcolumbia/docDetail.action?docID=10320392>.
- Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Steuter, E., & Wills, D. (2009). Discourses of dehumanization: Enemy construction and Canadian media complicity in the framing of the War on Terror. *Global Media Journal: Canadian Edition*, 2(2), 7-24.
- Turkish fashion magazine for Muslim women hailed 'Vogue of the veiled.' (2012, January 29). *Asian News International*. Retrieved May 3, 2012, from Factiva.
- When veil became a fashion statement. (2009, December 15). *Asian News International*. Retrieved May 3, 2012, from Factiva.
- Woehlert, R. (2006). Constructions of Arab and Muslim actors and the West: A print media analysis around 9/11. *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*, 1-18. Retrieved from Communication and Mass Media Complete Retrieved from http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/9/0/3/8/pages90383/p90383-1.php.
- Young, R. (2007, September 19). Muslim style: Standing apart while fitting in. *The International Herald Tribune*, Special Report p. 13. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.
- Zirulnick, A. (2011, June 16). Iran bans necklaces: Quirky clothing bans around the world. *The Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved April 12, 2012, from LexisNexis Academic.