A two-stage Islamophobia: The American Muslim Image between Integration and public 'estrangement' in Chapel Hill reporting

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Abstract: This article is a critical investigation of American mainstream news media's reporting of Chapel Hill shooting, which is characterized by being double-biased. The two-stage Islamophobia, or double-biased anti-Muslim reporting, was a result of mainstream media's incessant endeavor to discursively frame the anti-Muslim crime into a 'run-of-the-mill' incident. Media's concerted efforts in both veiling the Islam phobic character of the crime and reinterpreting it into one that is not hate driven resulted in what is labeled in this article as two-stage Islamophobia, which is double-biased anti-Muslim reporting. Informed by framing theory, this study adopts content analysis, qualitative and quantitative, to identify the recurring themes constituting the general frame. The data were retrieved from LexisNexis, an academic database, and analyzed using qualitative data mining program, Atlas.ti, The study has resulted in American mainstream news media, particularly CNN and Fox News, engaging in a two-stage Islamophobia. It is characterized by the (n=0) Fox News broadcast transcripts, which rendered invisible the American Muslims in the American public space, hence a total underrepresentation. The American Muslims were also misrepresented in CNN's biased coverage, in which they were reduced into the 'other' in a superposed un-Islamophobic crime. The findings relate to the literature on the relationship between American mainstream media and the status and identity of American Muslims, particularly in the context of religious pluralism.

Keywords: two-stage Islamophobia, mainstream media, religious pluralism, American Muslims, framing theory, othering.

Introduction:

Debates on Media and Islamophobia have mainly been focused on how Muslims have been mistreated in western countries on the basis of their faith. However, paucity in the way media discursively frame and interpret anti-Muslim acts in their reporting has pushed this article to the fore with the intent of investigating how American mainstream news media cover American Muslims, how they approach instances of Islamophobia, what frames result from the coverage of such news, and how American Muslims are discriminated against in a two-stage reporting. In this endeavor, informed by framing theory with the Edward Said's notion of 'othering', this article adopts content analysis to uncover the discourses surrounding——hence defining——the Muslim identity in the present news. Media's agenda-based reporting of Muslim-related news has led to reinterpretations and re-explanations of the Muslim identity in the American public space.

The Chapel Hill shooting took place in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and was considered significant for its association with Muslims as victims. The incident is also significant in a context associated with

religious pluralism. It is this context——American religious pluralism——that forms the motive and significance of investigating the place of Muslims in the American public space. The relevance of studying Islamophobia from the perspective of the media also emanates from the latter being an instance of an ideological state apparatus and a non-repressive institution, which entails a critical study of the discourses surrounding, defining, and drawing the contours of the Muslim identity rather than investigating other frameworks——whether institutional or legal, etc.

Conceptual underpinnings

The American Muslim community has gained little media attention, therefore fewer opportunities to generally be part in the society they live in and to publicly condemn terrorism when 'terrorist' attacks are made to associate with Muslims (Bail, 2015). This public invisibility has led to discourses depicting American Muslims as un-American, unpatriotic, and 'other.' The problem of underrepresentation has also been ascribed to the imbalanced images of killing circulating in mainstream news media, which are not counterbalanced with depictions of non-violent Muslims in their everyday activities (Lean, 2012). This imbalance has resulted in a twisted, distorted view of reality——one that nurtures the narrative about Muslims being a threat in and to the United States of America. Islamophobia and how it is associated with media has appealed to researchers who view that Islam and Muslims are placed in and by Western media as the 'other' and opposite of the West (Runnymede Trust, 1997; Halliday, 1999; Poole, 2002; Sardar and Davis, 2002; Akbarzadeh, Smith, & Monash University, 2005). On the other side, exposure to media covering these images has correlated with a large portion of society endorsing an equally negative perception of the negatively covered ethnic and religious groups, of which the American Muslim Community is an instance (van Dijk, 1991; Cox, Dionne, Gatson & Jones, 2011).

Mass Media have created a public image, in which Muslim Americans are reduced as monolithic, static, and unresponsive to change. This misperception results in increasingly endorsing stereotypes and the accentuation of perceived differences between groups. Media rework Muslim-related newscasts in a way that constructs anti-Muslim discourses, hence unequal representation of Muslims in the United States in the mind of Americans and westerners in general. Muslims have been found reduced to five negative discursive frames employed in the representation of Muslims, Arabs, and the Middle East after September, 2001: Islam is a monolithic religion; Islam is a uniquely sexist religion; The "Muslim mind" is incapable of rationality and science; Islam is inherently violent; The West spreads democracy, Islam spawns terrorism (Kumar, 2010). Similarly, Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) issued a report in 2013 listing a number of themes found to surround and depict Islam into simplistic, unfounded ideas. The main themes are: Islam is not a religion; Islam is an extremist religion; all Muslims are violent extremists; Muslims plan to subjugate America and supplant the constitution; the Muslim Brotherhood is

the driving force behind almost every Muslim; minimize, dismiss or mock assertions of concern over anti-Muslim sentiment (CAIR, 2013).

The intermittent violence perpetrated against Muslims and non-Muslims alike have kept Islam visible in the news since 9/11, consistently raising the awareness of the perceived 'threat' from Islam to the 'Western World.' Therefore, attitudes towards Muslims have become more negative, and acts more hostile (Kolmer & Schatz, 2014).

The Chapel Hill shooting drew the attention of several researchers who saw it as toxic hate and Islamophobia, culminating in the present crime (Colson, 2015). Others researched the fine link between Islamophobia and the health of the population, considering that a stigmatized identity associates negatively with the health of the American Muslim community since it disrupts their life individually, interpersonally, and structurally (Samari, 2016). More research studies have viewed the predominant media narrative as an asserting force in the construction of an inherently violent Islam and dangerous Muslims (Petersen, 2016). Further studies have explored the causes, consequences, and dimensions explaining the crime and the context. This article attempts to contribute to the literature by exploring the discourses and the master frame emerging in the reporting of the news.

Theoretical framework:

Framing theory:

Framing consists in "selecting perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (Hanggli & Kriesi 2010, p. 145). It is also the "schemata of interpretation," which consists in including and excluding certain aspects in order to give meaning to a situation (Goffman, 1974, p.21). The frames that are visible in the media tend to uncover the broad dynamics wherein a topic is negotiated (Berger, 2012). Another definition views framing as the "information presented to an audience and how the selection of one method or content of presentation over another affects how an audience perceives a person, event, or issue" (Kaid 2009, p. 18 as cited in Gonzalez 2013).

Methodology

Informed by framing theory, the methodology adopted to explore the ideological frames in the Chapel Hill shooting text draws upon content analysis, qualitative and quantitative.

Content Analysis

The validity of research is contingent upon a rigorous methodology, which is "the general approach the researcher takes in carrying out the research project" (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001, p. 14). Specifically, content analysis is a common technique adopted across the social sciences with different topics and data to analyze and with communication-related applications as its focus (Aziz, 2010).

Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis is a numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomena that those observations reflect (Sukamolson, 2005). It also collects and analyzes numerical data using mathematically based methods, such as statistics (Creswell, 1994). The method is considered capable of eliciting research answers in a numerical fashion (Deacon et al, 1999).

Qualitative content analysis

The qualitative side of content analysis allows for an in-depth understanding of the prevailing themes and topics in their context. It can be identified as a thematic reading of text and can entail an interpretive approach seeking to examine how content is presented, combined, and used (Tajdin, 2010). This side of content analysis complements the quantitative study by undertaking analysis of what is implicit in the content and exploring the internal meanings and relationships between texts (Deacon et al, 1999).

Data collection

Data for analysis were collected from LexisNexis—an online academic database. The sampling frame of the present event was set to a two-month period—from February 10, 2015 to April 10, 2015. The database search engine returned a total of 12 transcripts from CNN channel and n=0 transcripts from Fox News channel, which is semantically significant, rather than numerically, in the context of this article.

Data coding

The data returned were coded using Atlas.ti, a qualitative data-mining program. The process consists in identifying the most recurring meanings in the text and creating summative words, which are codes, of repeated semantic patterns (Saldana, 2009). The most echoing patterns are also selected for analysis based on their frequency and salience in the text.

Data Analysis

After listing the codes, which draws upon code frequency and salience, they are content analyzed in terms of their frequency as well as their meanings in their direct context. The resulting meanings, or broadly discourses, are interpreted against the theoretical framework—framing theory—in order to find the prevalent discursive master frame.

Justification for targeting CNN and Fox News

Selection of CNN and Fox News accounts for the two channels being among the most influential mainstream news media in the United States (Pew Research, 2013). Exposure to Fox News has been

found to correlate with misinformation on certain issues, leading the public endorsing deviant opinions about Muslims and Islam. The two channels have also shown interest in Muslims, Islam, and other news featuring Sharia, Bin Laden, ISIL (ISIS), Jihad, Al-Qaida, terrorism, etc. With these factors, any engagement of disinformation or agenda-oriented coverage of certain news results in a large portion of the American public endorsing a twisted version of reality.

Findings and analysis:

The prevailing themes

This part provides the themes prevailing in the discursive event. The themes——codes with quotations representing their frequencies——were manually elicited using Atlas.ti, the data mining software program.

The table below shows the themes as well as their quotations.

Table(1) The major themes in the transcripts

Codes	Fox News	CNN	Total	Frequency of code per CNN Transcript (12)
Atheism	(n=0)	14	14	1.16
Denial of Islamophobia	(n=0)	31	31	2.58
Hate crime	(n=0)	130	130	10.83
Mental instability	(n=0)	18	18	1.5
Parking Dispute	(n=0)	75	75	6.25
Positive perpetrator	(n=0)	10	10	0.83

The 'hate crime' theme

Frequency analysis

Throughout the text, 'hate crime' represents a repeated collocation that has a frequency of more than 10 appearances, hence the associated discourse, per transcript (n=130). The number of the quotations (n=130) is significant compared to other themes although it proves the opposite proposition; it does not describe the crime——referring to it as hate driven——but rather places itself in two positions: it either questions whether the crime is hate driven or rejects the proposition——that the crime is hate driven. The next stage, qualitative analysis, will analyze the collocation in its context.

Qualitative analysis

The created dilemma of whether the crime is hate driven or not was forced into one sole answer through the sourced authoritative voices. A number of *(n=130)* appearances of the collocation——*hate crime*——were found to have no proposition suggesting the association between the crime and the explicit meaning behind the collocation. Although this is not a legal investigation of the crime, the article seeks to

shed light on the relentless endeavor of the media to prove the opposite of what may give rise to debates on Islamophobia, which is against media's agenda. An example of how debates on Islamophobia are prevented is seen in the following quotations from the CNN transcripts.

Triple killing may not be a hate crime[1]. (Officials)

In response to why hate crime does not apply to the present incident, which is already a presupposition that it is not considered as such, North Carolina police officials said:

*There's not much concrete evidence of bias[2]. (*North Carolina police officials)

Another quotation rejecting the direct proposition of the collocation anecdotally states:

Hicks' wife, Karen Hicks, who has been in the process of divorcing him, said the shooting was not a hate crime[3]. (Jason Carroll, CNN national correspondent)

The above quotations represent a sample of the overall similar contexts of the collocation in question. Hate crime is present in the disguise of denial—that of the crime having been committed due to the victims' faith. The quotations delineate media's tendency to resort to authoritative voices to usher the news into a specific, agenda-driven frame. The discourse constructed by the abundant numerical presence of the legal wording and its ensuing social meanings have led to perceiving the crime as unrelated to Islamophobia.

The 'Denial of Islamophobia' theme

The present theme refers to the idea of denying the existence of an anti-Islam act, which is also linguistically present through overtly stated expressions excluding the idea that Muslims may be treated negatively in the American public space. The coding process of the text has displayed a number of *(n=31)* direct statements expressing denial of Islamophobia, which also accounts for a numerical image of more than two appearances of the theme per transcript (2.58). In other terms, each transcript has two separate statements stating that there is no Islamophobia in this event.

Qualitative analysis: Denial of Islamophobia

The quotations below elicited from the discursive event are analyzed in their original context to investigate how certain terms transcend their numerical presence in the text and grow into themes constitutive of discourses and frames.

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1 Chapel Hill shooting: When is a crime a 'hate crime'?. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015) CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

2 Father says he knew he'd find the 3 students dead in Chapel Hill condo. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015 Thursday 2:21 AM EST). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

3 Father says he knew he'd find the 3 students dead in Chapel Hill condo. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015 Thursday 2:21 AM EST). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

He didn't like people parking in his space, and he was really, really adamant. I didn't understand why.[4] (Christopher Lafreniere, tow truck driver)

The current quotation assertively confirms that the crime did not take place following a history of hate but was limited to an everyday conflict over a parking space. The testimonial was given by a tow car driver from the complex where the murderer lived—a person who knows the murderer the least among other closer people although his word was given space by CNN, providing a new interpretation—that of there being no Islamophobia in the present case.

There was no federal investigation underway, and the incident appeared to be isolated rather than part of an organized campaign against Muslims in the state[5]. (Ripley Rand, the U.S. attorney for the Middle District of North Carolina)

Triple killing may not be a hate crime6. (Law enforcement official)

The quotations represent the grounded opinion of the U.S. institution vis-à-vis the murder and seem to be decisive as to whether there is any link to Islamophobia. The above quotations are statements by two authoritative and powerful U.S. institutions—law and law enforcement—joining to strengthen the prevailing discourse surrounding the event, particularly that of the absence of Islamophobia.

The Positive Perpetrator theme

Frequency analysis

The present theme—positive perpetrator—is constituted by statements explicitly positioning the murderer in positive light. The sourced voices present in the event have significantly influenced the way the murderer is presented. Statements in which the murderer is seen as a caring husband, a normal person, and a generous man all seek to exclude the perpetrator from being fully responsible for the crime. The numerical representation of the present theme is expressed at (n=10) appearances in total, with a mean value of almost one appearance per transcript (0.83).

Qualitative Analysis: positive perpetrator

Below are the direct statements substantiating the positive image of the perpetrator.

But Karen Hicks told reporters that the shooting had nothing to do with religion. Her husband believed in people's rights, she said[7]. (Catherine E. Shoichet)

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4 Who is Chapel Hill shooting suspect Craig Hicks? [Transcript, Television broadcast] (February 12, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

5 3 students shot to death in apartment near UNC Chapel Hill. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 11, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

6Father says he knew he'd find the 3 students dead in Chapel Hill condo. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015 Thursday 2:21 AM EST). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

There are photos of Craig and Karen Hicks together at Disney World, and a photo of him riding an all-terrain vehicle in the woods[8]. (Catherine E. Shoichet)

Also sourced is Karen Hicks, the murderer's wife, who was purportedly reported to be in the process of divorce. The idea contributes to the empowering of media's opinion, given that there should be no conflict of interest because of divorce. Also, the idea of believing in people's rights seems to attenuate the murderous image of the murderer, and turns the crime into an unexpected mistake. The second quotation draws another positive and friendly Craig Hicks in a place meant for children——Disney land, which represents a world associated with kindheartedness and purity.

Hicks [is bright, hard-working and kind.[9] (Susan Sutton, professor)

In this quotation, 'bright', 'hard-working' and 'kind' attempt to prove that the murderer's decision to kill was either a surprise or even an act unbecoming for Hicks. After the wife's testimonial, the teacher's represents the institution of education and what it thinks about Hicks despite the anecdotal nature of the arguments.

The Mental Instability theme

Frequency analysis

The mental instability theme underscores the abnormal act of the murderer, which is an additional attempt to ascribe the murder to the insane, unusual mental state of the murderer. A number of (n=18) quotations have been found to discuss the murderer as being mentally unstable, leading to a mean of 2 appearances in every 3 transcripts (1.5). Similarly to the parking dispute argument, the mental instability theme excludes the fact that an American, embraced as the positive in-group, may have committed a crime, therefore refusal to refer to the perpetrator as a criminal.

Qualitative Analysis: Mental Instability

He declined to provide any details about the suspect's mental health history, but said, "obviously it's not within the range of normal behavior for someone to shoot three people over parking issues." (Ben Brumfield, CNN Digital Newsdesk Editor)

The quotation presupposes that the perpetrator's mental health may have triggered the crime, an assumption that was not called for in the context. Also significant is the idea of having triggered the crime is avoided; the speaker targets the mental instability as the reason behind the socially unacceptable behavior. The

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7 Who is Chapel Hill shooting suspect Craig Hicks?. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

8 Who is Chapel Hill shooting suspect Craig Hicks?. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

9Who is Chapel Hill shooting suspect Craig Hicks? [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

mental instability theme refers to another loophole and evidence, the nature of which is anecdotal, used by media to hide the real motive behind the murder of the three Muslims. Also worthy of consideration is the presence of the word someone, which is a further cue reflecting media's upmost neutral description of the perpetrator, hence refusal to condemn.

What's going to be telling to that is whether or not he certainly is mentally ill and insane. Jurors, again, are very skeptical of this defense. And we know[10]. (Joey Jackson, CNN Legal Analysis)

This quotation is another instance of the Mental Instability theme; it provides a skeptical view towards the perpetrator, placing Craig Hicks in the context of an insane person, who is unaware of the atrocity of the crime. Although no evidence about the criminal's mental state exists, the media choose to engage the frame to redirect the course of the debate away from Islamophobia. The mental instability theme seeks to escape the reality that the man is a sane person who committed the crime because he hated the victims, as was reported months before the crime to their family. Jurors, as an authoritative source, judged that the crime was not perpetrated by a sane person, leading to it not qualifying as a hate crime or Islamophobia.

The fact that he was in and out of mental institutions. Like the fact that just before the killing, he was released and his family wanted him to stay there. Like the fact that when he showed up at his sister's house, he said, yes he did something that was wrong, but at the same time, the sister was even saying, this guy is nuts. So I think the experts will bring all that to bear to suggest this guy is legally insane. So all the prosecution has to say is look, maybe he has mental illness[11]. (Ashleigh Banfield, CNN Host)

The present quotation is very emphatic on the speculations about the perpetrator's mental state, with a superposed repetitive argument. Ashleigh Banfield sources powerful voices by referencing "experts" that will prove the perpetrator's mental instability. Banfield's certainty that the aforementioned experts will be able to prove her case raises skepticism. It is also striking how the event is taking this direction away from a crime fueled by hate, anger, and Islamophobia, according to the victims themselves.

The Parking Dispute theme

Frequency analysis

The Parking theme is constituted by a collection of quotations reducing the shooting into the simplistic idea of a dispute over a parking spot. The Parking theme is an abundant code with a high frequency of quotations throughout the transcripts, which strengthens the no–Islamophobia narrative by

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10 Murder Trial of Eddie Ray Routh in Second Day; The Complexity of the Insanity Defense; Remembering the Victims of the Chapel Hill Shooting. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015). CNN, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

11 Murder Trial of Eddie Ray Routh in Second Day; The Complexity of the Insanity Defense; Remembering the Victims of the Chapel Hill Shooting. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015). CNN, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

suggesting the parking dispute as the major reason behind the shooting. The theme is therefore another form of the absence of Islamophobia, with a visibility expressed at (n=75) appearances throughout the 12 transcripts, resulting in an average of more than 6 appearances of the theme per transcript (6.25).

Qualitative Analysis: Parking Dispute

The parking dispute argument is made present to interpret the crime into a sheer verbal dispute, which is a claim that excludes the idea of any crime perpetrated on the basis of the victims' faith. The idea of explaining the conflict as a parking dispute uncovers a great deal about the way mainstream media's deluding strategies conceal cues that are indicative of American media's struggle of embracing the American Muslim as both American and Muslim.

Investigators so far haven't found any indications of a hate crime, and evidence suggests the shooting resulted from a confrontation over a parking dispute[12]. (Officials)

Dispute flared over parking space[13]. (Official)

The sourcing of authoritative voices presenting the crime as a dispute represents a counterbalance to the crime itself; the debate on whether it is a hate crime or not is another 'loophole' allowing the media to avoid labeling the crime as Islamophobia driven. Being 'official,' the source is both vague, for not being specific, and shows authority, against which opinions are made.

The FBI is investigating the killings alongside local police, who believe the shooting was tied to an ongoing parking dispute, though they have not ruled out hate as a motive in the crime[14]. (Jeremy Diamond, CNN White House Reporter)

Similarly to the previous quotation, the opinion of the authorities presents itself as the necessary truth guiding the spread and framing of the information for public consumption. The parking dispute constitutes an influential piece of information in the coverage and is repeated for ideological purposes.

Conclusion:

The prevailing themes and the associated discourses have constituted one summative frame: the notion of a Muslim 'other,' a foreigner that is victim of indifference, underrepresentation, and estrangement in the public space. This estrangement has led to an ideological split between the authentic in-group American, characterized by righteous visibility in the public space, and the 'othered' out-group

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12 Father says he knew he'd find the 3 students dead in Chapel Hill condo. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 12, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

13 3 students shot to death in apartment near UNC Chapel Hill. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 11, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

14 Obama: FBI investigating 'brutal and outrageous murders'. [Transcript, Television broadcast]. (February 13, 2015). CNN.com, Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

quasi-citizen. The portrayal of Muslims as disparate 'others' and enemy to the notion of 'us' is not recent; early heated encounters between 'westerners' and North African Muslims, or Mahometans (Boulahnane, 2018) and the discourses borne via captivity narratives played a key role in introducing the Muslim as the new 'other' into the 'civilized Western world.'

The substantial efforts reproducing the crime into a no-Islamophobia frame have given rise to a new form of Islamophobia——one that is characterized by media's unresponsive reaction towards a hate-driven murder, hence refusal to embrace the American Muslim into what van Dijk labels 'us' as opposed to 'them' (1993). This passive Islamophobia highlights the staggering status of the American Muslim Community in the American public space and media's perpetuation of the anti-Muslim agenda. The resulting frame will contribute to the literature on the frames surrounding the American Muslim identity in the American public space.

In a broader context, the state of Chapel Hill's victims reflects the American Muslim identity and its 'pending' status in the American public space, alluding to an incomplete process of integration of the American Muslims as both Muslims and Americans. This process also raises skepticism about a fabric and a background that is integrative rather than assimilationist, against which the success of the religious pluralism project is measured. Put in different words, the validity of America's celebrated character of religious pluralism can be appraised in how religious minorities rest not only tolerated and welcomed but also embraced in the mosaic fabric deemed constitutive of today's United States of America——an embraced status that is left different but brought inside to its home. The situation of the American Muslim Community in the American public space seems to still be attempting to settle as an American community of a different faith, showing signs of struggle to integrate in light of the frustrating efforts of the agenda-driven media. This situation also reflects the struggle of the project of religious pluralism in the dialectic between the need to accommodate the existing religions, races, and cultures constituting the fabric of this country and media's agenda-driven needs to reposition the American Muslim identity as an 'other' and a foreigner.

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إسلاموفوبيا من مستويين: صورة المسلم الأمريكي بين الإدماج والتغريب

في الفضاء العمومي في تقارير خبر شابيل هيل

الملخص: تتناول هذه الورقة بشكل نقدي رصدا لتحيز وسائل الإعلام التقليدية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في تغطية حادث إطلاق النار بمدينة شابل هيل، بولاية كارولينا الشمالية، والتي كانت عبارة عن تغطية من مرحلتين من التحيز، أو ما يصطلح عليه في هذه الورقة بـ"تحيز مزدوج". وكانت هاتان المرحلتان في التغطية لجريمة كراهية المسلمين، أو ما بات يعرف بالإسلاموفوبيا، تحصيل لعمل دؤوب سعت من خلاله وسائل الإعلام الرئيسية في تأطير جريمة القتل إلى حادث لا ترتبط دوافعه بالإسلاموفوبيا. وقد أدت محاولات وسائل الإعلام لحجب الإسلاموفوبيا وإعادة تفسيرها إلى جريمة عادية إلى 'إسلاموفوبيا من درجتين' تميزت تفاصيلها بتحيز مزدوج، أي تحيز قبل التغطية وتحيز خلال التغطية. بموازاة مع نظرية التأطير الإيديولوجي، اعتمدت في هذا البحث منهجية تحليل المحتوى والذي يقوم بتوفير وتحليل المعطيات الرقمية والنوعية. و لجمع البيانات التي سيتم تحليلها ومناقشتها، تم استخدام قاعدة البيانات الأكاديمية (ليكسيس نيكسيس). أما فيما يتعلق بتحليل هاته المعطيات، تم استخدام برنامج (أطلس تي أي) وهو الآخر عبارة عن برنامج استخراج وترتيب و تحليل البيانات الرقمية والنوعية . وقد كشفت الدراسة إلى استخلاص أن وسائل الإعلام التقليدية، كشبكة سي إن إن وفوكس نيوز، أظهرتا ظاهرة الإسلاموفوبيا على مستويين حيث إن معدل نشرات الأخبار على فوكس نيوز لا يتجاوز الصفر. و قامت شبكة سي إن إن هي الأخرى بتغطية للحادث أساءت فيه تفسير الخبر وبالتالي شوهت صورة الضحايا لدى الرأي العام الأمريكي حيث قامت بوضع الحادث في إطار إيديولوجي يلخص مكانة المسلمين الأمريكيين في الفضاء العمومي الأمريكي على أنهم جزء من 'الآخر' وعلى أن الجريمة ليست لها صلة بالإسلاموفوبيا. إن هذه النتائج المحصل عليها ستغني لا محالة البحث في العلاقة بين وسائل الإعلام التقليدية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية والمسلمين الأمريكيين وجهود الإعلام الأمريكي في إعادة تشكيل الهوية المسلمة إلى هوية غريبة عن وطنها الأمريكي، لا سيما في سياق التعددية الدينية.

الكلمات المفتاحية : إسلاموفوبيا مزدوجة، وسائل الإعلام التقليدية، انحياز، تحليل المحتوى، المسلمون الأمريكيون، تأطير إيديولوجي، "الآخرية ."