



CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY
CENTER FOR POLICY STUDIES



OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

IRINA KOUZNETSOVA-MORENKO

Islam in Mass-Media Space of Russia and Tatarstan: Policy and Social Analysis

2003/2004

CPS INTERNATIONAL POLICY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM ▲

IRINA KOUZNETSOVA-MORENKO

Islam in Mass-Media Space of Russia and Tatarstan: Policy and Social Analysis

The views in this report are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Center for Policy Studies, Central European University or the Open Society Institute. We have included the reports in the form they were submitted by the authors. No additional copyediting or typesetting has been done to them.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
1. EXPERTS OPINIONS TOWARDS REPRESENTATION ISLAM IN MASS-MEDIA	5
1.1. Journalists and Muslim clerics about representation of Islam in All-Russian Mass-media	5
1.2. Representation of Islam in Tatarstan Mass-Media	7
1.3. Journalists professionalism in representation of Islam	9
3. THE PRESS ABOUT MOSLIMS: DATA FROM DISCOURSE AND CONTENT ANALISIS	11
3.1. Seizure of hostages on Nord-Ost in the mirror of mass media: “warrior of Allah” or terrorists?	11
3.2. Representation of war in Iraq	20
3.3. Image of the Russian Moslems in the information company «Matter about Hijabs»	27
3.4. Daily life of Moslems on the example of representation the feast Kurban-Bairam	36
4. MOSLEM JOURNALISM IN REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN	41
4.1. The Moslem press	41
4.2. Muslim journalistic community in Tatarstan Republic: an estate and prospects.	45
5. INTERACTION BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND JOURNALISTS SOCIETY AS A FACTOR OF REPRESENTATION OF ISLAM	48
6. WAYS OF INCREASING OF JOURNALIST’S PROFESSIONALISM IN REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIM ISSUES	50
7. PERSPECTIVE DIRECTIONS OF MEDIA POLICY TOWARDS ISLAM IN MASS-MEDIA	52
CONCLUSION	54
LITERATURE	58
APPENDIX. List of newspapers and magazines	59

INTRODUCTION

Russian mass media has been paying great attention to Islam since the 1980s. It is caused by the revival of religion in Russia with the post-perestroika process, which spread along the whole territory of the Soviet Union. Islam renaissance can be proved by the following facts: there are 7000 mosques in Russia now (compared with 311 in 1986), about 40 independent Muslim Authorities and about 40 newspapers and journals. According to the some data, Islam is confessed by 15-18 % of population in Russia.

The events in Chechnya, teracts on the territory of Russia and Dagestan caused mass media's great interest toward Islam. Such notions as "Islam fundamentalism", "Islam terrorism", "and Islam radicalism" have become firmly established in mass media, referring to the events in Afghanistan, Balkans and Israel especially after the teracts in the USA in September 11.

The purpose of the investigation was to study of Russian and Tatarstan media policy towards Islam in a context of interreligious tolerance and research of potential of transformations in media policy. The project based on studying of the level of attention of Russian and Regional press for the life of Muslims in republics of traditional distribution of Hanafit maskhab (Tatarstan, Bashkortostan), analysis of opinions and stereotypes concerned Islam and Muslims translated by mass-media, revitalization peculiarity of treatment of the questions concerned processes in Muslim world of Russia, Tatarstan and foreign countries in Russian and Tatarstan mass-media.

In the given project the legislative frameworks of media activity in coverage of religion, attitude of the journalists to the given problematic were investigated. For analysis of interactions between Muslim society and mass-media, journalists stereotypes and attitudes were examined four cases: capture of the hostages on performance "Nord-Ost" in Moscow in October 23, 2002; war in Iraq; struggle of Muslim women for the right to be photographed on the passport in scarves («matter about hijabs») and traditional Moslem holiday Kurban Bairam. Were used methods of discourse and content analysis of All-Russian and Tatarstan newspapers and magazines (2002-2004). For investigating of attitudes of journalists, Muslim clerics, eliciting of perspectives directions of the media policy transformation interviews with Muslim religious figures, journalists of electronic and printed mass-media (local editions, staff reporters of the Russian editions and journalists of regional representations of the Russian editions), head of the Journalism department, and director of journalistic public organization have been carried out. Conclusive stage of the project was organization and carrying out of a round table «Moslem faith and mass media» (on June, 8, 2004).

1. EXPERTS OPINIONS TOWARDS REPRESENTATION ISLAM IN MASS-MEDIA

1.1. Journalists and Muslim clerics about representation of Islam in All-Russian Mass-media

Many interviewees were solidary in an estimation of representing Moslem faith in the Russian mass-media, and it is interesting, that condemnation of "capital" media not only some Muslim figures, but also journalists voiced.

The Moslem faith in the Russian mass-media, in opinion both of journalists and Muslim leaders, is submitted monotonously enough and prejudicially: «the Moslem faith as a whole as a cultural, political, sociological phenomenon is reflected one-sidedly », « really, full and actually the Moslem faith in the Russian newspapers is not submitted ». Thus mass-media frequently do not broadcast direct negative stereotypes. « And in the Russian mass-media ... though it is not spoken that Moslem faith is bad, it is backward, gradually, from apart it is tried to inform about it ». The technique of distribution negative features of separate faith representatives on all umma is frequently used: « Sometimes Moslem faith is represented by one group or the nation which anomalously represents Moslem faith. Unfortunately, in mass-media it is confused. Sometimes it is without knowing it at all as they don't have such knowledge. And incorrect conception starts to develop at an audience».

Interviewees named the various reasons of such representing:

1. Influence of atheistic education of the senior generation of journalists, it is difficult for them to change the purposes.

2. Superficiality in a statement of a material when it is not supported with sufficient knowledge of Moslem faith and Moslems, authoritative opinions of experts in this area. « ... people who write, they do not know Moslem faith. Do not know the basic things, elementary concepts, and start to do some judgments. Especially it is typical for capital mass-media », - there was heard in one of interview.

3. The pressing forward to submit Islamic subjects as a « the fried fact ».

4. Absence of the journalists engaged in religious subjects in many mass-media.

In several interviews it was marked that despite of some set of errors in representation of Moslem faith, materials about this religion in Russian mass-media are interesting enough. Here are some from such positions: « ..there are rather good publications, interesting materials ", On Russian TV I saw the transmissions devoted to

Moslem faith, about propagation of Moslem faith, advertising of it, and scenes saw, I do not remember already, where and when, but, in my opinion, also on Russian TV or on one of the central channels Islamic feasts were showed. There is such journalist, who presents something like « Useless notes », constantly he just does not get out from the countries of the East ", " Russia is much deeper: look, very good transmissions are on from Moscow, so profound ». Presence of scandalousness at a discourse of mass-media in representation of Moslem faith, in opinion of one of the interviewees, is justified by the fact that the Moslem faith gives more information occasions. Besides one of journalists has noted, that the Russian mass-media are more loyal to Moslem faith, rather than foreign: « If to concern the Russian press, basically, here everything is more or less normally, i.e. such strongly pronounced islamophobia which is observed in the States, Europe after September, 11, I would not tell about. I, basically, try to trace these materials, I look, but antimuslim bright ones were not present, I did not notice ».

The certain negativism of the Russian mass-media, in opinion of one of respondents, is characteristic not only concerning Moslems, it is present at representing religion on a broader scale: « ... today any faith is shown negatively: Moslems - it is terrorists, Christians are sheeps such obedient, who are only in monasteries, well and Jews – are the most artful people, etc. ».

The low degree of attention to the materials concerning daily life of Moslems, alongside with an enhanced attention to « the fried facts » in this sphere results to the fact that « the impression can be created that it is connected only with violence and terror ». One of the authoritative representatives of Muslim clergy of Tatarstan has expressed opinion, that such position has political underlying reason: «May be, it is because of that, really, all Russian press - both electronic, and printed, it is, unfortunately, in financial possession of not Muslim forces so to speak. May be it provides an explanation for everything. Here such antimuslim order is obviously read. ... for certain, here there is a certain internal policy at these mass-media». The discussion which has arisen on « a round table » has shown, that he is not lonely in the conception and practically all Muslim figures can see some kind of antimuslim plot in mass-media.

As regards the capital press, such approach is characteristic for it to the greatest degree. Experience of one of the staff reporters of the known edition is interesting in this connection «I do not feel that intensity which is represented in Moscow and which is forced sometimes in Moscow. It is necessary to calm your directors and to calm colleagues that everything is normal, and Moslems are not so terrible».

Concrete examples were given, when for preparation of scandalous materials not staff reporters were involved, who are familiar with a situation in region, but Moscow journalists (for example, at representing struggle for a photo in scarves). One of journalists voiced feeling of awkwardness for colleagues as « he besides has written only with the Moscow aplomb about it all. Well – you have come, have seen, have looked at people, it seemed to you so, you have written, and have not penetrated in depth, into essence and have counted it beneath your dignity. And people have remained, they live, have read it and have taken offence».

1. 2.Representation of Islam in Tatarstan mass-media

Within the framework of the carried out interviews it is possible to track also distinction in representation Islam in mass-media of Tatarstan and Russia. Such distinction recognized not only religious figures, but also representatives of mass-media.

Despite of the fact, that practically all respondents marked the great tolerance of republican mass-media in representation Islam in comparison with Russian mass-media, opinions cannot be named unequivocal. On the one hand, it is possible to allocate a position of those who is pleased with existing interpretation of Islam in Tatarstan mass-media. It was marked in interview, that « in Tatarstan it is presented more as a historical Islam, spiritual, connected with rise of national qualities ».

At the same time there is a position, that Islam in republican mass-media is covered one-sidedly, being limited to positive or neutral information or historical character materials. However the interviewees adhering to such opinion, marked, that « it is impossible to live only within the past, it is necessary to live today. Probably, it is necessary to communicate with Moslems more, i.e. to go with believers on one leg, to keep abreast of an affair ». In opinion of Muslim spiritual leaders, « old women in white scarves, old men with a white beard » prevail in materials of mass-media, while the modern Islam is also a young generation.

Nevertheless, the fault for such information policy was assigned not only to mass-media: spiritual leaders also marked, that Moslems are afraid of speaking openly about the problems in connection with morbid interest to Islam on a global scale, they are afraid, that it can be submitted completely from the other point of view.

Analyzing a problem of Islam interpretation in republican mass-media, some respondents differentiated representation materials to a language attribute. Secular Tatar-speaking editions, in

opinion of interviewees, address more to the problems of Islam. So, for example, newspapers «Shahry Kazan», «Vatanum Tatarstan» magazine "Miras", are especially allocated, in some of which there are special headings on this theme. Despite of the presence in these editions of the certain amount of materials about Islam and Moslems, submission of materials is traditional enough. Opinions were expressed that the tatar journalists should act as reformers in interpretation of Muslim problematic as « nobody will do it except the tatar journalists ». In this connection there is a language problem quite often. One of the tatar journalists, professionally writing about Islam, complained, that he cannot write in Russian, though it, undoubtedly, would add popularity to him.

Criticism addressed to Russian-speaking journalism in republic was also present in interview. There was marked not just negative interpretation of Islam but distance from the given problematic, unwillingness to penetrate into essence of an affair. Words of one of the journalists as an illustration can serve: «Tatar-speaking press all the same has some least ideas, and Russian-speaking press, so to speak, write not enough about it to save up any amount of mistakes ». Russian-speaking mass-media give insufficient attention to representation of Muslim umma daily life, what has proved to be true by a result of monitoring as press so and TV. As one of journalists of the Russian-speaking newspaper has noted in interview, « to write what every day occurs – we'll not save newspapers enough. It is probably just such a law of genre ». It is also interesting that in many Russian-speaking editions there is no fixed journalist for interpretation of religion, and the concerning Islam events the most free journalist at present time writes. It is certainly does not allow to penetrate deeply into the problem, creates certain "assembly-line" and the attitude to representation of Islamic problematic as minor one. Simultaneously with it, the Islamic subjects frequently get in headings of editions in connection with those or other "fried" facts.

As to television programs, all interviewees realize that there is the greatest influence of the given channel on opinion of an audience owing to its availability and mass coverage of the spectators. Nevertheless, the TV, in opinion of Muslim religious figures, is used very little and materials are poor enough. However the role of republican television programs in interpretation of Islam is not limited to local scale, as due to satellite TV programs TNV are broadcast also in other regions of Russia.

Monotony of materials submission, application of a standard set of themes – are those points which are necessary for reconsidering by journalists and editors of printed and electronic mass media. Ecclesiastics also complained that « there is no display of theological depth of Islam », « such familiar to everybody things are broadcast, which may be even have filled already a

soreness of the mouth. And, we admit, just from within Islam, as the phenomenon of not this world, for the present time is not enough. In orthodox telecasts it is present already ». The similar position is characteristic also for Muslim journalists who also expressed opinion about absence of attention to morals and internal world of the person professing Islam. However such judgments practically did not meet in interview with representatives of secular Russian-speaking mass-media.

1.3. Journalists professionalism in representation of Islam

Negative precedents of Islamic subjects interpretation are caused by the following problems peculiar to modern journalistic community as such: 1) shortage /absence of knowledge in this or that sphere; 2) aspiration "to boost" scandalousness any ways – distortion of the information, neglect the facts, etc.

Frequently the students who have not received due vocational training become correspondents of local broadcasting companies. This tendency is characteristic also for Russian mass-media. Absence of a rigid subject matter, aspiration to earn has a negative effect on an educational level. The new private mass-media which have appeared in a plenty after perestroika, have demanded much modern staff that were completed basically due to students. Many traditions of professional socialization of beginning journalists have disappeared. « ... we were prepared absolutely in another way, – recollected journalist, received education in the Soviet years - nobody allowed us, not becoming independent students-probationers to act with such materials on political or economic themes ... And what is now? » The status obliges beginning journalists to give not only information materials, but also to give comments. Absence of an opportunity to broadcast the weighed objective position frequently is compensated by shocking, aspiration to create a "scandalous" material. But if there are spheres where epatage meets the « laws of a genre », but at the interpretation of religious subjects it is inappropriate more often. One of skilled journalists responded about some masters of a pen from the central editions as follows: «I respect, certainly, the colleagues ... but this Moscow snobbery– when we write about any theme taking a parochial view of it. Well, just take an interest – is it likely – what situation is in the world –is this person right or he is not right...».

Absence of knowledge in the field of Islam of the journalists writing on this subject represents the important problem, in opinion of Muslim figures. « I just call upon journalists – I face quite frequently with different journalists, – the representative of the Muslim women Union of Tatarstan has noted, - to be very serious on a theme of religion. Internal freedom is necessary,

the certain width of views which will allow to know another – what is another, even if you never knew anything about Islam ». «Whether you will suffice knowledge to cover Islam, - imamaty of one of mosques warns journalists, - because sometimes as there was correctly noted, they want to do kindly, but it turns out on the contrary because there is no still knowledge ». The problem of knowledge shortage mentions also tatar-speaking journalists, so-called ethnic Moslems. Only one of the tatar-speaking secular editions journalists writing about religion receives additional Islamic education.

The reference to religious figures as to experts for disclosing this or that position in Islam also has a number of problems: « ... when they interview, come here, imam tells many-many, and they reduce there, and they lose sight of important points. And as important points overlooked, the important sense is also lost ».

Wishes of Muslim figures frequently do not coincide with aspirations of journalists. Many of the interrogated journalists have admitted that additional knowledge in sphere of religion is not seemed to them necessary. Similar purpose is founded also on a position of the edition not allocating religious subjects among all others: « If it is a criminal case, then criminality, if any political theme, then "policy"» (editor-in-chief of the federal edition regional representation). The journalist of another Russian-speaking newspaper marks: « I cannot tell that someone is particularly fixed behind a religious problematic... For example, holiday Kurban-bairam: who of journalists can - that writes ... ». The similar position was supported with statements about the secularity of editions dictating absence of necessity of the special approach to a problematic of religion.

Only two of the interrogated correspondents of Russian-speaking editions have expressed understanding of necessity of the special treatment of religious subjects. One of them told, that when so-called « business about scarves » began he had to look a lot of literature, to understand – whether it corresponds to the reality: « I have looked the Koran, have looked various translations of the Koran, have looked interpretations of various people, consulted with Moslems of the very different sense. And then I have felt, that, yes, I have some representation about this theme, I can write ».

3. THE PRESS ABOUT MOSLIMS: DATA FROM DISCOURSE AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

3.1. Seizure of hostages on Nord-Ost in the mirror of mass-media: “warrior of Allah” or terrorists?

On October, 23, 2002 in Moscow during a musical "Nord-Ost" hostages have been captured. The basic requirement of terrorists was to stop war in the Chechen Republic. Special operation on deliverance of people has carried away 129 lives. It was one of the loud crimes which were accomplished by the Chechen insurgents in Russia for several last years, among them – there are explosions of apartment houses on Pushkinskaya Square in Moscow, on rock-festival in Tushino, capture of hostages in Kizlyar and Pervomaisk, explosions of houses in Buinaksk and Kaispiysk, undermining of a celebratory column on May, 9, 2002 in Dagestan, capture of hostages in Beslan. Islamic "trace" was present at all acts of terrorism what is connected with special ideology of the Chechen separative movement. One of its leaders, Aslan Maskhadov, intoned: «... Chechen people conducts national-liberation war against tyrants, Great Jihad on a way of Allah, against, as a matter of fact, godless, atheistic country ». Capture of hostages on "Nord-Ost" was the first scaled operation of Chechens using women-kamikaze, presenting act of terrorism as the act of shahids' self-sacrifice in the name of belief.

In event on October, 23 great number of political grounds became entangled: besides the official requirement to stop the war, actions have been directed on blowing up an ethno religious situation in the country. Another " the most important task " of act of terrorism, (such opinion the former member of Council on affairs of religions at Council of Ministers of the USSR professor A. Nurullaev has sounded) was «to push Russia to complete support of plans of the American management on drawing impacts across Iraq and other Muslim countries, what finally cause to quarrel Russia with the Islamic world» (the A&F, 29.10.2003). Therefore the information "map" given to the mass reader was rather multifaceted. The big file of materials also has been devoted to a situation-dependent rating of events on Dubrovka, to the statement of the inconsistent positions by politics, the population, and analysts taking their stand concerning operation on deliverance of hostages.

Publications from October, 2002 till December, 2003 were investigated. In total 71 materials in the Russian press and 6 in the local one have been selected. In the October-November 2002 the event on "Nord-ost" was discussed on pages of the newspapers and magazines most widely (51).

The insignificant number of publications about the Nord-Ost in the **local press** is connected, firstly, with absence of direct sources of the information at republican journalists and, in the second place, with pressing forward to concentrate on local problems and with prudence of the local press in everything what concerns interaction of terrorism and Islamic groupings. The Tatarstan press has paid attention to the events on Dubrovka within the framework of news headings.

It is necessary to note, that the journalists of the central editions rather steadfastly observe of a position of Tatarstan in the given question. As the reason the Moslem faith, which adherents half of believers in republic are, and sovereign aspirations of local authorities stand out. The example can be served by the publication in " to the Russian newspaper " from November 8, 2002 under the name "a Scandalous ether" (subtitle "Intrigue"), where conducting state TV and radio company "Tatarstan" and its interlocutor (adviser of the President of Tatarstan) were accused of sympathy to the terrorists. The given intrigue also has not passed over the popular "VK" which has announced to readers words of the adviser that Tatarstan is obliged for absence of unpleasant attention on the part of terrorists supposedly to its sympathetic attitude to problems of people of the Chechen Republic (25.10.2002). The governmental newspaper has preferred not to make comments on the words of known politic, enabled him to express his opinion in "Blitz-interrogation" (25.10.2002).

The all-Russian discourse of the Islamic factor value in the Nord-Ost have become apparent in the form of articles (54,7 %), short information (12,5 %), official news (7,8 %) what reflects average statistical traditional distribution of the materials in press. The significant number of interview pays attention to itself - 17,2 % - with politics, Muslim spiritual leaders, victims.

High dramatism occurred has caused hit of materials on first, second and extreme strips of the editions. Materials found itself in headings «the chronicle of incidents» (40,3 %) and news headings (35,5 %) more often. For the journalists the given event was by a major information occasion.

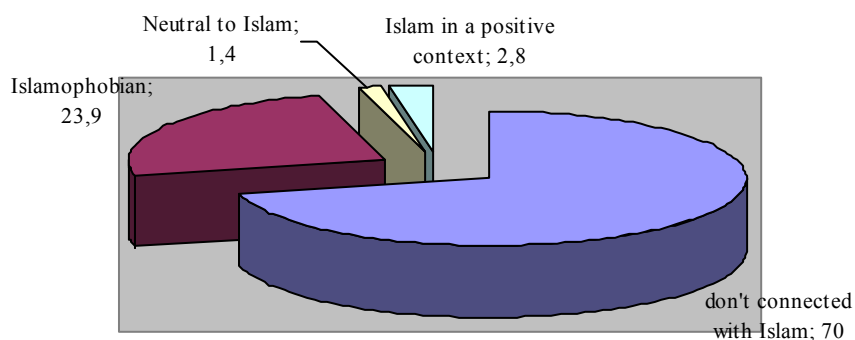
More than half (58 %) publications are written by the journalists of the editions. Less often authors of a material were the own correspondent of the edition (4 %), representatives of bodies of authority and religious figures (till 2 %). Materials about the Nord-Ost are characterized by a high degree of declared reliability – 91,2 % of materials referred to those or other sources of the information among which one fourth is made with references to agencies of news, approximately as much – are on messages of authorities, one fifth – on messages of eyewitnesses and interview with heroes of materials.

In press there were no xenophobic statements and appeals to discrimination, direct statements about moral disadvantages of Moslems. In minority – are frankly negative in relation

to Moslems in general of the statements. In representation of materials about the Nord-Ost the considered approach in relation to an estimation of the Islamic factor in tragedy prevailed. At first sight, it can act as the certificate of tolerance of the Russian press in relation to Moslems in a channel of a discourse of the Nord-Ost. Nevertheless, the information flow concerning capture of hostages included many components, strengthening negative stereotypes concerning Moslems and creating new phobias.

The special attention in research was given **to the headings** – as they focus the reader on this or that perception of the information. The number of headings with islamophobic character is great enough, making about one fourth of headings of articles which have got in or 85 % from among headings in which the Islamic component is mentioned (see Fig. 3.1.1.). Thus, the significant share of materials about the Nord-Ost, concerning Moslem faith, was anticipated by negative purposes concerning Moslems.

Fig. 3.1.1. Types of Hedings, Russian press about Nord-Ost (%)



Religious marking of the act of terrorism appeared in the following directions: 1) a usage of Muslim terminology; 2) a discourse about participation of the international Islamic organizations; 3) a discourse of Islamic ideology as one of significant sources of the Chechen-Russian opposition; 4) a discourse of shahid-women-condemned.

Muslim religious terms were met approximately in a half of the surveyed materials. On the Koran 48 % from them falls. The similar reference had two directions of usage – in one of the cases there was a speech about surahs of the Koran which have been found in personal things of terrorists and so forth, much the smaller amount of publications reflected the words of Muslim religious figures about the fact that actions of insurgents contradict the sacred book. In 14,8 % from among the publications using Muslim terminology it was spoken about sacred month Ramadan. Individual publications concerned a vahhabism, a Sheriyat, the Chechen war as display of jihad.

The majority of publications about the Nord-Ost, concerning the Islamic factor, used concept "shahid" for a designation of terrorists. It is the given act of terrorism in particular has set the stage for mass usage of the term "shahid" in mass-media and its transformation into a symbol of threat. In some cases it occurred with direct suggestion of authoritative services. So, for example, the popular edition has covered the statement of special services employees that they will wrap up corpses of terrorists in pork skins since by Muslim traditions «real shahid should not be contiguous to them»; «Hero in a pork skin. Baraev will not get to Allah». («Moscowsky Komsomolez», 30.10.2002). Such a maxim of the "yellow press" gives religious shortcuts to aspirations of terrorists.

Shahidization of a discourse of terrorism has initiated the stage for statements of the Moslems, trying to explain illegitimacy of such mixing. In this connection important to say that Moslem Church Authority of Kareliya Republic has paid attention to the statements of the journalists of various electronic and printed mass-media, officials and minister of Internal Businesses, concerning the terrorist and belts with an explosive, with use thus of such terms, as "shahid", «a belt of shahid», "Mojahed", «warrior of Allah». In the text of the application basing on postulates Islam ethics is told: "... we demand ... to stop using religious Islam terms in relation to the people blame for terrorism and murders, ... the Use of the given terms is offensive for us. Besides public use of these concepts kindles interconfessional hatred in the Russian society, since it causes at No Moslems mistrust to nationals of other creed and at Moslems - discontent by the situation"¹. The application of the Karelian Moslems was not broadcasted by mass-media, having remained in the greater degree the internal document.

Illegitimacy of usage of the term "shahid" in informing about terrorists is caused by its theological contents: « the Majority of Islamic theologians assert, that shahid - is the person who is killed in action in fair struggle with an aggressor... Further: on a broader scale any suicide - is not an exploit: in Moslem faith ... it is considered as a sin »². « Shahid – it is the one who perishes for the belief in God or in fight, protecting the relatives. The one who perishes not for the belief in God, - he is not shahid. The terrorist cannot be neither a Moslem, nor the Christian, or the Jew. A person who killed at least one innocent gets in a hell »³, - known translator of Koran Valery Porohova has expressed in interview to one Internet - portal.

In representation of the Nord-Ost tragedy the separate role is singled out to the **foreign terrorist organizations** proclaiming the Islamic purposes – their mention is met in 42 % of materials. «In modern conditions these actions (Nord-Ost) are cynically remunerated by the

international Islamic funds and the organizations, and the more scale is operation, the more it is paid for it» - this is a typical discourse of publications of this category (the "Profil", 28.10.2002).

In 37,9 % of materials from this number the question is about the "Al-Kaida", in 6,9 % - about the "Brothers-Moslems", in single instances the question was about the movements «the Jamaat», « the Islamic jihad », « the High council of Islamic revolution », « the Martyrs of Al-Aks », « the Islamic help in Baltimore », « the Chechen charitable society of Jordan », « the Chechen society in New-Jersey », «the Friends - Moslems» and «the International Islamic front - London » . In 17,3 % of articles it is directly underlined communication of the Russian Moslems with foreign radical currents.

Osam Ben Laden's statement in connection with events in Moscow has traveled through the majority of popular editions. « All operations which have been carried out ... - it was spoken by the terrorist №1, - and capture of hostages in Moscow are the answer of the Moslems protecting the religion. » (the «Kommersant», 14.11.2002).

The discourse of the foreign Islamic radical organizations has been caused factologically – with the purpose of an explanation of the reasons of tragedy. It has played the great role in designing an image of animosity of a Muslim world. In these publications about Islam is not spoken as about one of world religions hostile to other world - matter concerns about Islam groupings supporting terrorism. However world scale of their activity covered in the publications, involuntarily create representation at the reader about animosities of all Islam world: "Zelimkhan Iandarbiev ex-vice-president of Chechnya under Dudaev frequently visits Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Arabian Emirates, where in mosques the fund raisings organized by local Islam by parties" ("Argumenti i facti" ("Arguments and the facts"), № 44, 2002) are regularly carried out. In this small fragment first, the geography of terrorist support and, secondly, regularity and mass character of fund raising is demonstrated. In the same publication there is a reference on Moslem organization of USA, Jordan and England supporting the Chechen terrorists.

It is unconditional, when the matter concerns about the documentary facts and necessity to call things by their proper names the similar publications are necessary. The problem in the next - Russian Islam acts on this background as some idealistic construction, tribute of democratic freedom of conscience, institute, behind which community is not visible. In conditions of modern Russia it is characteristic also for other religions. However there (in hostile Islam camp) the people collect the donations in mosques and so on, i.e. Moslem appears as acting element of the life, and here - Islam appears as declaration, more often as performances of clergy condemning terrorism.

As a result Russian Islam in information space is deprived most important - community, human factor, such "a thing in itself" for resident. And real Islam, alive, is there, ready to fill with the contents and to inhale life in this module.

Islamic ideology as a source of the Chechen-Russian opposition. The mass-media widely used a cliché about ethno religious colouring of the Russian-Chechen opposition. Ethno-religious marking is present practically in all Russian materials about the Nord-Ost. Most frequently words "Moslem faith" and "Moslem" are associated in the text with Chechens (50,7 %). In a quarter of materials it was spoken about Moslems of Russia (25,3 %). This discourse appeared as during demonstration of peace character of Moslem faith which is shriven by the majority of the Russian Moslems, and at discussion of the threat going from Moslem faith. A small number of publications mentioned Arabs and inhabitants of Iraq as carriers of Mohammed belief (8 % and 5,3 % accordingly). It is rather understandably pressing forward by journalists to designate an ethnic accessory of terrorists as their ethnic coincides with a national accessory of the Chechen Republic inhabitants. Nevertheless, Chechen phobia, having mass character in the Russian society, puts a problem of information overcoming of negative stereotypification of Chechens.

As it was mentioned already, the materials anyhow broadcasting the Islamic factor in tragedy have got in research sample. The Islamic factor was differently presented in messages of press: so, in the majority of publications about act of terrorism on a musical "Nord-Ost", the authors of materials mentioned a question about criminal (54,8 % %) and military (16,4 %) activity of Moslems. It is connected with attempt to explain, how the given tragedy became possible in capital of Russia. 16 % of the publications consider events of "Nord-Ost" on a background of religious Moslems life. In 17 % of materials the Moslems life is considered in connection with terrorism, in 8,5 % of materials Islam and terrorism are directly connected. Press has broadcasted the information about the fact that Aslan Maskhadov's representatives referred to Movsar Baraev as the commander of an Islamic special purpose regiment.

The remark of the journalist from a magazine "Vlast" is rather fair which has noted, that "nobody notices, that Islam world itself already some years are in the hostages at the terrorists" (November 4-10 2002). However such journalistic position is rather exception.

About two thirds of materials contain photos that symbolizes for the reader documentary of the publication. On the screen in most cases there are a recreation center on Dubrovka (29,3 %), politics, public figures (14,6 %), insurgents (14,6 %), military authorities (7,3 %), victims (7,3 %), demonstration in support of a peace in the Chechen Republic. There were photos of the Russian Muslim leaders less often. Images occupy enough space – 1/16, 1/32 of strips. Only 1,6 % of publications about the Nord-Ost, concerning Moslems, were illustrated with the usage of

Muslim symbolics, but it does not remove negative stereotyping of Moslems from visual lines because insurgents acted in text information space as a special category of Moslems. Correspondingly, photos of insurgents only fixed a broadcasted association of Moslems and terrorists. Character of images represents the important factor of perception the information by the reader, puts down original stress in a material. So, the author of the publication can not put a problem of praising the Islamic factor at the analysis of this or that problem, but the photo on this background can serve undesirable stereotyping

Shahid-women-condemned. According to formal and informal rules of journalistic art the publications are under construction with the usage of bright images on which as on a core reports of information are threaded. Materials about the events on Dubrovka were not exception. «Especial» hostages, children's doctor - peacemaker Leonid Roshal represented information "markers" of one pole of this tragedy, on the other one terrorists-suicides were drawing attention most of all.

Among fifty killed terrorists the woman made up eighteen persons. Their age did not exceed 23 years. The Chechen insurgents actively use women in war - the Nord-Ost was one of 13 acts of terrorism which have been carried out by shahid-women in Russia. The mass-media repeatedly emphasized sexual uniformity of shahidism as the Chechen-Russian feature: «The trade mark of Baraev: he uses women-kamikaze» (KP, 25.10.2002); «The terrorist war against Russia – has especially female face that is not present in any other country of the world, exposed to attacks of extremist religious formations» («the Industry of suicide», the Independent newspaper, 02.09.2004).

It is possible to assume, that the enhanced attention to women - kamikaze is caused partly by lack of convergence on true organizers of the capture of hostages, morbidities for mass-media of a subject of the Russian-Chechen opposition. No one of several dozens insurgents has not been taken alive in a course of special operations on liberation of hostages. For a year after tragedy no one of organizers of a crime has been caught. Chechen-women, recruiting "shahid-women" for the "Nord-Ost", have been arrested in May, 2003 in Ulus-Kert. Women - condemned have acted as the convenient image allowing mass-media to design «a history with the offer» where the biography of shahid-women and their families, the reasons which have induced them to act of terrorism, arrest of their recruiters, and also the details which are not having the direct relation to a policy and a criminal case were included in. The image of shahid-women being communicatory and emotionally saturated helped to fill in the informational vacuum around the subjects of sources of the tragedy.

As an example of usage an image of shahid-women exceptionally for attraction of reader's attention big enough article in «the Arguments and the facts» can minister, devoted to the story of

two hostages who managed to run away, about an event inside a building on Dubrovka, was adduced under heading «Condemned named Life» (29.10.2002). So in translation name Aisha - one of Chechen-women-condemns whose role in a material is limited to one paragraph - sounds.

As another reason of an enhanced attention to the image of terrorist-women-condemns so-called palestinization of terrorism syndrome serves. It is accustoming to terror, fatalism which starts to be peculiar not only for inhabitants but also for mass media. Memory of victims of acts of terrorism is not so popular in the Russian mass-media. The subject about original causes of acts of terrorism is also not popular. «If the God Providence plays bones with you, so why then to penetrate into original causes of acts by shahids and shahid-women. Fatalism discolours an ideological palette of terrorist war, depreciates its political purposes» (Jury Bogomolov, the "Izvestiya", 24.10.2003).

The big attention to shahid-women the popular edition «the Komsomolskaya Pravda» also has given, using reader's interest to this problematics and with the purpose to dispel the certain myths. So, in day after act of terrorism in the newspaper it was told that "the Women - hits working for money, as a rule, are far from idea of blood feud and absolutely not romantic natures, as duplicates them on TV. Frequently they are not even Moslems" (25.10.2002). Before an anniversary of the act of terrorism on Dubrovka KP has published a fragment from the book of journalist Julia Juzik "the Brides of Allah". How are young Chechen women transformed into «living bombs»? (22.10.2003.) «the first conclusion: from 10 of "shahid-women" only 1 will be real - ideological, by all means wishing to revenge and be lost. The others 9 – are a bluff. ... I know also that leaders of band formations have received the large order for a direction of «Woman – “shahid” » which is very well financed».

Popularity of the shahid-women image is quite natural, being caused both as factologically, so and by laws of a journalistic genre, however for mass consciousness this image influences on formation of negativism in relation to Moslems in the same degree if it is not more, than a discourse of foreign Islamic groupings.

Overcoming a negative stereotypification of Moslems in publications about the Nord-Ost. About the one fifth of publications of the Russian press (18 %) comprises the statements underlining peaceful disposition of Moslem faith which is shrived by Russians, marginality of a vahhabism. With official applications chairman of Council of muftis of Russia Ravil Gainutdin, Spiritual control of Moslems of Tatarstan and other religious leaders of Moslems (about one third from these materials), and also orthodox leaders (15 %) have come out. «The most sorrowful is the fact that terrorists, making godless acts, are taking refuge in Moslem faith. Obviously that roots of tragedy – are social and political ... Tatarstan Moslems – are peaceful and easygoing people – terror is unacceptable for them» - the chairman of SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS

RT Gusman Iskhakov marked (the «Arguments and facts - Region», October 2002, № 44). Metropolitan Cyril, replying to readers of the "Izvestiya", spoke: «I am deeply convinced, that Moslem faith as the religion does not provoke terrorism and aggression. The terrorism and aggression are provoked with special perusal of Moslem faith» (24.12.02). The press also wrote that victims of the act of terrorism have been commemorated by all faiths (29.10.02). Words in protection of Moslem faith were uttered not only by religious figures. 38 % of the given category of materials contains pronouncements of public and political figures of Russia, based not only on their conceptions, but also on the experience. In particular, the known doctor-peacemaker conducting negotiations with terrorists, Leonid Roshal marked: «I have not seen, that they (terrorists) have been praying» (the «Moscovskiy Komsomolez», 02.11.2002).

It is remarkable, that journalists seldom enough came out with the judgments protecting Moslems – it is only in 15 % of this category of materials (or 2,7 % from the general file). It is rather negative tendency, taking into account that they appear as the major leaders of opinion for consumers of the information.

Statements of religious figures are the positive tendency, however absence of a purposeful information policy on overcoming the negative stereotypification of Moslems, reduces their efficiency. The distrust to Muslim figures can be based not only on confessional distances, but also on the assumption, that they, declaring peaceful disposition of Moslem faith, nevertheless, support their coreligionists.

Also the probability of operation of the effect of a boomerang is great^{4[4]}, when the information does not render on an audience expected effect, and operates with opposite image, owing to durability of initial purposes of people. Overcoming the effect of a boomerang is possible under the planning submission of arguments so that they «constantly were amplified during long enough time»^{5[5]}. Thus, the responsibility for overcoming the negative stereotypification of Moslems lays not only on religious figures, but, in the greater degree, on journalists.

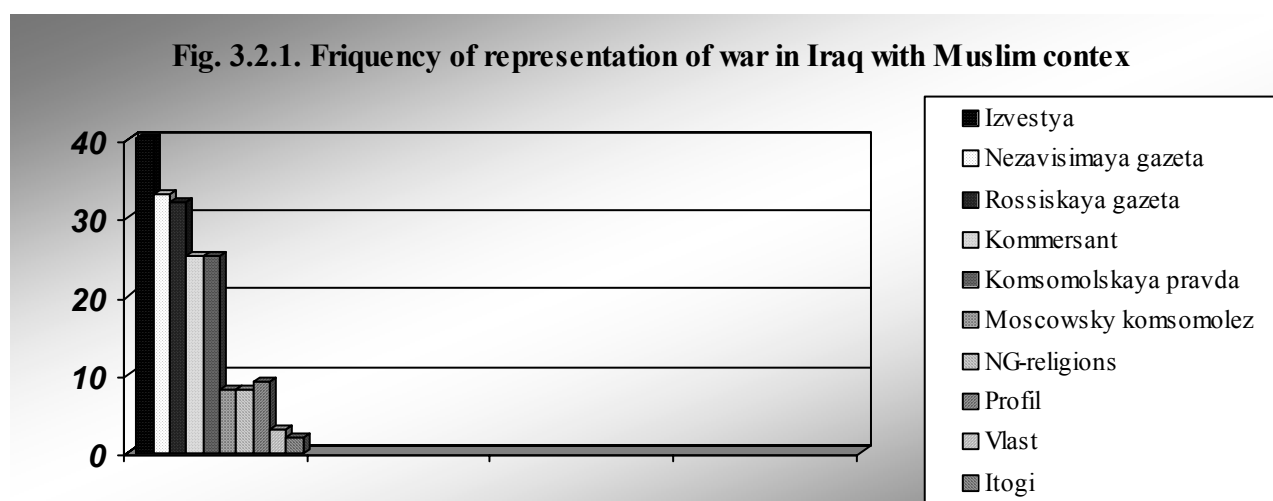
3.2. Representation war in Iraq

The All-Russian press

The subject of war in Iraq, having the international resonance, has received dimensioned enough covering also and in Russian mass media. Within the framework of the project publications about Iraq, concerning the Muslim factor were considered. For the researched period (from the end of 2002 till June, 2004) in press the given subjects has been mentioned in 202 publications.

The greatest interest to covering of the given subject was shown with newspapers the "Izvestia", the «Independent newspaper» and the «Russian newspaper» (see. Fig. 3.2.1.). Nevertheless, volumes of articles were small enough: 33 % have made publications in the size of 1/4, 22 % - 1/16 and the fifth part – 1/2. All strips have been occupied only in the one tenth of materials.

Representation of materials about the war in Iraq in the central press was frequently illustrated (115 images on all file). Judging by graphic support, military actions in Iraq were presented militarized enough: the one fifth of photos reproduced the chronicle of war – insurgents, weapon, and hostages have been submitted on them.



More often the information on the Iraq conflict got in a heading of "Izvestiya" (71 message), in headings of social-political directivity (56), fifty-fifty – on 26 messages – in a heading of scandals / incidents and in the strips which have been not designated by headings. In religious headings only two materials have got. Despite of the fact, that journalists were converted to military-political questions more often, and also that only the one tenth of materials mentioned religious life of Iraq inhabitants, it is impossible to approve, that the war in Iraq has been deprived of religious components in performance of the press.

First of all, it was achieved by the use of the Islamic terminology which has sounded 126 times. The fact that the majority of the population – are Shiits has caused also the greatest use of just this term (40,5 %). Twice less the term "sunnism" was used. These two terms in the press sounded in connection with split of shiits and sunnits in the beginning of military actions in the country, and then also their integration against the American intrusion.

The use of such terms, as "Sheriyat", "Hajj", "mufti", "Ayatollah", "Shahids" (on 3 %) and "Koran", "Namas (Mohammedan prayer) ", "umma", "Vahabism" (about 1 % in each case) is insignificant.

The identification of the Iraq war with Moslem faith at an audience could be achieved also by the use of Muslim symbolics. It was present in 5,3 % of the materials containing the images.

In most cases as authors of the materials journalists of editions acted. Very seldom the authorship belonged to the own correspondents of the edition in the region of the conflict and to representatives of authorities (13 and 10 materials accordingly). Remoteness of Iraq and, frequently, impossibility to watch events by means of the own journalists determined that authors used messages of the international agencies and referred to them in one third of materials about Iraq. Further on a rating of references – messages of the Russian news agencies and foreign authorities and the press-services are (hardly more than 10 % in each case). On 7 % of references appeal to the authorities and the press-services of the Russian Federation and political parties and public integration. The reference on "AL-Jazzier", statistics, quoting the words of heroes of a material are met on the average on 3 % in each of the cases. The basic social roles of heroes of publications are submitted in Table 3.2.1.

Table 3.2.1. Social roles of the heroes of publications (units)

Officials	95
Military criminal groups	58
Muslim clerics	47
Muslim movements	33
Ethnics groups	26
States	16
Public opinion	15
Victims	12
Saadam Hussein	11
Osama Ben Laden	8

Covering the war in Iraq, the press, basically, adhered to a neutral position concerning Moslems (67,8 %). However the discourse was not homogeneous. So, there were analytical materials about the reasons of war, variants of development the situations containing both positive and negative estimations of Moslem (23 %). Possible scripts of becoming the new statehood of Iraq were put forward. According to some of them Islamic republic was prophesied coming to take place of Hussein dictatorship ("Izvestiya", 17.05.03), referring sometimes on

authoritative Iraq figures ("Izvestiya", 17.05.03 have given the words of Said Al Hoshemy about necessity of the Islamic state which will help to avoid chaos). Some journalists broadcasted in press also more serious scripts: « Some orientalists predict in the future integration of the Iraq shiit's south with Iran or even full merge of Iran and Iraq in one Islamic state», - the correspondent of the newspaper «Arguments and facts» has noted (№ 19, 2003), talking with Ayatollah Al-Hakim. Ayatollah has rejected it as absurdity: «... under any circumstances the Iraq people never will agree to such integration. The Iraq inhabitants have a great desire to keep their state uniform...». Thus, the Moslem faith is conceived as threat, as ideology around of which east countries can rally. The fear of the uniform Islamic state is so great, that as compared to it arguments from a history of the country, the state and national identity recede. The phrase «They have no ever other form of consolidation except for «Allah Akbar», - quoted by Director of the Center of ethnopolitical and regional researches E.Pain, was present in an article about the Chechen Republic (the «Arguments and facts», №44, 2002), but it is quite applicable to islamophobia concerning Iraq.

Another block of materials rejected an opportunity of the Islamic state in Iraq, appealing to the fact that the country never was remarkable for religious fanaticism («the Independent newspaper», 12.03.03). Such position also was given reason by words of honored Iraq inhabitants. «The Independent newspaper « (12.05.03) has given a word of Ayatollah Al-Khakim who has supported construction of the modern, tolerant state in the ethno religious plan.

Besides display a chronicle of events in press motives sounded about war of the West against Moslem faith, an opposition of civilizations - it was present in 16 publications («The war in Iraq: five senses of an event» - «the Russian newspaper», 8.04.03, «Game without rules» – «Moscow Komsomolez», 9.04.03). "Izvestiya" (27.06.03) has given the words of one of the shiit's community leaders: «Soldiers have rushed into our houses with dogs and have directed trunks on women and children. We are Moslems. And we will not tolerate the dogs in our houses. We will not be restrained with those who do not want to respect our customs».

Ayatollah Al-Hakim comes from a line of Prophet Mohammed, therefore he is very much dear in Iraq both by shiits and sunnits, and also by Moslems of other countries what allows considering him as the leader of opinions. In interview to the correspondent of the «Arguments and facts» he has told: «.. This war has brought incalculable travails to people of Iraq. ... we are rejected on hundred years ago: the population starves, in hospitals there is no not only medicines, but even bandages, in houses there is no electricity, communication does not work. As a consequence of this war we appeared to be cut off from an outside world ... the war rendered the strongest influence on all the Near East and the Middle East, peoples occupying it suspect the USA and their allies of attempt to establish the control above this region and its mammons ».

In magazine "Profil" (24.03.03) the article has been issued in which it was spoken: « the USA want to make the world unipolar. There is a conflict of two ideologies. « The second pole of force » – the international terrorism confronts the USA. The same it is Islamic extremism; the same it is a radical anti-Americanism». At the same time in individual variants there was also a denying of an opposition of the worlds: the Central Asian mufti A.Bakromov to whom the «Russian newspaper» (16.11.2003) has referred, did not consider the war of the USA as a campaign against Moslem faith. They «are right in the war against terrorism», - he marked.

In some publications, especially it concerns the beginning of military operation, condemnation of actions of America contained («Yes – to freedom! Not – to America!» – the «Russian newspaper», 16.04.03), «Impact across Iraq is postponed till February» – the «Komsomolskaya Pravda», 31.01.03). Some materials were based not on an emotional rating, but on the argumentation. So, in the « Komsomolskaya Pravda » (11.09.03) the material has been printed that the method of world globalization, earlier coming to nothing more than economy, has moved « on physical destruction with the help of military components ».

About the one tenth of materials negatively displayed Moslem faith in a context of the given war, mentioning growth of Islamism and its global purposes, attempt of terrorists to be justified by the Koran. There is an index mention of this or that radical grouping named in press Islamic – 101 times. "Al-Kaida" was in the lead, finding itself in an object-glass thirty two times.

Citations of islamophobic character were also present in the block of negative materials (five publications on a file). The journalist of "Profil" (3.03.03) marked, that owing to war the stream of refugees to the Old World will rush. « And how many among them respectable Moslems, and how many zealots shahids – nobody will take to task to predict ». Accusations of negative influence of Moslems on the world (such articles contained the information on an opportunity of the nuclear weapon in Iraq, radical spirit of population of the country) have almost collected 5 %.

As a peculiar "opposition" to such publications became the materials containing appeals to religious indulgence and differentiating Moslem faith and terrorism (5,7 % and 4,5 % accordingly).

The use of concept "jihad" (15 %) was defined not only by covering of purposes of Iraq inhabitants, considering the struggle against Americans sacred. The Iraq discourse about jihad has received unexpected continuation in Russia in connection with the application of chairman of the Central SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS of Russia Talgat Tadzhutdin about the announcement of " sacred war » to America (spring of 2003) which "has divided" Russian umma into very small part of those who has supported it, and considerably more powerful part of those who has denounced the given application. Discourse about jihad reflected the opposition of two

of the largest Russian Muftiates – Central Spiritual Board of Muslims of Russia and Spiritual Board of Muslims of the European part of Russia, headed by chairman of Council of Mufties. It is expressed, first, in translation of the conflict caused by the announcement of jihad by T.Tadzhutdin and his condemnation on the part of Council of muftis, second, in domination statements by chairman of Council of Mufties of Russia Ravil Gainutdin.

The rating of newspapers by criterion of reversal to the given subject looks as follows:

Table 3.2.2.

The press	Number of publications	Size of publications
“Kommersant”	4	1/4, 1/16, 1/16, 1/16
“Izvestya”	3	1/4, 1/4, 1/16
“Nezavisimaya gazeta”	3	1/4, 1/4, 1/32
“Moscowsky komsomolez”	2	1/16, 1/128
“Komsomolskaya pravda”	1	1/4
“Vlast”	1	1/16

Some editions, following an opportunity to involve more readers, in headings attributed scandalous words of mufti to all Moslems of the country: «the Russian Moslems have declared to America jihad» (the "Businessman", 4.04.2003), «Jihad by Russian» (the «Independent newspaper», 4.04.2003), «Moslems have moved aside Sacred Russia» (the "Businessman", 3.04.2003).

Some materials contained only irrespective information on application of Tadzhutdin, others reflected reaction to event of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, Office of Public Prosecutor of Bashkiria and influential religious figures. So, the words of the head of Department of Ministry of Justice of Russia S.Nikulin were quoted that if jihad is understood as recruitment of mercenaries and purchase of the weapons, then it gets under the criminal legislation (the "Vlast", on April, 7-13 2003; the «Independent newspaper», 4.04.2003). With estimations concerning action of Tadzhutdin also politics of Tatarstan have not remained in the side: «The independent newspaper» (8.04.2003) has presented opinion of the President of Tatarstan M.Shajmiev, considering application of Tadzhutdin as attempt to create a schism of Moslems rows, the Adviser of the President of Tatarstan R.Hakimov who has estimated the action as dramatized populist trick. Much more severe in relation to Tadzhutdin appeared known Russian politic-Moslem Geydar Jamal, having noted, that it is «the clown in a dressing gown, mentally diseased person ...».

The sharp reaction passing in aversion and indignation, probably, has affected also those who has originally loyally considered the application for «sacred war». So, some time later the accent was displaced on realization of jihad in spiritual sense – through prays and condemnation

of America. Besides religious leaders of other faiths, trying not to accent the conflict, have addressed with statements that the announcement of jihad – it is manifestation of emotions (the «Independent newspaper», 11.04.2003). Action of Tadzhutdin became original "present" for yellow mass-media which accompanied these materials with images of a snook (cocked by mufti at America) and represented the mufti grotesquely.

The Council of Muftis has sharply denounced this action, having declared, that «the application on behalf of all Moslems of Russia, invocatory to retraction in Third world war under the pretence of jihad, is a great sin». Therefore «anybody from Moslems has no right to make with Talgat Tadzhutdin joint Mohammedan prayer» (the "Izvestiya", 14.04.03).

The similar situation acts as consequence of absence of thought over information strategy of SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS, and also of its leader. It is not only expression of Tadzhutdin's positions, but also the uneasy situation developed between various regional muftiyats.

The fact, that as a whole Russian Muslim umma has not supported jihad, is the certain index of condemnation of extremism and inadmissibility of national-religious dissension. Here it is how the «Moscovskiy komsomolez» has characterized it (17.04.2003): «one more certificate of consolidation of healthy Muslim forces». Unfortunately, the given subject has not received large-scale reflection in other editions what also could not act as a counterbalance of the negative stereotypes generated by expansion of the given case.

Traditional interest of Russians to events in the world politics, friendly communications with Iraq and it's already the former leader Hussein, having a place in history of the country, presence inside the military conflict of economic (oil) component, - the points contributing to commercial success of those editions which represented the war in Iraq. These factors cause often reversal of the press to the given subjects. In spite of the fact that the war was not considered as religious more often, at the reader negative purposes could be formed in relation to Moslems owing to the use of Islamic terminology, symbolics, and sometimes also the veiled accusations of negative influence of Moslem faith on the world. In spite of the fact that the mass-media frequently have a propensity to the sympathetic relation to Iraq inhabitants, fear to Islamic threat which connected, first of all, with the countries of the Near East and stereotypes about Moslems as about the aggressive militarized peoples, generated for some last years in mass consciousness, become only stronger by the information on Iraq.

Nevertheless, submission of a material in a neutral context, accuracy of many journalists in estimations and attempt of differentiation Moslem faith and the terrorism which has appeared

after overthrow of Hussein mode, did not allow developing just emerged in mass-media discourse about an opposition of Islamic and Christian civilizations.

The press of Tatarstan about the Iraq war

As against the Russian press which willingly represented the war in Iraq, the tatarstan press has addressed to the given event only in twelve publications which have been connected with Moslem. In addition to smaller attention to this subject, in comparison with the Russian editions, it is necessary to note as well qualitative distinction in submission of these materials. So, local editions have not given due attention to mutual relations between shiits and sunnits, developed from split before integration against invaders. Disputes on an opportunity of construction in Iraq the Islamic state also have not found reflection. Such position - is consequence of some caution of local journalists, fearing of disputed subjects. Accent on events of local scale – is characteristic of many provincial editions.

Practically all materials have been published during the greatest interest to the Iraq war, namely – during preparation and the beginning of operation (January - April 2003). And there are only in one publication - in the summer and autumn of the same year.

Not numerous available materials represented the Iraq war as the military-political conflict. Politization of the Iraq question is shown also in the fact that only two local publications concerned religious life of Iraq inhabitants. At the same time representation of this subject in particular could be interesting to inhabitants of republic which half of population is made by Moslems. In comparison with the Russian press, in the majority of publications there were no connections with the extremist Islamic organizations. Names "Al-Kaida", "Taliban" and "the Palestinian front of clearing" have sounded only three times. Shares of materials of neutral character and containing both positive, and negative estimations of Moslem (5 and 4 accordingly) are almost equal. In three publications the Moslem faith has been submitted negatively. It put us on its guard also the fact, that two headings of the local press have islamophobic character.

In the majority of materials the Moslem faith is bounded up with inhabitants of Iraq. As to the use of Islamic terminology "shiism" and "sunnism" were met in three times, "sheriyyat" – one and "jihad" – two times. The discourse "promoted" by the Russian journalists about scandalous application of Tadzhutdin concerning the announcement of jihad to America has not been picked up actively by their tatarstan colleagues. This subject appeared only in two publications and moved not as scandalous argument, but as a refutation of jihad which was given by spiritual leaders RT. So, in the article «Gusman-hazrat: application of Tadzhutdin is not coordinated with common sense» (the «Vechernyaya Kazan», 5.04.03) the head of SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS RT has noted: «we pray for a peace in Iraq, and Talgat Tadzhutdin pushes us to

the third world war». Another article has been issued in the regional application to the «Komsomolskaya Pravda» (5.04.03) with heading « Mufti of Tatarstan has not supported jihad». The subtitle said: «He has denounced Talgat Tadzhutdin, who declared to America sacred war». The press has avoided wide discussion of this question, attraction of authoritative representatives of umma. Application of Tadzhutdin with much more pleasure was used by the Moscow colleagues.

The volume of local materials also was small – 1/14; and 1/32. "Dispassionateness" of journalists also the fact shows, that the most often reversal to this subject – is in the official newspaper of authorities “Republica Tatarstan”. So, the beginning of military operation in Iraq was given in comments of President RT to this newspaper (21.03.03.) Shaymiev, certainly, is the powerful political figure in Russia, however the newspaper has not addressed to opinions of other politicians to give a spectrum of estimations. M.Shajmiev has noted that does not consider a developed situation as collision of civilizations though «to some extent it occurs as events develop in Muslim world». But, as it has sounded further, « we shall consider it as concurrence».

Nine times in local editions there was a position of condemnation of America which extreme point became a question on sympathy to terrorists which results from the real time broadcast in which journalist I.Murtazin and the adviser of President RT R.Hakimov have taken part.

It is necessary to note, that, as against the Russian press, in the Tatarstan one it is not observed domination of a discourse of foreign Moslem faith. However here there is other extreme measure – it is orientation only on republican scale - there is not enough materials reflecting life of Moslems in other countries, including also in Iraq.

3. Image of the Russian Moslems in the information company

«Matter about Hijabs»

If the foreign Moslem faith appeared in a context of radical criminal movements' activity then the loudest informational companies concerning life of Russian Muslim umma are «business about hijabs» and «jihad by Talgat Tadzhutdin».

Struggle of Muslim women for the right to be photographed on the passport in scarves began since May, 2002. As initiators several Moslem women have acted from Nizhnekamsk city (oil capital of Tatarstan). Further the Union of Muslim women of Tatarstan active has joined to them led by its chairman, the editor-in-chief of newspaper "Muslima" ("Moslem woman") Almira Adiatullina. Plaintiffs referred to the fact that to be shown publicly without a scarf acts

for Moslem women as a sin. Protecting the belief, they appealed to Constitution of Russia and Tatarstan Republic which guarantee religious liberty to the citizens and do not forbid executing devotions, and also on a number of the international legal documents. Within one year several judicial hearings of the given affair have taken place including in the Supreme court of Tatarstan Republic and the Supreme court of the first instance of the Russian Federation which deflected requests of some Moslem women, referring to the instruction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs according to which it is necessary to represent " black-and-white photos without a headgear " for reception of the passport. The situation was resolved on May, 15, 2003 when the Supreme Court of Russia has made a decision that according to religious convictions it is possible to represent for the passport a photo in a headgear.

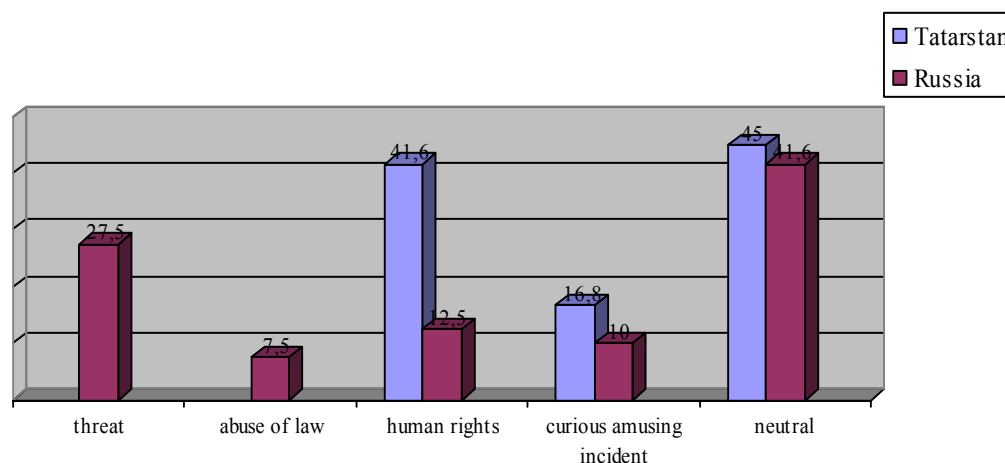
As to the point one of journalists has noted, it was interesting «the fried fact», and «a history with continuation». Representation of the «matter about hijabs» has acted as a model of Muslim subjects representation in the Russian mass-media. The given model can be considered in the following planes: journalistic and reader's stereotypes and prejudices concerning Moslems; journalistic professionalism; ethno religious purposes of central and Tatarstan authorities; a civic position of Muslim clergy; a degree of information activity of Muslim community.

The «matter about hijabs» acted as the basic directions of journalistic treatments: 1) struggle for the right to have been taken the photograph on the passport in scarves as display of Muslim fundamentalism and threat of deviation of the Russian right from norms of good breeding; 2) danger of abusings from the right to be photographed in headgears (not only believing, but also criminal elements can take advantage); 3) struggle of Moslem women as the natural requirement concerning upholding of the civil rights; 4) performance of "affair" as funny thing; 5) neutral informing (see. Fig. 3.3.1.). In publications the given positions are frequently bound.

The materials representing the «matter about hijabs» as display of Muslim fundamentalism, represent it as the fact of an establishment of the Sheriyat norm in the secular law, the usage of words "hijab" (while the majority of editions use a word "scarf") is more often. Names of articles speak for themselves: « the Russian passport is corrected under a Moslem custom » ("Izvestiya", 15.05.03), «the Court considered norms of a Sheriyat» ("Kommersant", 16.05.2003), etc. «After judicial resolution Moslem women to be photographed on the passport in scarves-hijabs, - "Izvestiya" write, - the leaders of the Russian Moslems encouraged by success, brought up a question on Islamic principles in economy " ("Money for dictatorship of the Sheriyat", 09.06.03.). «Moslem women in kerchiefs have acted against pass», - the same "Izvestiya" inform about the new action of the Union of Muslim women RT (29.09.03). A leitmotif of many publications of "Izvestiya" (and, what is typical, it is not the Kazan staff reporter, but Moscow

journalist G.Bovt), concerning the «matter about hijabs» was the point of view expressed the journalist's opinion in one of the first materials on this subject: «From innocent, particularly "culture logical" requirements to cover a head for a passport photo ... the logic chain is not too long. Then it will be demanded - also through the court - to correct the school program according to the Koran, to divide training of boys and girls. Then according to the same norms the requirement to bring in a corrective amendment in many other norms of life standard in Russia and professional work in the most different spheres will be realized. In madrasah already openly (instead of underground as it is now) training the future civil guardsmen of the Chechen fighting groups will be started. "Charitable" funds will be created. ... And then it is nearby and up to new September, 11... » (03.08.2002). Such position is the most dangerous from the point of view of distribution intolerant purposes concerning Moslems, formation of an “image of the enemy”.

Fig. 3.3.1. Types of treatments of the "matter of hijabs" (%)



The Russian press in the majority has ignored the fact that Tatarstan Moslem women have been supported by the Moscow Helsinki group and by the Committee on protection of human rights RT. «As chairman of committee Dmitry Vohmjanin has noted, - the newspaper "Respublica Tatarstan" writes, - in Russia Muslim peoples make a significant part of citizens of the country, and not to take into account their religious rights - means to ignore international law and the Constitution of the Russian Federation («In a scarf on the passport – by all means!», 16.05.03.).

As the individual version which is worthy of notice, it is possible to allocate vision of struggle of Moslem women as usage of the ethno religious factor by imperious elites of Tatarstan as counteraction to pressure of the federal center («The Scarf of contention, a scarf of peace. It is strange concurrence», "Isvestiya", 13.09.02). The press not only did not use the given scene, but also graded ethno political components of the conflict: in particular, the attention was not

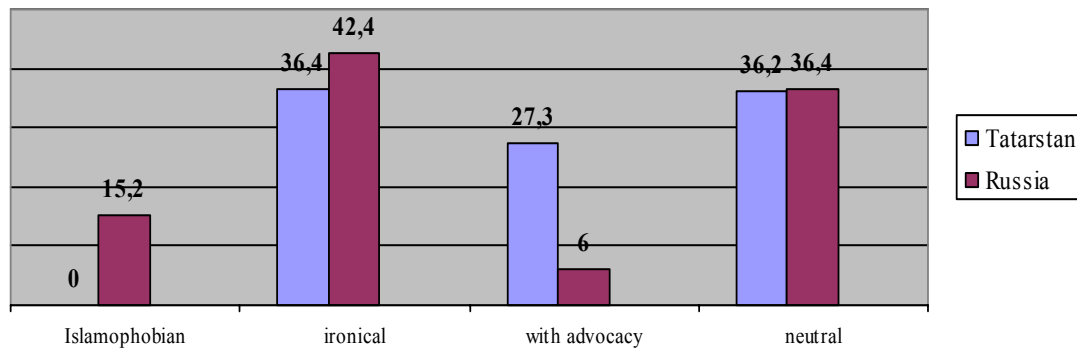
accented to support of Moslem women on the part of President RT M.Shaymiev and chairman of tatarstan parliament F.Muhametshin, the deputy of the State Spiritual Board of Moslems from Tatarstan Flura Ziatdinova. About absence of pressing forward for giving to the conflict the contents of a federal opposition also weak actualization in press of a position of the President of Russia V.Putin speaks who during the visit to Kazan at the end of August, 2002, has named it "a mode which is present today, and tomorrow it is not present". Mass Tatarstan press has not sounded the given opinion. In the central press two basic approaches have been revealed to this – it is one critically regarding the given application «Moslem women ask not to confuse religion with a mode. The Tatar women wait for apologies from President Putin», NG, 09.10.2002) and another – it is using his position for support of their position (the publication of "Izvestiya").

Another interesting version which has been not picked up by mass-media is a performance of the « matter about hijabs» as political concession to a Muslim part of Russia. «There is an impression, - the « Nezavisimaya Gazeta » writes, - that last bloody acts of terrorism in the Chechen Republic have compelled the federal authorities to go on a number of political concessions. First, yesterday it became known, that the president of Russia has submitted for consideration of the State Spiritual Board of Moslems the project of the order "About the announcement of amnesty in connection with acceptance of the Constitution of the Chechen Republic " ... today the Russian authorities least of all look at experience of the West. The main task of the Kremlin – is just somehow to ensure stability in a society, which significant part is made by Moslems" ("Amnesty without kerchief", 16.05.2003).

Neutral position in treatment of the « matter about hijabs» in Russian and Tatarstan press in many respects official news or the short information made (38,8 % and 40 % accordingly).

The position of press has received bright expression in **headings** (see. Fig.3.3.2.). The majority of headings did not contain association of Moslem women with the terrorist organizations, did not specify direct threat of Moslem faith, but however contained a significant share of irony. The irony acts as "cultural-pertinent" display of aggression when the question is the phenomena and processes of peace character: «the Mask, I do not know you» ("Izvestiya", 18.05.2003), «Take off the hat ...» («Moscowsky Komsomolez», 20.07.2002), «The main thing is hijab to fit» ("Izvestiya", 15.05.2003), etc. It is interesting, that frequently behind such headings rather neutral information materials disappeared. Thus, not allowing their point of view to be expressed in the publication, authors represented it in heading.

Fig. 3.3.2. Characteristics of Headings (%)



Sneer at a subject of a passport photo without a scarf reached also rough distortion of the facts. So, in the newspaper "Izvestiya" from 10.07.02 the article has been published under the name «Moslem women are judged for the right to be photographed without the face». The matter has never concerned the closed face in the given process. And though the contents of the article did not concern a question on an opportunity to be photographed without the face, such name has brought in destabilizing role to representing the given subject.

A number of articles of the central press had headings of islamophobic contents. The most discriminate from them belongs to mentioned already material of "Izvestiya" - "Kerchiefs black. The photo on the passport can become an element of Islamic fanaticism". (03.08.2002).

Research has confirmed a hypothesis that events of Moslems life in republics of traditional distribution hanaphit mazhab (Tatarstan, Bashkortostan) do not find due reflection in mass-media of Russia. It is interesting, that the above mentioned informational companies concern exactly these regions. Thus, in conception of the ordinary Russian reader Moslems of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan represent the group allocated from integrated society. It is allocated due to certain deviant purposes.

Tatars act as the second ethnos on large number of population in the Russian Federation, the majority from which profess Moslem faith of hanaphit mazhab, loyal enough in relation to society purposes and modern style of life, as against Moslem faith of some east states. Translation of positive examples from life of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan Moslems could become an original counterbalance of the information on the foreign military conflicts frequently inevitably connecting Moslem faith and terrorism, to contribute in removal of stereotypification "Moslem - enemy". However the mass-media as if purposely scanned opposite examples.

Negative stereotypification of Moslems in «*business about hijabs*» had classical components: 1) leveling, 2) sharpening and 3) assimilation, when the complex phenomenon is reduced to several well-known attributes, and then to these attributes the special significance is given in comparison with what they had in structure of the whole. On the leveled and sharpened

features of the phenomenon the image having special psychological value for individuals is created.

The image of Moslem women, broadcasted by press in representing of the «matter about hijabs», was hostile, though this animosities has been frequently veiled. How «the image of the enemy» was under construction? Here it is possible to find out four components: 1) Direct association of Russian Moslem women with Moslem women of the East, created by a mention of words "paranja" (which had no relation to a problem), a harem and so forth: «Moslem women want to be photographed in paranja» ("Izvestiya", 07.06.02); "It will not come down to paranja" (the "Komsomolskaya Pravda", 17.05.03) and so forth. Taking into account deep-rooted in consciousness of the majority of citizens a stereotype about potential threat from the Muslim East used analogies play a negative role in image of Moslem women. 2) In a significant part of publications, and in particular, in headings, familiar expressions from a popular Soviet motion-picture film «the White sun of wilderness» which scene has been built - in a context of struggle of Red Army with the armed groupings of basmaches in Central Asia for an establishment of the Soviet authority were used. In the bright images of the film wives of the defeated opponent act – carrying paranja and having traditional qualities of "east" women – ignorance, shyness, etc. The Younger wife was called Gulchitay, and one of characters of the film has been meekly in love with her. Words «Gulchitay, open face!» are familiar and favorite by millions of Russians. The familiar expression has been picked up by journalists: "It is necessary to open face" ("Izvestiya", 10.06.2003), "Gulchitay will open face", ("Izvestiya", 4.06.2003), «Gulchitay, cover face!» ("Results", 20.05.2003), «Gulchitay, show the passport!» (the «Komsomolskaya Pravda», 16.03.2003), etc. Use of such analogy attracts two negative consequences – first, it limits perception of a problem, reducing it to exaggerated comedy images; second, also contributes association of Russian Moslem women with representatives of the fundamentalist East. 3) Another determinant of the image of the enemy is founded on broadcasted by mass media figure of the woman-terrorist-shahid-condemned to death. Shahid-woman on interpretation of the majority of mass-media is a woman with the proof Islamic belief, ready to assert them. Thus, women with the proof Islamic belief, struggling for the civil rights, also are conceived as original threat. Besides of this become stronger stereotype involuntarily arising of the reader on the given image a direct identification by journalists of Moslem women struggle for the right to be photographed in a scarf with growth of Islamic radicalism renders significant influence: «Only in one the Internet there are so many opinions about hijab - you will come engrossed. Here already also terrorists from "Nord-Ost" have been remembered by a bad word" ("Vechernyaya Kazan", 2560-2561). Thus, women with the proof Islamic belief, struggling for the civil rights, also are conceived as original threat. 4) The next compound of this image correlation of Moslem-women

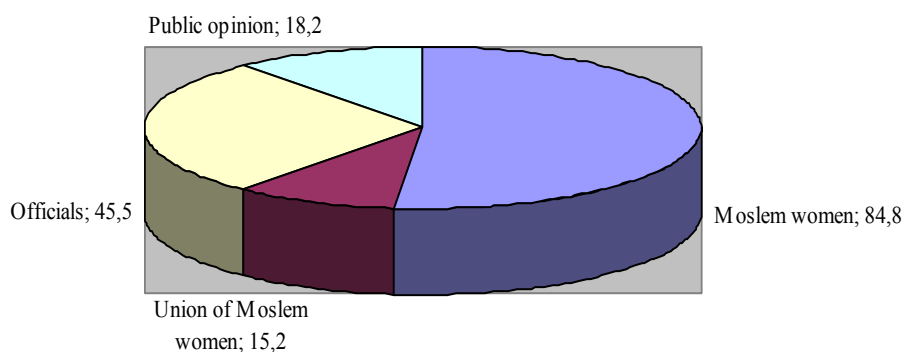
in hijabs with representatives of criminal groups, who ostensibly also can have their photograph taken with the covered head, was, and «Komsomolskaya Pravda» has brought the given series to «cap of standartenfuehrer SS» (16.05.2003). Court examination on the given question, instituted under the initiative of fund “Ansar”, has not received a public resonance.

In the informational company «affairs about hijabs» as well effect of Barnum is observed when the person is declined to take personally banal indistinct statements under influence of respected sources.

Mass newspapers did not explain ethical sense in a coating of head by women in Moslem faith. Comparisons with Christianity where the coating by the woman of a head also is honored were not resulted also. More often journalists referred that «the Moslem faith does not allow».

The information on the «matter about hijabs» in the Russian press has been sated with "actors" (see. Fig. 3.3.3.). Moslem women appeared practically in all articles. In 72,6 % of materials insonation of their position – in the form of direct quoting, retelling or the reference to words (equal shares) was made.

Fig. 3.3.3 Social roles of heroes of publications, Russia (%)



As the social characteristic of Moslem women, struggling for their rights, the ethnic belonging frequently acted. Not depending on the fact that they asserted rights of Moslem women of Russia without dependence from their nationality, in the central press they have been named Tatar women in 45,5 % of cases (Moslem women of Russia – in 60,6 %). About the same ratio is in a local press. Ethnic marking was present and at a number of headings, for example «Tatar women want to be photographed in scarves» ("Kommersant", 20.07.2002).

The materials devoted to the «matter about hijabs», irrespective of journalistic treatments represented for themselves qualitative on a degree of **proclaimed reliability** media products using various official sources of the information (the Russian and international agencies of news, messages of authorities, etc.). It results in danger of displaying effect of Barnum. In other words, there were all chances for islamophobic headings to be accepted on belief by an essential part of reader’s audience (Table 3.3.1.).

Thus, in a significant share not tolerant position of the mass-media had all chances to be the acquired by the essential part of a reader audience and to support available negative stereotypes concerning Moslems.

Table 3.3.1. References to sources of the information, the Russian press (%)

Law	48,5
Officials, Russia and Tatarstan	27,3
Tatarstan News Agencies	15,2
Koran	15,2
History	9
Russian News Agencies	9
International News Agencies	9
Other	12,1

Representation of the «matter about hijabs» specifies absence of uniform information channels in representing a Muslim problematics and information passivity of Muslim community. So, in the publications of a local press concerning "affair", very seldom there is a reference to opinion of representatives of SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS. So, the material devoted to reversal of the Union of Muslim women for support in struggle for their right to the President of Tatarstan M.Shaymiev, acts only as processing of the publication from a site islam.ru («Vechernyaya Kazan», «Do not photograph me, the photographer», №2413-2414). Thus neither the press-service of the President nor a management of SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS aspired to reflect the given fact in local mass-media.

Unequivocally to name the reasons of such passivity, nevertheless, it is not obviously possible. On the one hand, this is display a shortage of a precise information policy of the Russian Moslem faith (about what it was spoken both in interview, and on a round table), on the other hand, from our point of view, absence of a uniform position of Muslim leaders on the given question took place. So, if SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS of Tatarstan has distributed the official application in support of tatarstan Moslem women (what, however, has been reflected in individual publications of local, instead of the central editions), the chairman of Spiritual control of Moslems of the Asian part of Russia, the co-chairman of Council of muftis of Russia Nafigulla Ashirov have acted in support then the assistant of Spiritual administration of Moslems of the central European part of Russia Damir Hasrat has stated an opposite position, having declared, that «... in a Sheriyat there is a position which provides occurrence of similar cases: If believers are compelled to break any religious norms on demand of the society state there will

not be a sin on them" ("Moslem women were dictated to take off the scarves", the "Nezavisimaya Gazeta", 06.03.2003).

Publications of Tatarstan press were more tolerant and objective in representing the "matter about hijabs". In editions there were no headings of islamophobic character, the irony has been submitted in softer variant, the percent of the headings reflecting support for Moslem women is great (see. Fig. 3.3.1, 3.3.2.).

The difference of positions of the governmental newspaper "Respublica Tatarstan" and the popular newspaper «Vechernyaya Kazan» pays attention to itself. "RT" acts with an approving and supporting position: «Matter about scarves: Without morals Russia does not have future...» (06.03.2003) – so one of the materials on this subject is entitled. In other issue the newspaper make a quotation of a summary of a double-band material of the newspaper the «Tatarskiye kraja» (it is distributed both in republic, and in diasporas), devoted to the «matter about hijabs» under heading "«Matter about hijab» requires national support" (27.03.2003). The newspaper writes also about support of Moslem women by the deputy of the State Duma from Tatarstan F.Zijatdinova and chairman of local parliament F.Muhametshin. «Vechernyaya Kazan» is distinguished with pressing forward not to give to this process the ethnic or political character, keeping thus elements of criticism, what supported its image as the "national" newspaper.

«Vechernyaya Kazan» has tolerantly enough approached to representing the «matter about hijabs». And though in interview one of journalists, working on this problematics has told, that this history "marasmic enough" and represented typical the «fried fact» by itself, the method of its submission considerably differed from Moscow. If Muscovites rhetorically and frequently tactlessly inquired «where there were these principles of plaintiffs all these years», then journalists of «Vechernyaya Kazan», wishing, probably, to emphasize the same, have made it differently. In one article, for example, it is told, that the representative of the group of support for plaintiffs was on session of a court without a scarf. She have answered on a journalist's question, that she holds it in a handbag though considers that it is incorrect to be photographed on the passport with uncovered head. « There are very convenient principles of the some people; - it is written in the end of a material about session of court. If you will - in a handbag have removed, if you will - on a head have tied» (VK, № 2456). Such "attacks" have been excluded in the governmental newspaper.

Publications of tatarstan newspapers have specified a number of professional defects. So, in the newspaper "Respublica Tatarstan" discrepancies in usage of the name of the organization the Union of Muslim women have been allowed: in releases from 10.07.2002 and 16.05.2003 the

name « the Organization of Muslim women » has been allowed, and 06.03.2003 name of the organization has been written truly. The newspaper « Vostochnuy express » names UMW as Association of Muslim women (№ 28, 2002). In «Vechernyaya Kazan», paying to the given problematics considerable attention, journalist marks: «I do not know bases of Moslem faith and consequently I do not try to judge, as far as guilty for true Muslim women to come into view once to the photographer without a scarf» («What there, under hijab?», VK, № 2560-2561). It remains not clear why in the most popular Kazan newspaper it was not found the person, capable seriously to work with a material concerning Moslems, familiar just with «bases of Moslem faith»?

The degree of attention of the local press to the given problematics is much lower, than in central one. So, "Izvestiya" have issued with superfluous of two times more materials on the «matter about hijabs», than «Vechernyaya Kazan» and twice more, than "Respublica Tatarstan". It justifies a research hypothesis about insignificant volume of materials about a modern estate of Moslem faith in Tatarstan in a local press. If "Izvestiya" on the pages have developed expert and reader's discussions on the given problem such practice was absent in the researched local press. Public discussion of this problem would be rather interesting – Tatarstan has wide experience of interreligious interaction. Tatarstan newspapers have disregarded also materials of the central editions pejoratively representing Moslems, in representation the « matter about hijabs », that justifies a research hypothesis about absence of the local press reaction on materials of the Russian mass-media negatively representing Moslem faith.

3.4. Daily life of Moslems on the example of representation the feast Kurban-Bairam

Within the framework of the project the coverage of Moslem holiday Kurban-Bairam in press was also investigated. The purpose of the reference to the given subjects was revealing, how is covered peace Islam in the Russian mass-media. Kurban-Bairam (" the holiday offering ") is one of most esteemed in Moslem Umma.

In researched sources of the Russian press there were 19 publications about Kurban-Bairam. The "Kommersant" and the «Komsomolskaya Pravda» are in the lead by the amount of reversal to representing the feast (in 5 and 4 publications accordingly). There are in two materials – in the «Arguments and facts». The individual publications were presented in the "Moscowsky Komsomolez" and the "Nezavisimya Gazeta - Religions".

Volume of the publications was significant enough - about half of them borrowed ¼ of a strip, quarter of the publications 1/3, one fifth - 1/16 of strip. Big materials occupying a strip are individual, and there are absolutely no materials occupying a half-strip.

The publications in more than half of cases were illustrated by large photos, at one of which were present personalities, in others - crowd (celebrating community) or this or that religious object (equally). Basically it is a Muslim symbolics (a mosque, praying Moslems), and also symbols of event, that for press means a photo of the ram which are going to be sacrificed.

Half of publications about a holiday were the clauses, other part – were short information. Two third of materials are written by the journalists of the edition, while there are no clauses by scientists, interview of the ordinaries Moslems. Nevertheless, three times in researched materials as the author was the religious figure. So, the Chairman of Council Muftis of Russia R.Gajnutdin has acted in one of publications with congratulations concerning umma ("Businessman", 12.02.03). In other material congratulations the orthodox archbishop Anastasy has stated. Interrespect, warm words concerning representatives of other religions – are a prominent aspect of religious tolerance. Unfortunately, the press did not abound such examples. Practically in all publications the religious Moslem life was mentioned, Two materials concerned sacred places for Moslems – they were Mecca, Saudi Arabia, they concerned a history of the feast and pilgrimage, for example, in the "A&F" (5.02.03). Reference to their political activity, to military actions was absent. Only in one of the publications the consideration of a holiday was connected to criminal activity.

During the given period in the press congratulations of authorities especially of the President of Russia V. Putin were broadcasted. He marked, that «Kurban-Bairam once again reminds us about cultural wealth of Moslem faith – about validity, mercy, and care about your neighbor. At all times they ministered to peace and to prosperity» (the "NG", 12.02.03), «I am convinced, that the Moslem faith henceforward also will contribute in strengthening of mutual understanding and good-neighborhood relations between people». (The «Komsomolskaya Pravda», 11.02.03). During probable confrontings words of the first person of the country are the important contribution to differentiation devout and those who is covered with this flag. He emphasized also necessity of the tolerant relation of representatives of different faiths: «Development of interreligious dialogue and cooperation ... is necessary for representatives of all religions traditional for Russia» (the «Russian newspaper», 12.02.03).

The attitude to a holiday as to official event, instead of as to a holiday in life of a religious community, has predetermined that the heroes of the publications were Moslem religious figures, representatives of authority. It proves to be true also by a fact that at coverage of a holiday the authors refer to the messages of the Russian and foreign official persons and press-services.

In the majority of the publications the words "Moslem" and "Islam" were used in relation to Tatars (40 %) and Moslems of Russia (34 %), i.e. the material had an internal orientation. For the benefit of "peace" submission of a material about a holiday also complete absence of mention about large Islam organizations speaks. In general, publications appealed for religious tolerance, contained congratulations on a holiday and information on it.

In the press of Tatarstan 45 publications were present anyhow concerning Kurban Bairam, from them 30 – are in the official newspaper of the government of Tatarstan the "Republica Tatarstan", 10 – are in the newspaper «Vechernyaya Kazan», 5 – are in the «Vostochny express». Basically publications made ¼ of a strip.

40 % of materials represented messages on dates of the feast, and with a political context at that to what also appearing of articles in a heading "Chronicle" bears. The feast is marked annually during different time (according a lunar calendar). Legislators of republic in 2003 have decided to be determined with date of Kurban-Bairam once and for ever. If the official newspaper of the government was limited to messages on sessions of the State Council on which the given question was solved, about changes in Law RT «About celebratory and memorable days in republic Tatarstan» (30.05.2003, 04.09.03, 25.09.03, 31.10.03) the «Vechernyaya Kazan», having the status of "scandalous", has developed the given discourse on the pages. The author sneered, that such decision has lifted the status of President RT up to transcendental heights. Earlier «the intellectual property rights on Kurban-Bairam have been fixed» for the Most High God while now «it appeared such, that neither in surah to tell, nor in laws to describe» ... «We have Kurban-Bairam – as the state feast. And the date of commemorating affirms not at transcendental height, but on Kremlin tower building» (04.12.03).

Six publications contained official congratulations with a feast in the "Republica Tatarstan". Two of them – were from President RT, one – from Chairman of SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS of republic, the others have been addressed to the President and people of Tatarstan from heads of the CIS states and east countries.

The materials of educational character explaining essence of the feast (desire to share with deprived, mercy, avoiding of any conflicts, and also the ceremonial side – immolating of an animal. The symbolical sense of it consists in that not a single drop of human blood would have fallen to the ground), its history, rules of offering up sacrifices have sounded in the local press only in five publications: three of them – in the "Republica Tatarstan", two – in the «Vechernyaya Kazan». There is interesting material in the «Vostochny express» in which an author refers to the history of Kurban-Bairam during the Stalin period, and also to its role for

Moslems during Great Patriotic war. It's explained by the fact that journalist of this newspaper is a specialist on Moslims subjects and has relationships in umma.

In addition to educational materials, the «Vechernyaya Kazan» was distinguished by annual publications of Muslim feasts calendars according the lunar cycle, made by the known journalist having the status of Hajji (made hajj) A.Dubin (04.01.02, 05.01.03, 10.01.04).

The share of materials is significant – it is one fifth, - in which Kurban-Bairam was mentioned unitary only indirectly: in representing life of creative collectives, people who have come to Moslem faith, etc.

Covering religious feast Kurban-bairam, for example, journalists twice less often applied to Islamic terms, than in materials about "Nord-Ost" and three times less often, than in materials about Iraq. Thus, in media practice of not only all-Russian, but also local editions the set of the Islamic terms used for representation of conflict events was fixed. At the same time the press permits itself to do without the use of religious terminology at covering daily life of umma.

Thus, the local press, at first sight, was attentive enough to the feast. However this attention in many respects has the political and formal context consisting in definition date of the feast, congratulations of umma by known politics. At the same time materials about celebration of the common feast, uniting both sunnits and shiits in other regions of the former USSR, in various areas of Tatarstan were not observed.

Despite lacking of obviously negative in relation to Moslems publications, conception about representation of the feast as extremely positive would be not absolutely true. Really, the texts concerning Kurban-Bairam are neutral enough or positive. However the discourse-analysis shows that journalists, representing Kurban, can express the general phobias concerning Moslems as a whole. For example, the journalist of the newspaper « Arguments and facts », talking about the nature of the feast with mufti of Spiritual administration of Moslems of the Asian part of Russia N.Ashirov, has expressed a position: «there are people asserting, that the ceremonial of immolation makes Moslems blood-thirsty, in fact it provides cutting a throat of an animal» (05.02.03). Mufti has been a little bit discouraged by these words: «... don't Christians or Jews really cut cattle? Don't they eat some meat?» He has explained, that «essence of a ceremonial not at all in killing of «a poor animal», but in feeding hungry, to force the well-to-do person to eradicate in the soul greed and to share with others...». The same article comes to an end completely not festively. The journalist is interested about an opportunity of export Islamic revolution to the West and to Russia. Such opportunity is rejected by mufti: « I do not know any fact bearing to it. In the same Saudi Arabia the religion is separated from the state, religious parties are forbidden, the bin Laden is deprived the Saudi citizenship, and the Saudi special

services cooperate with Russian and American in searches of terrorists ». Thus, even representing of the Muslim feast had a political tone.

Positive enough, at first sight, the material about commemorating Kurban in a mosque for Shiites in Otradnoye, contained «a general impression from the feast - blood on a white snow and prays, offered up to Allah» (the "NG-Religions ", 19.02.03). It is necessary to note, that, despite of presence in press materials about essence of a feast, journalists frequently cannot elapse from the settled stamps in its representing. It concerns also visualization (traditionally praying are shown and rams for immolation), and the context itself as the external, ceremonial side of a feast is absolutized while for Moslems the main thing – is to share with those who requires it, to show mercy for associates.

Similar character of submission of materials results both as from lack of knowledge of journalists, absence of experts, and rare reversal for comments to ecclesiastics so and from the deep-rooted stereotypes in representing of the given feast.

Thus, newspapers, especially All-Russian, use standart shablon and do not mention that peaceful Islam and Russian Muslim community demands more propaganda and attention.

Representing of traditional Muslim feast Kurban-Bairam more often both in Russian, and in the local press, has two basic directions: official-political within the framework of which umma is congratulated by muftis of Russia and Tatarstan, presidents of the different countries, and educational, directed on representing of a history of the feast and correct performance of sacramental. Undoubtedly, both directions are important enough: politically loyal relation to Moslems "removes" the certain negativism in relation to representatives of this religion, formed recently including also at mass-media suggestion. The explanation of essence of immolation is called to avoid conjectures and the certain phobias concerning Moslems.

Nevertheless, the integrating role of this feast uniting all Moslems in the world, and also representation commemorating in Muslim families, preparation for it, spiritual experiences, education of younger generation in the given context practically does not sound in press. At the same time expansion of habitual frameworks representation of Kurban-Bairam would be interesting enough for readers, and, accordingly, could minister the guide of ideas of tolerance.

4. MOSLEM JOURNALISM IN REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN

Considering representation of Islam in mass-media and Russia, there were important reasons to address to the discourse of Muslim journalism. First of all it imprescriptibly is connected with Tatar-speaking mass-media because it serves to the ethno-religious identity of Tatars.

Secondly in conditions of frequently intolerant information space around Moslems the specialized Islamic information channels are capable to become the original conductors promoting inter-group unity and self-esteem. Muslim mass-media is serious enough force which can as "to close" this group, creating aura of opposition and so to promote interreligious and interethnic dialogue.

4.1. Muslim press

One of the important results of Muslim revival in Tatarstan in 1990th was formation of the Muslim journalism having a rich history of the pre-revolutionary period. There are a number of editions in republic now which are issued by the religious organizations: "Iman", "Belief", "Umma", «Isker imla», «Din ver maguishet», "Muslima", «Islam nuru», etc. Materials published in them are directed, first of all, on compensation of blanks about essence of the Islam, caused more than seventy-year spiritual vacuum in our country. In Muslim newspapers suras from the Koran are printed, hadises, the history of Islam, substantive provisions and requirements, norms of a Sheriyat, the information on religious holidays are explained. However some interviewees expressed opinion, that such information policy of Muslim editions does not satisfy modern conditions any more: «... for today there are some Internet-sites, there are the newspapers, separate magazines, but they, in my opinion, are very poor, and do not satisfy requirements of Moslems». For today Moslems require also analytical materials about modern condition of Islam, life of Muslim Umma. Besides, according to one of respondents, integration of various groups of Moslems is necessary, and «... including Muslim press should also adjust this communications between separate representatives of a Muslim community, in my opinion».

Some restriction in representations of the materials concerning Islam, both in press in general and in Muslim press, in particular, is connected with an intensification of attention to Islam in the world. Similar opinions expressed also participants of "a round table": « Moslems, maybe, in some degree are afraid to speak aloud about those problems which exist, that has ripened. Besides it is connected with that there is a pressure on Islam ... including on the part of

mass-media when the negative image is created, and any discussion of internal problems of Moslems can entail unhealthy attention ».

The choice of Muslim newspapers creates impression of their «full strength », and so, the right of gaining the information on Islam realized in practice. However the majority of newspapers is distributed on a subscription and has small circulations. Life of some newspapers though included also in an official database of Muslim editions, has length of all in one - two issues.

It is necessary to note, that there is also a Muslim press outside republic. So, in Moscow the newspaper « All about Islam », having big enough format and 16-page volume, in which articles of well-known Muslim figures are published, is issued. However inconvenience in its reception (the subscription is carried out only through edition) limits a contingent of readers. Muslim newspapers began to be issued also in regions - in Izhevsk the bilingual newspaper « Ak Islam » began to be issued on a subscription, in Samara - regional newspaper "Azan" (the regularity of publication of the given edition has been subjected to doubt in Spiritual Board of Moslems RT). Thus, in Kazan there are real Muslim newspapers which are distributed on a subscription. Kazan acts as the major ideological center of Moslems of Russia. The press-secretary of Spiritual Board of Moslems RT, assessing work of such a large Muslim publishing house as "Iman" has noted its leading positions within the bounds of Russia. « Its head – Valliulla-hazrat Yakupov – is one of the most influential figures in Muslim beau monde in former Soviet Union and the East Europe, I think. All the more– his sources, newspapers, calendars are independent, belong to his community, i.e. actually he is independent from muftiat. If he'll want – he will criticize Ravil Gainutdin, for example, – he can affect a situation. Influence of his sources, his authority, and his periodical press has helped joining of two-three competing organizations under a roof of muftiat».

The great bulk of Muslim editions are issued in the Tatar language while not all Moslems of republic are Tatars, therefore there is a need for newspapers about an Islam, issued in Russian. There is a little of those in Tatarstan. These are such newspapers as "Umma", « the Muslim world », "Belief". As the editor of the newspaper “Belief” N.Garipov has noted in interview, there is a certain difference in mentality, education of Tatar-speaking and Russian-speaking readers, and it is tried to take into account in preparation of the materials. This newspaper is addressed not only to people of Tatarstan – the subscription to it can be made out in any part of Russia.

Representatives of Muslim press marked in interview, that low circulations, instability in schedules of releases of issues are a consequence, first of all, of financial character problems.

Muslim electronic Mass-Media. If the audience of Muslim printed editions is not too wide, electronic Muslim mass-media enjoy wide popularity. However demand of an audience is insufficiently satisfied, that is connected with shortage of such broadcasts, with their short duration, with inconvenient time for viewing. The specialized broadcasts about Islam are directed, first of all, on spectators informing about essence of Islam, Suras of Koran, regulations of Sheriyat, and also about charities of Moslems, construction of mosques. In opinion of many ecclesiastics, it is prematurely to convert broadcasts about Islam to an analytical level which demands the certain readiness of an audience. As an illustration of such position words of one of Imams can serve: «there is not enough culture, there is not enough information, that the Islam is not skull-cap and boots. The Islam is a way of life, first of all». Imams taking part in interview, advocate also for regular performances of Islamic leaders on TV.

The problem of new telecasts release is connected with financing as the religious subjects is not repaid for a TV channel.

«It is very difficult to make the way to the television. It is also difficult to tell some just day-to-day or normal things. Translation of religious feasts - it is only for Moslems. Yes, here, understandably, it is possible to think up the PR-program, but it is necessary to finance it. It is very difficult to make the way to any telechannel», - one of journalists has noted.

Less mass, but loved enough by the senior generation informational channel – is radio. In radio programs imam sermons, pieces of reporting from Muslim feasts, historical marks of development Moslem faith are broadcasted. Presenter of programs about Moslem faith of one of the radio channels has told in interview, that the attention was given also to the global events connected with this religion, to sects and caution of youth from finding themselves in such religious groups. In Muslim radio programs "feedback" with audience is also important. Realization of need for dialogue, reception of answers on those or other questions contributes, in opinion of the interviewee, to the communications between ordinary Moslems and the help to each other. Concrete examples from practice were quoted: « ... I remember, there was blind Layler, she told, that she lived, only listening to the transmission ... And eventually she has found for herself one old man through our transmission, who himself on Sakharova lives, and they have found each other, and together they even were going for bread. The person wants to do goods by the soul so much! ... ».

Development of new kinds of electronic mass-media has opened such channel, as the Internet, also and for Muslim journalism. The Internet-communications looks most attractively for young generation of Moslems. Besides the traditional educational

activity, many Islamic sites reflect life of modern Moslems, political questions, etc. As one of appearing on the « round table » marked, such sites as islam.ru, sufism.ru have created very good libraries in which the various literature on Moslem faith is collected, « and by that they as though carry out double function: on the one hand, they reflect life and activity of Russian Moslems, and on the other hand they help to education of the Russian Moslems, nurture in Moslems correct understanding of Moslem faith, nurture that tolerance which is necessary for citizens of the Russian Federation ».

In the Russian network space there are many sites about Moslem faith of various directivity.

Among these resources on frequency of quoting in mass-media, uses in search Islam.ru is in the lead.

If the Muslim press does not reflect a civic position of Moslems, having traditional educational directivity, so many network resources fill this blank. So, the site islam.ru has an active position in relation to negative covering of Moslem faith in mass-media, covering precedents and participating in judicial claims.

Nevertheless, Internet-resources of official Muslim structures, for example Council of Muftis of Russia, SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS RT are noted for monotony. It caused criticism of some scientists who were taking part in a work of the “round table”. « The information practically completely semi-official, it is a chronicle of events which occur in Spiritual Control of Moslems, and life and that spectrum of questions which interest simple ordinary Moslems of Tatarstan Republic practically are not reflected », - the employee of Institute of history RT and the deputy of the editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Belief" Nail Garipov has noted in his statement.

Thus, various kinds of electronic mass-media have a different audience. Television programs potentially have the greatest scope of spectators; however number of real spectators depends on subjects of transmission, professionalism of a presenter, urgencies of the lifted subject, etc. If transmissions on radio are designed, more likely, for an audience of advanced age, they are accessible to countryside, and then Internet-sites, certainly, are attractive for young generation and accessible for the present time only to the townspeople.

4.2. Muslim journalistic community in Tatarstan Republic: an estate and prospects.

Whether it is possible to speak about the generated Islamic journalism in republic? Despite of presence of periodicals, transmissions on radio and television – the question on presence of professional shop of Muslim journalism is debatable. Among interviewees there was no common opinion on the given question. The range of judgments can be characterized by such polar positions as « we have no the Islamic journalism as such » and « it is very easily formed, because there is a historical predisposition ». It is interesting that even those interviewees who expressed opinion on absence of Muslim journalism tried to characterize its modern estate and to analyze measures which would allow becoming it more professional.

The journalists working in Muslim editions, issuing radio programs about Moslem faith, were unanimous that censorship is not imposed on their materials. It is possible to illustrate this position by the words from interview: « Our Islamic journalists can write what they want themselves, we have no censorship. If someone wants to state, that somewhere something is wrong – by all means! ». Despite of the declaration of this fact, in Muslim mass-media debate practically is absent; there are not enough analytical materials. Interviewees emphasized necessity of a transgressing by Muslim journalism of the traditional bounds. Here are the words of one of the respondents in this occasion: « I, for example, cannot tell: - Talgat Tadzhutdin is right or he is not right, but, at least, his point of view should be also present, on what he bases, sights of our Moscow muftis, political analysts, researchers. It is necessary to state an objective rating of what occurs on a broader scale in Islamic world and what occurs, for example, among Moslems of Russia ».

Leaving outside attention the internal political reasons connected with disagreements of muftiats, we shall note, that one of the important determinant is a peopleware question in Muslim journalism. Necessity of formation a professional community of Muslim journalists was designated both by respondents, and participants of the “round table”. As religious figures and journalists marked, at present time in Tatarstan there is no purposeful preparation of religious journalists. « It is a defect both ours, and, maybe, the Union of journalists because, in my opinion, still nobody gave a close attention to this direction of journalism – may be, neither a faculty of journalism, nor the Union of journalists », - the first vice-president of SPIRITUAL BOARD OF MOSLEMS RT Valliulla-hazrat Yakupov has noted on the « round table ».

More often the Muslim journalism scoops personnel from graduates of the tatar branch of faculty of journalism of the Kazan state university. These personnel lack knowledge of religion that does not allow them to prepare for analytical materials. Besides, some imams also write about Moslem faith both for Muslim editions, and for Tatar speaking society. Basically it is publications about education of children, about mutual relations of children and parents, about morals.

Need for preparation of experts in this sphere has come to a head: « May be, in the future we will have graduates of Islamic journalists thanking Russian Islam University ... Moslem faith is a lifestyle. If it is not the lifestyle, if you are not “anxious” about this religion, you’ll not perceive something, such journalist would cannot write », - has been told in one of the interview.

Necessity of purposeful preparation of Muslim journalists is determined, in opinion of Chairman of Council on affairs of religions at Cabinet of Ministers of RT R.A. Nabiev by the fact, that « to cover life of Moslem faith, Islamic umma, the Islamic organizations it is rather difficult as it is necessary to know both the doctrine, and social practice, both ceremonial system, and structure of the Muslim organizations, and even down to mutual relation of various structures». Speaking on the « round table », Nabiev also has expressed opinion, that the correct way - it is a creation of the specialized group at the Russian Islamic University.

It is closely connected with a problem of personnel and formation of a Russian-speaking wing of Muslim journalism. One of the journalists has told in interview: « Unfortunately, a problem of Muslim journalism – is that it is absent in Russian-speaking editions. It is – for example, the application to “the Independent newspaper” – “Religions” but who reads this newspaper? Experts. I know, that they are solid, precisely understanding a subject, and with Russian surnames – this person can be respected, it is possible to enter in confessional disputes with him. But this newspaper has a circulation – one, two and there is an end to it. They talk to Muslim figures and no more than that. And it is difficult for them to knock until they are heard up to those who form public opinion from pages of editions ». Thus, for satisfaction of an information need about bases of Moslem faith, its essence, a place of Moslem faith in political life in local and global aspect, for Muslim journalism not only Tatar speaking, but also Russian-speaking journalists are required.

That fact, that Muslim journalism is in a stage of formation, determines, in many respects also that the professional community of Muslim journalists has not developed yet, despite of presence of the certain circle of people working in this sphere.

At the same time, as the «round table» has shown, the requirement for dialogue, information interchange at journalists on a broader scale and Muslim journalists in particular is present. According to the press-secretary of Spiritual Control «... for them dialogue is a pleasure, an exchange of experience. Even if they will gather, to have a drink of tea, this anyway is useful. If journalists, their colleagues go on any banquets, freaking-out, then it is inconvenient for them (for Muslim journalists), they don't want – and here they will meet their colleagues ».

Summing up, it is possible to tell, that at the present time the Muslim journalism neither is the force "closing" Muslim community nor, unfortunately, it is the guide of interreligious and interethnic dialogue yet. Overcoming the problems of Muslim journalism, its transformation in modern, pluralistic channel will render positive influence not only on umma, but also on representation of Moslem faith in other mass-media which can scoop there from the diverse information.

The recognition of problems in this area, their discussion in a journalistic audience as it was on the «round table» is already a step to their decision. Development of the further script depends, first of all, on a general-political situation in the country, opportunities of spiritual leaders in attraction of means, professional personnel, abilities to supervise and to direct this process.

5. INTERACTION BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND JOURNALISTS SOCIETY AS A FACTOR OF REPRESENTATION OF ISLAM

During the project the communications between journalistic community and Muslim figures also has been investigated. Interview to journalists have shown, that they do not have difficulties in information search at the reference to Muslim subjects. Respondents marked openness, availability of representatives of the supreme Muslim link of republic. Many testified that the Muslim elite even are more open, than bureaucracy: « the organization is not closed, as many our state structures, say, where it is necessary to reach ... »; « Well, basically, it is easier to receive from them comments, than from officials ». It is necessary to recognize, however, that the resulted journalistic responses concern one figure of Spiritual Board of Muslims, as a rule, – first vice-president Valliula-hazrat Jakupov, who gives comments more often and cooperates with the information environment.

So in what way are mutual relations between Muslim community and mass-media regulated? The analysis of interview has shown existence of only unilateral communication – journalists act more often as initiators of contacts, clerics do not have practice to inform about either, one or another information occasions. « We do not know, what occurs, - proper correspondent of one of newspapers has admitted. There is no feedback from their side. The initiative proceeds from us more often – we ask to comment on something » more often. It was also spoken on a round table about "inexperience" of local religious figures in interaction with mass-media. As consequence of disinterest in existence of systematical information display in mass-media ignorance by the majority of Muslim figures the rights in interaction with journalists also acts – for example, perusal of interview up to publication. There is no center which would accumulate the information on life of republic Moslems in Tatarstan. The press-service of Spiritual Board of Muslims of RT is not engaged in the given questions. Its prerogative, in opinion of first vice-president SBM – is interpretation activity of this organization. « We are pleased, as work of our organization is covered, - he has noted in interview. In other words we are submitted well enough – trips of mufti, let us suppose, an exchange of materials ». He has recognized simultaneously that there is no enough information on Islam in mass-media. Such narrowness of the press-service missions can be explained, first of all, by financial character factors (the press-service is represented by the unique journalist combining jobs), and, in the second place, by absence of understanding such necessity of activity. « It seems to me, our Muslim clergy simple has got used so, - press-secretary of SBM, has noted in interview. ... it is misunderstanding, maybe, value of PR ».

Thus, journalists are compelled to search actively for the materials anyhow connected to Islam. As to the point the editor-in-chief of regional representation of the newspaper has noticed: «If they want to be written about them and also their opinion were taken into account, the normal service which is faced to press, probably, is necessary. If they want journalists to search, they will search. But some mistakes can to creep ...». The given situation results to reflection of Muslim republic umma life and activity of Spiritual Board of Muslims in mass media being rather unsystematic and frequently subjective.

6. WAYS OF INCREASING OF JOURNALIST'S PROFESSIONALISM IN REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIM ISSUES

Increase of a professional etiquette level of journalists and increase in knowledge in religion sphere are perspective directions of transformation of negative tendencies in Islam interpretation. During realization of the project attempt to estimate what methods of implementation of these problems are the most effective has been undertaken.

The standard practice of increasing professionalism of journalists in the advanced society appears **the organization of every possible intracorporate meetings** which perform both educational and directing / supervising function.

The journalistic community, at least, Tatarstan does not represent the integrated whole, despite of the certain efforts of some public organizations conducting educational seminars and « round tables » for journalists. «It is very difficult to collect journalists. They are interested in any exclusive fresh information not much ... basically, certainly, this is such viscous bog », - was noted by the leader of one of public journalists organizations. The given problem has obviously appeared also on « a round table » - « Islam and mass media »: many journalists, basically, Russian-speaking editions, have not considered interesting for themselves and useful to meet with representatives of Muslim clergy, colleagues by shop from Tatar-speaking editions and to discuss ways of integration. Head of the journalism department of the Kazan state university, repeatedly organizing seminars for the journalists, concerning journalistic ethics, has expressed opinion, that « present journalists - those who has already developed and works, and earns money – we shall not re-educate them any more by the exclamations ». In her opinion, « it is necessary to gather those who support mass-media and determines their policy, and to talk: do you want our society absolutely collapsed or do you want your children living in society more or less representing any unity ».

The way of student youth attraction to a Muslim problematic **cooperation of journalism faculty of KSU and the journalists engaged in the given subjects** as in secular so and Islamic mass media can be. The remark of vice-president of Spiritual Board of Muslims that «nobody paid a close attention on this direction of journalism so far – may be, nor faculty of journalism nor the Union of journalists» is quite fair. One of the forms of such interaction can be a management of degree projects, reviewing – the Head of the journalism department of the KSU called upon to this on a round table. It is possible to add, that attraction of employees of these editions to carrying out master-classes, doing practical work by students to the specialized Muslim mass-media, training for elective courses would be also effective.

Observance of ethics and overcoming of nonprofessionalism in interpretation of Islamic subjects consists also in amplification **of the intracorporate control** of journalistic community. Now the disputed situations of moral-ethical character arising in the Russian journalistic community in connection with execution professional duties by journalists are considered in the Grand Jury of the Journalists Union of Russia, created in 1998. In the common opinion of experts and independent observers, practice of ethical regulation of press activity in Russia is not advanced yet to the right degree. Ethical codes of the Russian journalism are declarations, instead of norms of behavior in the greater degree. The research has shown that Muslim leaders do not know about such mechanism of the journalistic activity control. Representatives of journalistic community themselves are familiar with Codes more often by hearsay and did not face with activity of the Grand Jury. Statements of the participants of a round table have shown that for the majority the main censor appears to be their own ethics, the professionalism prompting –what about it is possible to write, and about what – it is impossible.

Unfortunately, at the present moment it is impossible to speak about the widespread practice of the reference in the Grand Jury Board on infringement of a professional etiquette under interpretation of Islamic subjects though actions of proceeding were developed and had a resonance. It is necessary to popularize activity of The Grand Jury, creating its representations in all regions.

7. PERSPECTIVE DIRECTIONS OF MEDIA POLICY TOWARDS ISLAM IN MASS-MEDIA

The information policy concerning representation of Islam in mass media can be considered in two aspects: a policy at a level of the state structures and a policy at a level of spiritual administrations of Moslems and Muslim public organizations.

As a sample of the state media-policy concerning interreligious tolerance the Interdepartmental program "Formation of installations of tolerant consciousness and preventive maintenance of extremism in the Russian society" can serve. (National strategy of assistance to becoming a civil society) (2000-2005). Among problems of the program – are carrying out campaigns in mass-media; scientific - methodical maintenance of political actions and campaigns in mass-media; preparation and carrying out sociopolitical actions, campaigns in mass-media. The interrogated journalists, including regional representatives of the All-Russia editions, unfortunately, did not hear about this program what puts dimensions of prospective media-actions under doubt. There is no any program of such kind in Tatarstan republic. The editor of news service of the most popular in republic broadcasting company "Ether" has noted, that journalists can respond to participating in the information campaign directed on improvement of Moslems image in the presence of financing: « Clearly, that very many editions would print with pleasure a material concerning the negative sides. ... so-called "yellow press" - they make money on it. And when there is a positive material, just on any theme, there are complexities here already, and many agree to do it only because of money. If to construct any promo dimensioned campaign, here, certainly, both forces and means are necessary on it ». The same opinion adheres also the head of the journalism faculty KSU: « if any measures will be undertaken not only in the field of mass media but in general in frameworks of information policy if those is present within the framework of republic - and journalists will be compilers of everything that will be useful ».

The round table organized within the framework of the project in the Kazan House of journalist, was the first action directed on an establishment of cooperation between journalists and Muslim figures in Tatarstan. As far as it is possible to judge, at the Russian level such meetings also were not carried out yet. Participants on the part of Muslim circles came with the big hope to be heard, with aspiration to inform up to journalistic community the attitude to the broadcast information where, in their opinion, the identification of Islam and terrorism prevails. The leader of the Muslim women Union Almira Adiatullina has noted that for ten years waited for a similar meeting.

Owing to necessity of duly informing mass media about the events occurring in the Muslim world of republic, there is a requirement for the organization **of the specialized press-service at Translation of religious information of Tatarstan**. In opinion of journalists and editors, the message about various events in life of republic Muslim umma should be its basic applicability, not limiting to the information about SBM: « ... there should be a service, ready to give the comment, to initiate some materials itself ».

By journalists wishes were expressed also about increase in a role of Council on affairs of religions at Cabinet RT in translation of the information concerning religious life of republic: «our Committee on affairs of religions – there is no practically any information from them, though, apparently, for certain powerful information streams are accumulated there, and there should be a person who in due time would inform about it». As the decision of deficiency information of such sort **creation of the site representing all news of republic religious life** can serve. This Internet-resource would find users also outside Tatarstan that increases its value.

First vice-president of Spiritual Board of Muslims has expressed opinion on a round table about necessity to organize a **community of the journalists writing on Muslim subjects** in republic. It can positively affect on representation Islam not only in the specialized editions, but also in secular Tatar and Russian-speaking mass-media. Chairman of the Journalists Union has promised « a roof above head », but with a condition, that it will not be a section of the Journalists Union. The idea of such community organization, certainly, is perspective, however, in our opinion the complexities connected with dispersion of Muslim journalism in republic, first, and by shortage of journalists, specializing on religious subjects in secular mass-media, second, can accompany with its creation.

A number of the interrogated experts repeatedly marked successes of Orthodox Church in a media-policy: these are presence of the multilateral materials concerning both activity of a patriarchy and Christian dogma, professionalism of the press-services. «We, it is necessary to recognize, lag behind in this area, – vice-president of Spiritual Board of Muslims has noted. In orthodox church the whole competitions, the seminars devoted by orthodox mass-media take place, there are even whole festivals and not only within the framework of the all-Russian scale ». Search of transformation directions of a media-policy concerning Islam can be promoted **by meetings on an experience exchange** in work with mass media of representatives of these two religions.

There is a necessity for creation **of a special training course** for the future imams, devoted to the problems of public relations and work with mass-media.

CONCLUSION

Research has proved presence of influence of the Russian and the Tatarstan mass media on formation of a negative image of Moslem faith and Moslems. Parameters of this influence are wide enough and include methods of gathering and submission of the information, interpretation of events, stigmatization characters. On the generated traditions of representation intrainstitutional factors have influenced: shortage / absence of knowledge at journalists on these subjects, a low degree of the intracorporate control, and also a low degree of involving of Muslim institutes in production of the information and weak efficiency of the communications of journalistic and Muslim communities.

1. There is no information in press about positive activity of foreign Moslems what interview and the content-analysis of representation a Muslim feast have shown. Dominating estimations of the processes occurring in the Muslim world of foreign countries, in the Russian press are characterized by the intensity connected with representation of radical groupings activity of Islamic sense. It was proved by representation of events in Iraq, captures of hostages on the "Nord-Ost" (about half of publications mentioned activity of foreign criminal groupings). In defiance of the fact that the most part of materials about Iraq had neutral character in relation to Moslems, laying the basic emphasis on military-political component of this conflict, use of such mechanisms as the use of Muslim terms, allowed symbolics to achieve at an audience association with Moslem faith.
2. The mass-media operate on a standard pattern of production and representation information concerning Moslem faith. Depth of the analysis of the problems concerning Islam and its adherents is insufficient for a formulation of substantiated conclusions and judgments. Superficiality, representation of «the fried facts», inaccurate application of Islamic terminology reflect speculativeness of mass-media concerning Islam. Mass-media as agents of designing of opinions, belief and stereotypes concerning Moslems broadcast, basically, the features negatively describing this group. The image of Moslem faith created by mass-media is associated with threat.
3. Despite lacking of frank xenophobic materials concerning Moslems, and presence of pressings forward at editions to place analytical articles, boundary Moslem faith and terrorism, the press broadcasts islamophobic purposes. It is expressed in the form of headings, journalistic notes, i.e. what influences not on rational, but on mythological consciousness.

4. From the numerous stereotypes caused at the man in the street by Mohammed religion, the woman - Moslem acted as one of the most positive one, connected with purity, femininity and humility. Popularity in mass-media of an image shahid-women-condemned, arisen in a course of representation capture of hostages on the Nord-Ost, and the women struggling for the right to be photographed on the passport in scarves, has resulted in distribution of negative stereotypes concerning women - Moslems, contributed in designing of “an image of the enemy”.
5. Covering daily life Muslim umma, measuring in research with the help of the content - analysis of representation the feast Kurban-Bairam, has revealed presence of politization. It was expressed in broadcasting official congratulations of Muslim figures and political leaders. On the one hand, in the certain degree it "removed" negativism in relation to representatives of this religion, but, on the other hand, acted as the certificate of a political acuteness and ambivalence of Islamic subjects.
6. The Tatarstan mass-media, despite of the big tolerance in comparison with Russian one, pay insufficient attention to modern development of Moslem faith, to pressing questions of republic umma. Its regards not only events in a World but Tatarstan based cases (“matters about hijabes”). It is connected, first, to absence of direct sources of the information at the local journalists and, secondly, with care of local press in all that concerns interaction of terrorism and Islam groupings.
7. The analysis of the Tatarstan press publications shows absence of precise concepts at editions on covering the problems connected with Moslem faith. The basic purpose of edition (as interviews also have shown) – is to separate from religious problems. In this connection this issues "assigns" to the journalists, capable to write materials on this subjects.

In Tatarstan newspapers there is no reaction on materials of the Russian mass-media negatively representing Moslem faith that was especially brightly showed in representation of female Muslim movement for the right to be photographed on the passport in the scarves, having a Tatarstan origin. Formation of the local press as worthy opponent of the Russian one in which there are negative estimations of Moslem, including also at covering Iraq, demands increase of a professional level of journalists, their motivating – both moral, and material, having been given good grounding in the sphere of policy and right.
8. The local press is not focused on democratic dialogue. Similar tactics of concealing can have negative consequences. Function of the leader of opinions is automatically

- transferred to the central mass-media, whose position frequently is not remarkable for tolerance. Absence of democratic dialogue on the given issues in a local press works for the benefit of increasing of not tolerant potential of local population disloyal to Moslems.
9. On present time the Muslim journalism neither is the force "closing" Muslim community nor, unfortunately, it is the guide of interreligious and interethnic dialogue yet. Muslim journalists of republic do not represent the integrated community. In order to the Muslim journalism became a powerful source of the information, besides institutional consolidations constant meetings, cooperation, information interchange, creation of corporate culture are necessary.
 10. For mass-media shortage of the professional journalists writing about religion is characteristic. There is no special preparation of the journalists specializing on religious subjects – both university, and additional (courses, seminars). Journalists frequently are in a captivity of narrow-minded stereotypes, myths in relation to Moslems, and reproduce them as leaders of opinions already. Editors of the majority of mass-media do not recognize information value of representation materials about life of Moslems.
 11. Professional journalist's ethics is not effective regulator of representation of Muslims. It is necessary to popularize activity of The Grand Jury, creating its representations in all regions.
 12. Production of the information concerning Moslems is characterized by a low degree of involving in it Muslim institutes. Muslim figures seldom act as sources of the information and have no skills of work with mass-media. It can be overcome with the help of special training courses in religious educational institutions. In Tatarstan there is no information channel, accumulating all news about Moslems' of republic life what interferes with their objective and all-round display in regional and central press. It is necessary to organize of the specialized press-service accumulating and translating information about life of different religious in Tatarstan with special site.
 13. It is effective for formation of tolerant purposes in relation to Moslems not so much translation of expert opinions (Muslim figures, politicians and so forth), as journalistic author's interpretation. Effective force for the statement of a positive image of Moslems the messages which have been organically built-in informational flows having constant character can become.

14. In Tatarstan Republic there is a necessity for development and realization of work for the benefit of work for the benefit of media program on formation of interreligious tolerance.

World politic, military conflicts let numerous information causes concerning Islam and Moslems. Negative stereotypization of Moslems are growing and can contribute to increasing of social distance between Moslems which are significant part of European and Russian population and other peoples, that will postpone society from democracy integration and provoke ethno religious conflicts. Mass-media should review common practice of representation of Islam. It is necessary to consolidate different institutes: state, religious institutions, non-governmental organizations, civil society in transformation of the Media policy towards Islam.

LITERATURE:

1. Bassam, Tibi. (2001) Islam between culture and politics. PALGRAVE.
2. Choucas, M. (1965) Propaganda Comes of Age. Washington.
3. Garifullin, R. (1997) Illusionism of a person as a new philosophical-psychological theory: psychology of deception, manipulating, coding. Kazan. Kniga & Ko.
4. Kara-Murza, S. (2001) Manipulating of the consciousness. Moscow. EKSMO-Press..
5. Lebedev-Lubimov, A. (2002) Psychology of advertisement. Saint-Petersburg. Piter.
6. Melnik, G. (1996) Mass-media: psychological processes and effects. Saint-Petersburg University Press.
7. Solovyev, A. Political discourse of mediocracies: problems of information age. In: Polis, 2003, # 6.

APPENDIX

List of newspapers and magazines:

I. Moscow daily newspapers:

1. the “Arguments and Facts”
2. the “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, (“Komsomol truth”)
3. “Izvestiya” (“News”)
4. the “Rossiyskaya gazeta” (“Russian newspaper”, edition of the government)
5. “Kommersant” (“Businessmen”)
6. “Nezavisimaya gazeta” (the “Independent newspaper”)
7. “Nezavisimaya gazeta - Religii” (the “Independent newspaper – Religion”)
8. “Moskowsky Komsomolez” (“Moscow Komsomol member”)

II. Moscow weekly magazines:

1. “Ogonek”
2. “Vlast” (“Authority”)
3. “Profil” (“Structure”)
4. “Itogi” (“Outlines”)
5. “Tatarsky mir” (“Tatar world”)

III. Tatarstan daily newspapers:

1. “Vechernaya Kazan” (“Evening Kazan”)
2. “Respublica Tatarstan” (“Republic of Tatarstan”)
3. “Vostochnyi express” (the “East express”)

IV. Tatarstan monthly magazine

“Tatarstan”

“Nezavisimaya gazeta – Religii” and “Tatarsky mir” were examined just in the frame of discourse analyses.