

WELCOMING IGNORANCE AND OSTRACIZING GOOD JUDGMENT
Understanding the production of social realities in the current representation of Islam and
Muslims in the German printed press

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September 2015 – August 2016
For the completion of the Master Program:
Religion, Conflict & Globalization
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Abstract

This thesis examines the production of social realities in the current representations of Islam and Muslims in the German printed press, namely, Der Spiegel and Focus. Louis Dumont's theory of hierarchy of values was employed to grasp the specifics of the German integration policy, and its impact on the collective representations of German nationality. It has been argued that the representations of Islam and Muslims in the German media space are strongly influenced by Orientalism and the securitization of migration issue. Both concepts have led to the racialization of religion, which enables cultural othering of German Muslims and Muslim immigrants in the press. The emphasis on their otherness because of Islam turns them into religious subjects and places them at odds with the nation-state, which alters the set of liberties and duties for them as (future) citizens, depriving them of their right not to be abused. A set of recommendations for the press is suggested on how to address the issues of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis to foster acceptance of newcomers and mutual respect.

Keywords: immigration, Germany, hierarchy of values, Islam, Orientalism, securitization, minority rights, human rights, cultural othering.

Table of contents

Introduction.....	4
1. Chapter 1 The media and the production of social realities.....	7
Section 1.1 Conclusion.....	10
2. Chapter 2. The Dumontian approach to integration of immigrants in Germany.....	11
Section 2.1 History and the current state of immigration in Germany.....	11
Section 2.2 Dumont’s approach to nationalism.....	15
Section 2.3 Conclusion.....	19
3. Chapter 3. Concepts that constitute cultural ‘othering’.....	21
Section 3.1 Orientalism.....	22
Section 3.2 Securitization.....	25
Section 3.3 Racialization and Islamophobia.....	28
Section 3.4. Conclusion.....	33
4. Chapter 4. Study of the news magazines.....	35
Section 4.1 Theoretical framework.....	35
Section 4.2 Procedure.....	37
Section 4.3 Framing of the issue of the Islamic State.....	39
Section 4.4 Framing of the refugees’ issue.....	46
Section 4.5 Discussing the results.....	54
5. Chapter 5. Cultural and religious ‘othering’ of Muslims in Germany.....	60
Section 5.1 Muslims as repugnant cultural others.....	60
Section 5.2 Religious minorities and human rights.....	62
Conclusion.....	67
Bibliography.....	70
Acknowledgments.....	76
Appendix – Codebooks.....	77

Introduction

There has been no doubt that 11th of September 2001 and the subsequent “war on terror” marked a watershed in the new awareness of Islam and Muslims as a global presence. The emergence of the Islamic State, the recent terrorists attacks in Paris¹ and Brussels², the intensified immigration caused by the refugee crisis with a majority of asylum seekers, coming from the Middle East and North Africa, have been keeping Islam as a subject of inquiry in Europe, particularly in Germany. While the far-right parties, which have been on the rise across the country, keep placing the issue of Muslim immigrants in the context of the cultural confrontation, a recent study showed that most Germans have never had personal contact with a Muslim³. As a result, information about Islam and Muslims is mostly mediated knowledge.

The mediated knowledge that the public is presented with is made up of interplay between the facts of what has actually happened, the stories of stakeholders involved, which tend to pursue their interests, and collective representations in which given information is embedded. Although the public absorb media messages critically, media outlets still possess the power to set agendas, direct public interest on certain subjects, and to limit or to expand the range of arguments and perspectives that establish particular ways of understanding. As Catherine Happer and Greg Philo from Glasgow University Media Group observe, the press generally represents a contested space in which the most powerful groups can establish the dominance of specific messages.⁴ Thus, the analysis of media content or, in other words, the examination of what we are informed of and what is left out, can give a glimpse into the hidden discourses that determine power relations in society.

This thesis is an attempt to identify the patterns in the current representation of Muslims and Islam in the German press. The choice of the country to research was not made by accident. Presently, Germany constitutes a peculiar case, it advocates the welcoming of refugees, and it is the place where the rise of the far-right movement is more

¹ In November 2015 a series of coordinated terrorist attacks were carried out in Paris and its northern suburb, Saint-Denis. Three suicide bombers struck near the Stade de France in Saint-Denis, followed by suicide bombings and mass shootings at cafés, restaurants and at the Bataclan theatre, where attackers took hostages. 130 people were killed, another 368 people were injured, 80–99 seriously. The attacks are regarded as the deadliest on France since World War II, and the deadliest in the European Union since the Madrid train bombings in 2004.

² In March 2016 three coordinated nail bombings were carried out in Belgium: two at Brussels Airport in Zaventem, and one at Maalbeek metro station in Brussels. 32 people and three suicide bombers were killed, and over 300 people were injured.

³ Unknown author, ‘Majority of Germans ‘have limited contact’ with Muslims.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/majority-germans-limited-contact-muslims-160507130151432.html> (accessed on 7th of June, 2016).

⁴ C. Happer, G. Philo, 2013, p. 322

conspicuous than in any other Western European country. Consequently, with this paper I set out to discover how Muslims are represented in the German printed press, namely, in the national news magazines *Der Spiegel* and *Focus*. Therefore, the main research question is: *How are social realities reproduced in the current representations of Islam and Muslims in the German printed press?* I will advance this issue from both the media and the anthropological perspectives.

Accordingly, in the first chapter I ask the sub-question: *What is the role of the press in the reproduction of social realities?* In order to answer this question I will briefly discuss the role of the press in a democratic society, drawing on the essay of Jürgen Habermas⁵ on the topic. Then I will employ the Saussurean approach to semiotics, which constitutes the backbone of media studies, and more specifically, the discourse analysis, to understand how the meanings are produced. In the second chapter I will discuss the recent immigration history that resulted in the multi-ethnic composition of German society, and its integration policy. To advance this topic from the anthropological point of view, it would make sense to draw on Louis Dumont's theory of hierarchy of values⁶. Thus, the sub-question is: *How can the German integration policy be explained in terms of Dumont's hierarchy of values?*

After the anthropological examination of the context, I will delve into the strands of the current discourse on Muslims in Germany, by asking the following sub-question: *What concepts legitimize the 'othering' of Muslims and how do they contribute to the racialization of the Muslim identity?* Among these are concepts, which, as it turned out, for centuries dealt with the biased representation of Muslims in Europe, such as Orientalism paradigm⁷, and a more recent securitization theory. Both of these strands contribute to the racialization of the Muslim identity, which makes it easier for the press to refer to. I will investigate the consequence of such racialization by posing another sub-question: *What is Islamophobia and is it gendered?* To extend my thesis beyond the overview of the theoretical literature and to bridge the gap between media and anthropological studies, I will devote the fourth chapter to the research of the German magazines, *Der Spiegel* and *Focus*. I will investigate whether the discussed strands of discourse influence the press and what key themes are produced to cover Islam-related issues, namely, the Islamic State and the refugee crisis. Hence, the sub-question is: *What key patterns can be identified in the coverage of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis?* In the concluding chapter, I will

⁵ Habermas, Jürgen . *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1991.

⁶ Dumont, Louis. 'On Value. The Radcliffe-Brown Lecture in Social Anthropology', 1980; *German Ideology. From France to Germany and Back*, 1994.

⁷ Said, Edward. *Orientalism*, 1978.

endeavor to assess the implications of ‘othering’ of Muslims in the German printed press and embed my assumptions into the discussion about the minority rights, their disenfranchisement and discrimination in the context of nation-state. Thus, the sub-question is: *What is the implication of ‘othering’ of Muslims in the German printed press?* I will conclude the chapter with a number of recommendations for the press on how to address the issues of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis.

Chapter 1. The media and the production of social realities

In this chapter I will address the issue of the press in a democratic society and briefly discuss its establishment as social institution. I will also draw on the Saussurean approach to semiotics, which makes up the backbone of media studies, particularly, the discourse analysis, to understand how the meanings are produced.

The media – the printed press, television, online – plays pivotal role in communicating to the public what happens in the world. It is frequently referred to as ‘the Fourth Estate’. The term was coined by Edmund Burke, a British political theorist of the eighteenth century, who compared it to the three Estates in France, which were Clergy, Aristocracy, and Commoners.⁸ The idea of the Fourth Estate entails the power of the press, upon which the genuine political power is contingent. The authority of the press, in turn, resides in the relationship between the press and its audience. Ideally, in a democracy, the media is in charge of providing sufficient information and the forum for discussion, is vigilant in matters of abuses of power, injustice and any kind of discrimination. The concept of the press coincided with the advent of the public sphere, as argued by Habermas, who observed that the public sphere was formed when journalism became a public institution with the aim of promoting public debate.⁹ It was in the the second half of the eighteenth century, when printed journals found their way out of the bureaus of correspondence, in which hand-written trade newsletters were handled. They would spread the news of the court or from abroad. The authorities would address their issues through the newspapers to the educated part of the audience. However, only after the establishment of a democratic-bourgeois constitution the press got beyond its mere role of serving the interests of the state’s administration and began to help “the public” to assert itself as

...it was casting itself loose as a forum in which the private people, come together to form a public, readied themselves to compel public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion. The *publicum* developed into the public, the *subjectum* into the [reasoning] subject, the receiver of regulations from above into the ruling authorities’ adversary.¹⁰

Such is the briefest account of the inception of the media as social institution that I could provide in the present paper, for I aim to discuss the influence the media exerts over the collective representations and social imaginaries in the current discourse on Muslims in Germany. The media is a key social institution, occupied, among other tasks, with transmission of culture, including cultural stereotypes.

⁸ M. Hampton, 2010, p. 3

⁹ J. Habermas, 1991, p. 23

¹⁰ J. Habermas, 1991, p. 26

The media can be held accountable for the way it frames Islam-related issues, as it disseminates a certain attitude towards Muslims in Europe. A meta-analysis research of the European media coverage of the immigrant-related news found that “although variation in tone and balance occurred in the media of member states, Muslims were generally portrayed in stereotypical terms, and Islam was seen as a threat to security”¹¹. Christine Ogan, Lars Willnat, Rosemary Pennington and Manaf Bashir conducted a study on the role media coverage plays in shaping the public opinion. They based their research on a secondary analysis of the representative public opinion polls carried out in the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Italy in 2008 and 2010. The results of the inquiries suggest that media exposure to Muslim-related issues has an impact on attitudes towards Muslims and Islam in general. In addition, it also advocates the idea that higher levels of education and actual contact with members of the Muslim communities lead to more positive feelings toward these people.¹²

The news media provides the audience with agenda for collective discussion, and the way the news is framed directly shapes the debates. Framing refers to the process of organizing reality – locating, perceiving, identifying and labeling the everyday encounters with the world.¹³ From the media perspective:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendations.¹⁴

Journalists are the “framers” of a story, as they select the ‘relevant’ facts and place them in a context they regard as appropriate. They convey ideas about the nature of events, implicitly presenting ideas about the causes, and the solutions of the problem.

However, news framing does not only deal with issues of ‘certain’ representation that can result in bias or total misrepresentation; the reporting of events provides different ways of understanding. Thus, it creates and re-creates collective representations or social imaginaries, which, as Charles Taylor put it, represent the way ordinary people ‘imagine’ their surroundings, not theoretically but in terms of ‘images, stories, and legends’; it is a common understanding that leads to a widely shared sense of legitimacy¹⁵. That, in turn, has an impact on the social realities. In relation to this, it may be reasonable to turn to semiotics because it forms the backbone of much of the work in media sociology.

¹¹ C. Ogan et al., 2014, p. 29

¹² C. Ogan et al., 2014, p. 40-41

¹³ E. Goffman, 1974, p. 24

¹⁴ R. Entman, 1993, p. 53

¹⁵ C. Taylor, 2004, p. 23

Semiotics as the putative “science of signs” introduced by Ferdinand de Saussure, argues that signification represents the production of meaning, as opposed to earlier theories, which assumed that ‘reality’, was somehow transparently reflected in language.¹⁶ As argued by Saussure, a particular combination of signifier-object and signified-meaning is an arbitrary entity, which means that there is no natural or inevitable link between the signifier and the signified.¹⁷ In other words, signifiers are arbitrarily linked to concepts, which are to a certain extent determined by news framing. Therefore, the language of reporting is very much linked to a wider social process such as the formation of social reality. That is to say, collective representations constitute social reality, and when they are modified, the structure of social reality undergoes alterations too:

Changes do not occur in order to produce a new state of the system. What happens is that certain elements are altered without regard to their solidarity within the system as a whole. These isolated changes have general consequences for the system; in that its network of relations will be altered (...) Changes are part of an independent evolutionary process to which the system adjusts.¹⁸

The reverberations of the Saussurian approach to language can clearly be found in the discourse analysis. In Michel Foucault’s work, discourse is defined as social force, which has a central role in what is constructed as real and therefore what is possible.¹⁹ The public discourse is mostly legitimized by the press, which communicates particular message to the audience. The researches of the Glasgow University Media Group have found that members of public are most likely to accept the intended meaning of a media text provided that the public lacks the personal experience with the topic or does not have the opportunity to utilize alternate information sources.²⁰ In other words, news framing, to a large extent, exercises power over social reality and community life as it imposes a ‘taken for granted’ knowledge of social structures.²¹ The media transports knowledge on which collective and individual consciousness feeds. This developing knowledge is the foundation of individual and collective action and the determining action that defines reality.

With respect to this, the recent survey, conducted in April, 2016 yielded that 62% of non-Muslim respondents in Germany had no Muslims in their circle of acquaintances, or

¹⁶ S. Hall, p. 132

¹⁷ J. Culler, 1986, p. 34

¹⁸ J. Culler, 1986, p. 52

¹⁹ M. Foucault, 1994, p.318

²⁰ G. Philo, 2007, p. 107

²¹ S. Hall, 1980, p.134

friends and family.²² To put it differently, information about Islam and Muslims in Germany, as well as in Europe as a whole, is mostly mediated knowledge. Thus, I consider the study of news framing of certain Islam-related issues to be a relevant contribution to the examination of the current debates on Islam and immigration in Germany, as it exercises a long-lasting effect on the Muslim community indirectly changing the perceptions about them as well as their own perceptions. I may not be wrong to assert that currently Muslims are being ‘othered’ in the press, representing the ‘threatening Other’, especially, when it comes to the coverage of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis, that dominate the present-day media space. These particular topics, although, not explicitly connected to German Muslims living in Germany, may still implicitly affect their lives and collective representations in the eyes of non-Muslim Germans.

Section 1.1. Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that the idea of the media as the Fourth Estate entails its responsibility for providing sufficient information and the balanced discussion for the society, in order to avoid abuses of power, injustice and discrimination. The news media provides the audience with the agenda for collective discussion, and the way the news is framed directly shapes the debates. News framing to a large extent defines social reality and community life as it enforces a ‘taken for granted’ knowledge of the social structures. The information about Islam and Muslims in Germany is mostly mediated knowledge. Thus, the study of news framing of certain Islam-related issues may represent a significant contribution to the examination of the current debates on Islam and immigration in Germany, because it indirectly affects the lives of German Muslims.

²² Unknown author, ‘Majority of Germans ‘have limited contact’ with Muslims. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/majority-germans-limited-contact-muslims-160507130151432.html> (accessed 7th of June, 2016).

Chapter 2. The Dumontian approach to integration of immigrants in Germany

In this chapter I will look into the German ideas on nation, migration and citizenship. The first section I will devote to a brief history of immigration in Germany and to its ethno-cultural model of citizenship. The application of Dumont's hierarchy of values theory will enable me to explain the ethno-centrism of the German integration policy in the second section of the present chapter. I will also discuss the concept of German nationalism and its influence on the development of the so-called parallel societies in Germany.

Section 2.1 History and the current state of immigration in Germany

Immigration in Germany has been a highly visible and remarkable fact for decades, and nevertheless, the political elites had been reluctant to recognize the state as an immigrant country. Three programs, meant to rebuild the country after the World War II and to fill labor shortages, noticeably affected the composition of German society. Approximately 12 million ethnic Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Russia returned to the bombed-out country under the repatriation program. Another program that dealt with labor shortages, started in 1955, when the workforce was imported from Italy to help reconstruction, followed by a 1961 treaty with Turkey that recruited an even larger number of Turkish guest workers²³. As guest workers were supposed to be short-term resident laborers who would soon return to their homeland, the Federal Republic did not engage in reconsidering the laws of either immigration or citizenship. But despite the fact that the program ended in 1973, the families of laborers continued to come to Germany under a family reunification program and, as a result, millions of guest workers and their families settled permanently. Lastly, in the 1990s, the substantial number of immigrants from Yugoslavia and North Africa were welcomed in Germany on humanitarian grounds as asylum seekers within the Basic Law of 1949.

As the European Union continued to grow and the flow of migrant workers from member states was on the rise, the first decade of the 2000s was marked by the influx of laborers from the East European countries, while the number of Turkish workers shrank. In 2012, the bulk of 7 million foreigners in Germany, which constituted about 9% of the total population, was made up of migrants arriving from Turkey (1,607,160), Italy (520,159), Poland (468,482), Greece (283,684), Croatia (223,014), Serbia (197,984), Russia (195,310), Austria (175,926), Romania (159,222), and Bosnia/Herzegovina (153,470)²⁴.

²³ A. Heribert, 2015, p.451

²⁴ A. Heribert, 2015, p.451

As far as asylum is concerned, the number of refugees has risen drastically in 2015 with a total of 1.1 million people who were registered as asylum seekers, which is nearly five times more than in 2014 (202,834). Nearly 430,000 applicants fled the civil war in Syria, which is currently in its sixth year. The next two largest nations of origin are also places gripped with violence — Afghanistan, which accounted for 154,046 refugees registering in Germany, and Iraq, with 121,662. In 2013 110,000 people applied for asylum, and in 2012, there were 64,000 applicants. The war in Syria, and the rise of the Islamic State in the Middle East caused the surge in numbers of asylum seekers coming to Europe, exceeding the number of asylum claimants in the 1990s with 438,000 in 1992. Germany welcomes about one third of all claimants in all 28 EU states. However, in terms of asylum recognition, Scandinavian countries prove more generous than Germany that admits 2.1 per 10,000 inhabitants, compared with Norway (10.6), Sweden (9.6), Switzerland (5.5), Austria (5.3), but Germany ranks above Italy (1.4), France (1.3), and the United Kingdom (1.2) per 10,000 residents.²⁵

According to the Pew Research Center, in the year of 2010 there were 4,760,000 Muslims in the country, which made up only 5.8% of the total population. As there is no recent data available yet on the Muslim population living in Germany, I based my estimations on Pew Research projections, which suggests that the Muslim population of Germany may have reached an estimated 5,068,000 by the end of 2014. With the surge in asylum seekers coming from the Muslim countries, combined with the natural increase, the Muslim population of Germany may have risen to reach 5,945,000 people by the end of 2015.²⁶

It can be argued that Germany represents a typical example of the ethno-cultural citizenship model, primarily due to the German nationality rules concerning access to citizenship that existed until 2000. According to Article 116 of the German Constitution, Germans need not live in Germany, nor possess German nationality. ‘Members of the German people’, according to Article 6 of the Federal Law on Expellees, ‘are those who have committed themselves in their homelands to Germaneness, in as far as this commitment is confirmed by certain fact such as descent, language, upbringing or culture’. As Rogers Brubaker argues, this ethnocultural notion of German citizenship is the outcome of the German state-formation process in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even after the experience with the Nazi regime, this model was not discredited, as Brubaker explains, because the founders of the West German Federal Republic did not

²⁵ A. Heribert, 2015, p. 452

²⁶ C. Hackett, ‘5 facts about the Muslim population in Europe’ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/17/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/> (accessed on 7th of June, 2016)

want to validate the division of Germany²⁷. Moreover, with the flow of nearly twelve million ethnic Germans, banished from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the legal status of ‘German’ had to be bestowed on them in order to regulate their status and their resettlement in West Germany without difficulty.

Until the reform in German nationality law, it was almost impossible for non-ethnic Germans to obtain German citizenship; for instance, even birth on German territory did not grant an automatic right to German nationality. One of the high barriers that existed until the year of 2000, was the requirement for applicants to demonstrate ‘commitment to the German cultural realm’ (*Bekanntnis zum deutschen Kulturkreis*). Under this condition, participation in a political organization of the individual’s country of origin was considered as a lack of such commitment.²⁸ As a consequence, the largest immigrant community in Germany, made up of the Turkish labor migrants and their children, did not possess German citizenship, despite long residence or even birth in Germany. At the same time, immigrants from Eastern Europe had direct access to German citizenship on the grounds of being co-ethnics. Only in 2000, when the traditional German self-concept of a nation by ancestry was replaced with the birthplace principle, did it become easier for immigrants and their children to acquire German citizenship. Since then the children of immigrants in Germany are automatically granted citizenship or choice between the old and new citizenship at age of maturity, if some other requirements are met, such as eight years of legal residency of parents. Proposals to allow dual citizenship instead of choosing one between the ages of 18–23 have now also been implemented.

In the year of 2005, the new immigration law (*Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung und zur Regelung des Aufenthalts und der Integration von Unionsbürgern und Ausländern*) was enacted. With this, Germany declared itself a country of immigration. Integration was defined as a legal duty. The law intended for simplification of the current procedure: many different residence titles for specific purposes, which even experts described as being complicated were simplified into two: the temporary residence permit (*befristete “Aufenthaltsurlaubnis”*) and the permanent settlement permit (*unbefristete “Niederlassungserlaubnis”*). Moreover, it was the first time that language courses were introduced as a legal requirement. A naturalization test came into effect in September 2008. In order to receive German citizenship, 17 out of 33 questions must be answered correctly. The test aims to aid integration because it forces the

²⁷ R. Brubaker, 1992, p. 53

²⁸ R. Koopmans, 1999, p. 630

person to engage with the German language, history, laws, society and culture. Furthermore, a higher language level than before was demanded.

Since 2005, the State Statistical Offices and the Federal Statistical Office started to distinguish the German population between individuals with an immigrant background and individuals without it. Thus, the group with an immigrant background consists of all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today's Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany, as well as all persons born in Germany whose parent or both parents immigrated into the country or were born as foreigners in Germany. As Adam Heribert contends, this official differentialization not only homogenizes a diverse social category but also creates new boundaries with which the state subtly excludes new citizens from the imagined national community.

In the German immigration policy categorizations and distinctions are still most commonly based on ethnicity. In the 1980s, the German immigration policy became solely associated with the integration of Turkish people. Maarten Koomen, Jean Tillie, Anja van Heelsum and Sjef van Stiphout contended that Turks were mainly categorized along national or ethno-cultural lines due to the fact that racial classifications had become heavily discredited after the Second World War.²⁹ Turks were regarded as troublesome foreign element within German society because of their Islamic faith and their large number, as this community constitutes the largest immigrant group in Germany. The Islamic background of Turkish immigrants is deemed an insurmountable cultural barrier to their assimilation. Thus, integration of Muslim immigrants was mostly reduced to its cultural and religious aspects.

However, it can be stated that integration deficits exist for German Muslims in the areas of employment, education, and naturalization, which has nothing to do with religion. Muslim applicants for jobs appear to have lower success rates, partly due to lower educational levels and partly due to discrimination. Rural origins of parents and the peculiarities of German educational system can account for the low social mobility of migrants, and Muslims in particular³⁰.

Heribert observes that the first generation of Turkish migrants initially tended to isolate themselves in Turkish enclaves, which resulted in minimized contact with locals.³¹ Such self-exclusion in the so-called "parallel societies"³² (*Parallelgesellschaft*) can be

²⁹ M. Koomen, J. Tillie, A. van Heelsum and Sjef van Stiphout. 2013, p. 205

³⁰ Twice as many Turkish children as Germans land up at age 10 at the lowest middle school level and only 13% attend a Gymnasium as a prerequisite for university education.

³¹ A. Heribert, 2015, p. 458

³² Parallel society refers to the self-organization of an ethnic or religious minority, often immigrant groups, to reduce spatial, social and cultural interaction with the majority society into which they immigrate. The

explained given the generalized hostility towards Islam. Turks were blamed for making little effort to integrate, without the host society realizing its own complicity in the process. The Turkish sociologist Cetin Celic conducted a research of second-generation Turkish students in disadvantaged German schools which demonstrated that underestimating the worth of Turkishness by teachers led not merely to ethnicity retention, but to reactive ethnicity³³, which entails turning one's ethnic identity into paramount one in response to being positioned by dominant society as non-national³⁴. Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut define it as a self-defense mechanism against discrimination and marginalization.³⁵ Nevertheless, the public role models such as soccer stars, politicians, and other Muslims professionals can challenge the common knowledge that Islam represents a cultural barrier to successful integration with German society.

To sum up, the ethno-cultural model of citizenship has taken its toll on the integration policy. First of all, the state did not recognize itself as an immigration country, neither legally, nor collective-representatively, which hampered the development of an overarching integration policy and acceptance of the immigrants as fellow citizens. Secondly, as Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Guigni, and Florence Passy suggested, their legal status as foreigners caused all political actors, including the Turkish immigrants themselves, to see them not as part of the German community.³⁶ Thirdly, although in 2000 the traditional German self-concept of a nation by ancestry was replaced with the birthplace principle, nationality by descent is still firmly anchored in the German self-conception of the older generation. The German passport and self-professed identity as German still does not make the Turkish or Indian immigrant a real German. This phenomenon of constructing a 'we' as the normal and dominant as opposed to the different and demeaned other is referred to as everyday racism (Alltagsrassismus)³⁷.

Section 2.2 Dumont's approach to nationalism

Although the ethnic discourse of national identity as the primary factor for citizenship has not been openly deployed for historical reasons, the political elites nevertheless continue to frame the official debate in terms of cultural continuity and ethnic purity of the German nation-state. From the anthropological perspective, presented by Louis Dumont, it can be explained in terms of values. In the following passages I introduce

German sociologist Wilhelm Heitmeyer has coined the term in the early 1990s. It rose to prominence in the European public discourse following the murder of Dutch director and critic of Islam Theo van Gogh.

³³ C. Celic, 2015, p. 1658

³⁴ R. Malhi, S. Boon, T. Rogers. 2009, p. 270

³⁵ A. Portes, R. Rumbaut, 2001, p. 284

³⁶ R. Koopman, P. Statham, M. Guigni, F. Passy, 2005, p. 174

³⁷ A. Heribert, 2015, p. 454

the basic concepts of Dumont's theory that I consider relevant for examining the origins of the collective representations of immigrants in German society.

Dumont's work was devoted to the topic of the cultural changes instigated by the clashes between significant cultural values. Ideas and values, if shared by all members of a society, make up an ideology. Central to his theory are the concepts of values and hierarchy. Values can be regarded as culturally given judgments about what is most important in life. Following Andre Iteanu's and Ismael Moya's assertion, that '*Dumont's values are neither objective nor subjective facts, but only differences that appear through comparison*'³⁸, values as judgments emerge from comparative experience. Values hierarchically arrange ideas in such a way that ideas, which contribute most to the realization of values, will be placed at the top of the hierarchy. Values themselves can be distinguished as dominant and subordinate. Thus, those values, which are at the top of the hierarchy, will turn ideas linked to them into dominant ones in relation to ideas bound with subordinate values. In other words, cultures are made up of and structured by hierarchies of values and ideas linked to them³⁹.

To explain Dumont's idea of hierarchy I present an example of the relation between right and left hands. The right and left hands of the body appear to be equal and the same, but from a cultural point of view, the right and left hands are virtually and universally seen as different from and unequal to each other. Cultures generally value the right over the left. That is, cultures put them in hierarchy. For Dumont, hierarchy involves relating the items of difference to one another with respect to a larger whole in which they inhere. As the example of right and left hands, the right hand, although considered superior to the left, does not denounce the importance of the left hand, it places it in the subordinated position. In other words, the superior value or idea does not rule out the inferior value or idea, it acquires the property of encompassing its contrary. As a consequence, hierarchy is the encompassment of the contrary.

Dumont tends to differentiate traditional (or non-modern) society from the modern one by detecting what values the most in a society in terms of collectivism and individualism. In traditional society it is the social whole that is most valued, and hierarchical importance of ideas and other values depend upon the part they play in prosperity of the whole. Value here is embedded in and prescribed by the ideology. In modern society, the individual represents the paramount value, and all ideas and other

³⁸ A. Iteanu, I. Moya, 2015, p. 118

³⁹ J. Robbins, J. Siikala, 2014, p. 124

values are ranked according to the extent they promote his or her self-realization what leads to the separation between idea and value.

In respect to the holistic and individualistic society, it is of utmost importance to mention the dichotomy Dumont marks between the subject and the object. Each of these two types of society is characterized by a specific conception of the human subject. In holism, objects represent extensions of subjects, and it is totality that is most valued, “ideas are in conformity with the nature and order of the world, and the subject can do no better than consciously insert him in this order.”⁴⁰ In an individualistic society real existence is granted only to individuals and not to objects, here value and idea are separated so that

...it is left to the subject to establish the relation between representations and action (...) It is a world without man, a world from which man has deliberately removed himself and on which he is thus able to impose his will.⁴¹

Thus, Dumont contends that the individualistic conception of the human subject, liberty and equality are primary and cardinal values of individualistic ideology. Although the globalization stimulated the spread of modern individualist societies, holism, as Dumont argues, can never be fully banished. As the value can never be homogeneously dominant, it provides context for the ongoing struggles between individualist and holist values within the same culture. As Robbins and Siikala put it, it is by looking at which ideas encompass others, which are more fully elaborated than others, and which are elaborated only in subordinated contexts that we can specify the ways holism and individualism are interacting in a ‘hybrid’ culture⁴².

Dumont conducted a research on the German ideology or, namely, the system of its ideas and values, examining its social philosophy in the period from 1770 to 1830, which he regards as ‘the extraordinary blossoming of German thought...the formative period for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries...’⁴³. His study can be considered as an attempt to discover how German thinkers absorbed and adjusted the individualism of the Enlightenment and French Revolution in a way that preserved holistic German modes of thinking. He compared the concept of French individualism in France and Germany. French individualism contained a universal and democratic perspective and can be summarized in a sentence: ‘I am a man by nature, and a Frenchman by accident’, whereas the German individualism was submissive to the German cultural holism, ‘I am essentially

⁴⁰ L. Dumont, 2013, p. 308

⁴¹ L. Dumont, 2013, p. 309

⁴² J. Robbins, J. Siikala, 2014, p. 126

⁴³ L. Dumont, 1994, p. 17

a German, and I am a man through my being a German'.⁴⁴ Dumont singled out three general traits of German ideology, among which are the strong prevalence of holism, the decisive influence of the Lutheran Reformation, and the idea of universal sovereignty. The Reformation not only introduced a certain kind of individualism, which was characterized by inwardly encouraging an individual's true autonomy and freedom, but also promoted the willingness to obey to authority. As a consequence, the Lutheran Reformation facilitated the adaptation of the German collective identity to the context of individualism.

Thus, individualism reigns at the topmost level, that of absolute spirit; holism, with the state, dominates on the level of objective spirit, but encompasses in turn the individualism of civil, or bourgeois, society and abstract right.⁴⁵

Here Dumont argues that individual liberty becomes internalized, and subordinate as a value and, therefore, compatible with collective ideals of community, which can be bound to national sentiment as the paramount value. He asserts that the case of Germany can be deemed exemplary in the way the essentially holistic country responds to modernization that entails the prevalence of individualism.

The success of the ethnic theory of the nation is thus no mystery...In a sense, it may be said that Germans have prepared more digestible versions of the modern innovation for the use of the newcomers⁴⁶.

In other words, nationalism based on ethnicity can be regarded as an outcome of the encounter of the essentially holistic culture with modernity. In the case of Germany, aspiration towards liberation, prompted by the Enlightenment and the French revolution, was privatized and expressed in form of self-cultivation, whereas holism transformed into the sense of belonging to an ethnic community with the distinct national sentiment. The primacy of the latter over individual in terms of hierarchy of values can partly explain inception and success of the Nazi ideology in Germany. German society of that period was racially defined, totality and the prosperity of the Arian race was at the top of the hierarchy of values. Life or self-realization of individual was reduced and subjugated to race in terms of hierarchy of values. In addition, the discussed set of values can answer for German militarism as part of the German culture as it rested on the notion of the defense of the nation.

In Germany nationalism became intrinsically connected with ethnicity, whereas France accommodated individualism in the privileged position in relation to holism. In

⁴⁴ L. Dumont, 1994, p. 3

⁴⁵ L. Dumont, 1994, p. 25

⁴⁶ L. Dumont, 1994, p. 26

individualistic France, for instance, the paramount values of French society, as explained by Iteanu, does not include ethnicity, but is rather composed of equality, freedom and secularism, ‘the value of laicite is inseparable from a particular amalgam of the values of freedom and equality, such as defined by French ideology’⁴⁷.

The primacy of holism over individualism also accounts for the ethno-cultural model of German citizenship. Taking up the Dumontian approach, German citizens with an immigrant background do not represent the core of German ethnic or, in a broader sense, the European community, belonging to which is most valued. Although, it can be stated that contemporary German society represents a hybrid cultural model, holism still overrules individualism, as the idea of man as an extension of its ethnicity overrules the idea of man as an individual who is separated from its cultural or ethnic legacy. The logic of the saying ‘I am essentially a German, and I am a man through my being a German’ hampers the perception of individual as ‘a man by nature, and a Frenchman or Russian or Arab by accident’. In short, in Germany as probably in other countries with the prevalence of holistic culture over individualism, it can be argued that the idea of ethnicity or origin of individual is inherently connected with his personality, whereas in the individualistic society man is mostly perceived upon his abilities, and not his background. It also accounts for the formation of the so-called “parallel societies” of Turkish immigrants because they were not considered as members of the nation. Furthermore, the influence of holism can be seen in the Nationality Law that existed until the year of 2000, when in order to become a citizen individual had to prove commitment to German culture as a way of showing that his or her personality would be influenced by German culture.

Section 2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I attempted to provide a glimpse into German ideas on nation, migration and citizenship. I demonstrated, that collective representations of German nationality as well as the official immigration policy were long dominated by an ethno-cultural model of citizenship. The politics of differentialism that distinguishes between German citizens with an immigrant background and without it has its roots in the hierarchy of values of German society, in which ethnicity constitutes a paramount value. In terms of Dumont’s theory, German society represents an example of community with prevailing holistic culture over individualism, and in such a society the idea of ethnicity or origin of individual is inextricably bound up with personality, the former determining the latter, as in the logic of the phrase “I am essentially a German, and I am a man through my being a

⁴⁷ A. Iteanu, 2013, p. 168

German". Thus, it enables the development of the conditions for state-level 'othering' of German citizens with an immigrant background. In the upcoming chapter I will focus on the 'othering' of German Muslims in the current debate, by delving into the concepts that target them as threatening Others, namely, the Orientalism paradigm and the securitization of migration issue. In addition, I will explore how European Muslims get racialized and how Islamophobia is triggered.

Chapter 3. Concepts that constitute Cultural ‘Othering’

In this chapter I want to investigate the concepts that legitimize long-standing assumptions about Islam and Muslims in the current European context. In the first section I will introduce the concept of Orientalism that locates Islam to a different time frame, a pre-modernity. In the second section I will explore another line of ‘othering’ of Muslim immigrants by delving into the theory of securitization, which I will apply to the Muslim community in Germany. I will examine how Orientalism directs prejudicial attitudes towards Islam and the Orient as a civilization to Muslims as a people by incorporating the visibility aspect of race, to which I dedicate the third section of this chapter. I will employ the racial theory to explain how ethnic identity turns into a religious one. I will additionally look into the way the essentializing of religious traits leads to Islamophobia. Lastly, I will discuss the term and demonstrate that Islamophobia is gendered.

Before elaborating on the concepts that constitute ‘othering’ of Muslims, I would like to clarify what I conceive of religion, secular and religious divide, and identity. Religion is often constructed by both the media and political elites as an important identity marker. In my understanding, religion is not a static or strictly defined concept, but rather a set of assumption that people have when referring to symbols, beliefs, traditions or even culture. However, in order to be capable of analyzing the discourses that constitute cultural ‘othering’ of Muslims in the German printed press, namely, the national news magazines *Der Spiegel* and *Focus*, I will need a conceptualization of the term. I decided to draw on the definition of religion given by Clifford Geertz, who argued that

Religions represents (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.⁴⁸

This denotation sketches out a very broad conception of religion. The meaning is also dependent upon the context and stakeholders involved. Nevertheless, the question ‘What is religion?’ can hardly ever be answered, but it should represent an inevitable subject of inquiry if we are to proceed with challenging assumptions in order to deepen our understanding of matters. The same concerns religious and secular divide. Should we see secularism and religion as two separate worldviews, or can we argue that in reality, both are functioning in a relational dialogism, in which elements of both exist in dynamic relationships, changing and shifting in different contexts? I understand secularism as the public settlement of the relationship between religion and politics, that although varies

⁴⁸ C. Geertz, 1993, p. 90

across the continents, still constitutes a defining societal trait of the West⁴⁹, which I conceive of as Europe, former British colonies such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and the United States of America. A secular state, thus, guarantees, that people of different religions and beliefs are considered equal before the law.

In the forthcoming sections I will also touch upon the religious identity, and thus I feel the need to clarify what I conceive of it. Under this term I understand a combination of personal, social and cultural self-conceptions.⁵⁰ Identities are ascribed by culture rather than constructed by the individual. Identity is not an individual achievement but a work of and in culture. In a sense, the person and the person's social world coauthor identity. I distinguish an ethnic identity which I define as the subjective meaning of one's ethnicity and the feelings that one maintains toward one's ethnic group; a cultural identity, which I understand a sense of belonging to a cultural group and sharing its ideals and beliefs; and religious identity, which I conceive of as sense of solidarity with specific values, ideals, and beliefs adopted from a given faith. With respect to ethnic and religious identities, I will also draw on the term assigned identity. As argued by Harold Grotevant, assigned identity relates to the things individual cannot change such as gender, ethnicity, background and etc. The concept of agency, interpreted by Marjo Buitelaar, are crucial in the understanding of the identity construction. Taking agency implies that an individual starts to focus on themes of self-mastery and achievement as main goals in his or her life. Agency can refer to the biographical choices people make in order to lead a 'good life' and be able to act upon the world.⁵¹ Assigned identity provides a context for life agency, such as a choice of profession, friends or partners, issues that later can turn out as achieved identity, that is the things individual chooses or accomplishes in life. The way individual deals with assigned identity may prove itself crucial in the types of choices one makes.

Section 3.1 Orientalism

British historian Norman Daniel, in his book *Islam and the West*⁵², performed a research on how prejudices against the Islamic world and myths of an evil force coming from it have been constructed from the time of the Crusades to the present day. He documented the medieval misconceptions such as "the enemy within", "Muslim barbarians", "Christian martyrdom in Islamic states" and "persecuted Muslim women" all of which were perceived to endanger the very essence of European identity. Most of these

⁴⁹ E. Wilson, 2012, p. 13

⁵⁰ S. Schwartz, 2006, p. 6

⁵¹ M. Buitelaar, 2013, p. 31

⁵² N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: the making of an image*, 1960

themes are current today in popular culture into which they are diffused through the media outlets.

In the similar vein, Thijl Sunier argues that nowadays Muslims have been forced to represent “the dark side of humankind”, the “proverbial savage”.⁵³ This generalized representation stems from Orientalism, the concept that exaggerates and to some extent distorts differences between the Arab peoples and cultures, and the peoples of the West. It generally tends to describe Arab cultures as exotic, backward, uncivilized and dangerous. “Orientals” as individuals are assigned specific stereotypes such as despotic and clannish when put in positions of power, and cunning and devious in subordinate roles. Edward Said, in his groundbreaking book, *Orientalism* (1978), pointed out that these ascribed traits served as the starting point for the elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, mind, destiny and so on.⁵⁴ In other words, it legitimized the discourse on the Arab peoples and cultures ever since the period of European Enlightenment and colonization of the Arab World.

Said asserted that the field of Orientalism was political intellectualism bent on self-affirmation rather than objective study, a form of racism, and a tool of imperialist domination. Orientalism ideologically justified the exploitation of Europe’s colonies that was authorized, as argued by Amir Saeed, through the ethno centric language of Christian European identity that promulgated the misconception ‘that the predominantly Muslim (and other non-Christian religions) peoples of the Orient were irrational, uncultured, uncivilized, barbaric and ultimately inferior’⁵⁵. Thus, the concept supplied a rationalization for European policies in colonies derived from a self-serving history in which “the West” constructed “the East” as extremely dissimilar and inferior, and, as a consequence, in need of Western intervention in order to be rescued. This paternalistic strategy promoted the idea that colonial subjugation benefited both the West and the Orient. As Said claimed in his critique on Orientalism,

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.⁵⁶

Said contends that ‘the Orient’ is an imaginary construction created by Europeans to develop the sense of self through their sense of difference from others. It produced the

⁵³ T. Sunier, 2007, p. 126-127

⁵⁴ E. Said, 1978, p.

⁵⁵ A. Saeed, 2007, p. 448

⁵⁶ E. Said, 1978, p. 4

opposition between “the West” and “the Orient”. This dichotomy helped the West define itself, articulating the projected image of “Arabs” as threatening others, defining itself by what it is not. Stereotypes about “the Orient” over the course of centuries have come to represent the systematic or legitimized knowledge about the East. It was accepted as a common fact that Asians, Arabs, and Indians were mystical religious devotees incapable of rigorous rationality. Hence, religion is seen as a failure to advance reason. Said showed that European political dominance over the Middle East and Asia enabled the myth of the Oriental to thrive. Strongly influenced by Foucault, Said argued that Orientalism is a full-fledged discourse produced from the unequal power relations between “the West” and “the East”.

The narrative of contemporary concept of Orientalism attempts to justify recent military operations conducted by the US and some European countries in the Middle East. According to a renowned neo-orientalist Bernard Lewis, Christian civilization defeated Islamic civilization in military and cultural domination spreading the European way of life and ideas over its territories all of which resulted in frustration, rage and hatred of Muslims towards the winning West:

At first the Muslim response to Western civilization was one of admiration and emulation—an immense respect for the achievements of the West, and a desire to imitate and adopt them. This desire arose from a keen and growing awareness of the weakness, poverty, and backwardness of the Islamic world as compared with the advancing West. (...) In our own time this mood of admiration and emulation has, among many Muslims, given way to one of hostility and rejection. In part this mood is surely due to a feeling of humiliation—a growing awareness, among the heirs of an old, proud, and long dominant civilization, of having been overtaken, overborne, and overwhelmed by those whom they regarded as their inferiors.

Needless to say, Lewis allegedly supported the military intervention of Iraq in 2003, referring to a regime change as “dangerous, but sometimes the dangers of inaction are greater than those of action”⁵⁷. Contemporary narrative of Orientalism also replaced supposed backwardness of Arab countries with Islam as the most distinctive feature of ‘oriental society’. As contended by Lewis, Muslims not only easily fall back into barbarism; they have made rage and anger an inherent ingredient of their religious practice⁵⁸. Overall, Orientalism authorizes the standpoint that Islam cannot be incorporated into the Western societies because it belongs to pre-modernity and can be referred to as backward and inferior to Western culture that is rooted in Christianity.

⁵⁷ B. Lewis, ‘Time for Toppling’, 2002.

⁵⁸ T. Sunier, 2007, p. 130

Neo-orientalists, such as Lewis, bestow on ethnically diverse group a common Muslim identity, which entails a set of common cultural traits such as despotic, aggressive, and incapable of upholding democratic values or “achievements of the West”. This concept produced a set of prejudices that are still persistent in the current debate on Islam in Germany, particularly, its incompatibility with Europe, an assumption that is commonly buttressed by the notions of European Muslims implicated in terrorist attacks. I also contended that while Orientalism can be held accountable for the production of stereotypes leading to essentialist misrepresentations of the Middle East, securitization has promoted the Islam-related issues to the matter of national security. Both concepts trigger hostility towards the Muslim community living in Germany.

Section 3.2 Securitization

Assumptions spawned by Orientalists along with terrorist attacks executed by extremists who use Islamic faith to justify their killings contributed to the fact that every Muslims-related issue, be it a ban on headscarves or attacks, is getting politicized and used to evoke the rhetoric of national security. Scholars call such process a securitization, the term coined by Ole Wæver in 1995, which implies constructing the perceptions of masses on some particular issues to make people regard them as a threat and act in a cautious manner. Securitization theory developed by the Copenhagen School shows how the contemporary security issues not only underscore existing threats, but also get threats constructed. As argued by Barry Buzan, a security issue is ‘posited (by a securitizing actor) as a threat to the survival of some referent object (nation, state, rain forests etc.), which is claimed to have a right to survive’⁵⁹. The state and its agencies, politicians, and the press can be referred to as securitizing actors who may deliberately or unintentionally draw attention to some current relevant topics e.g. health issues. The success of the securitization of a subject is contingent on the reaction of an audience, which has to be persuaded of a possible danger an issue entails. Once the issue has been securitized, it is removed from the context of normal politics and exceptional actions are taken to counter it. Therefore, securitization can be regarded as a social manipulation that is used to legitimize emergency measures, which would not be introduced under normal conditions.

According to the Copenhagen School’s approach, ethnic, religious and other social groups may also be subject to securitization. Societal security, more specifically concerns the ability of the society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. As pointed out by Wæver, ‘...societal security is about situations

⁵⁹ B. Buzan and O. Wæver, 2003, p. 71

when societies perceive a threat in identity terms'⁶⁰. Securitization of a social group can lead to the construction of an identity in its monolithic form, developing a certain sense of we-ness, what implies the existence of they-ness. As Michael Williams argues,

A successful securitization of identity involves precisely the capacity to decide on the limits of a given identity, to oppose it to what it is not, to cast this as a relationship of threat and even enmity and to have this decision and declaration accepted by a relevant group...That a society has a multiplicity of identities is neither here nor there: A situation in which identity is being securitized is one in which this reality is being denied and seeking to be transformed.⁶¹

That is to say, the conditions for 'Selfing' and 'Othering' are created, invoking the politics of exclusion. Once the group gets securitized, it becomes impossible to speak of it without implying the security threat it conceals. Orientalist paradigm and the current political discourse articulated through the media as a securitizing actor have constructed one collective and threatening Muslim identity and assigned it to all the people coming from the countries where Islam represents the religion of majority. This approach, which is dominant in the current public debate portrays Islam as a danger, and turned those who belong to the Muslim immigrant communities into suspects. The religious identity of being a Muslim is rendered an assigned one. It creates the dichotomy of "civilized Westerners" versus "savage Muslims", including the opposition between religious and secular. In this dichotomy religions are often considered to be backward ideologies controlling the masses, supposedly prone to hysteria and extremism. As Islam is visible through its symbols, dressing codes and other physical manifestations, it appears to trigger long-lived anti-religious prejudice in Europe. Following Jose Casanova's assertion, that 'Muslim-organized collective identities and their public representations become a source of anxiety (...) because of their religiousness itself as the Other of European secularity'⁶², Muslim youth if gets religious enough to manifest its faith, equals with wilderness that is at odds with the democratic secular society.

When the press starts reprinting the news and images of terrorists of Muslim origin, especially after terrorist attacks, turning the terrorist-related stories into omen and all Muslim citizens into potential suicide bombers, the perception of them as evil, backward, and threatening solidifies. A survey published by the Bertelsmann Foundation showed that 57% of non-Muslim Germans consider Islam to be a threat to German society; 61% believe

⁶⁰ O. Waever, 1993, p. 23

⁶¹ M. Williams, 2003, p. 519

⁶² J. Casanova, 2009, p. 148

that Islam does not fit into Western society; 40%, feel like ‘foreigners in their own country’.⁶³

In other words, Muslims and the Muslim identity have been securitized to represent a threat to the European or German society. Securitization of Islam and Muslims through the press as securitizing actor legitimizes the standpoint that, Muslim immigrants not only constitute a group that is at risk of being radicalized, but they are also capable of outnumbering Europeans or Germans in the future.

It can also be stated that the refugee issue has been securitized. The humanitarian aid to the people fleeing conflict-ridden zones has been turned into a matter of national threat and the refugees have been reduced to “swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life” that has to be tackled. The British Prime Minister David Cameron made this reference about asylum seekers⁶⁴, and it demonstrates how the general discourse on the refugees in Europe has drastically changed. First of all, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel and other European leaders reached an agreement with the Turkish government on relocation of Syrian asylum seekers. Under the deal with the EU, Ankara will take back Syrian migrants “who reach Greece illegally in return for the relocation in Europe of Syrian refugees now in Turkey”⁶⁵. The usage of the term illegal or the phrases ‘illegal immigrant’ and ‘illegal asylum seeker’ permeated with the negative connotations of ‘illegality’ fuse issues of refuge and asylum with criminality. As Philo observes, most immigration and asylum laws are civil laws and not criminal ones⁶⁶. And since everyone has the fundamental human right to request asylum under international law, there is no legal or illegal asylum-seeking way. However, political elites along with the press as securitizing actors successfully frame this issue in such terms lending to it a hidden sense of threat. This plan was elaborated in hopes of dissuading refugees from crossing the Aegean, as nearly all the refugees arriving in Europe from Syria do so via Turkey. In return for Turkey’s agreement, the EU promised to grant visa-free travel to Turkish citizens, as soon as this summer, accelerate Ankara’s EU membership application and increase financial aid. The deal is meant to hold the people back from coming to Europe, leaving no alternative as to stay in their homelands torn by war and militant regimes. With the similar purpose the Balkan countries closed off their frontiers in mid-

⁶³K. Hafez, S. Schmidt. ‘Die Wahrnehmung des Islams in Deutschland’. <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/themen/aktuelle-meldungen/2015/januar/religionsmonitor/> (accessed 7th of June, 2016)

⁶⁴ Unknown author, ‘Calais crisis: Cameron pledges to deport more people to end ‘swarm of migrants’<http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/30/calais-migrants-make-further-attempts-to-cross-channel-into-britain> (accessed 22nd of March, 2016)

⁶⁵ M. Karnitschnig, J. Barigazzi, ‘EU and Turkey reach refugee deal’ <http://www.politico.eu/article/eu-and-turkey-finalize-refugee-deal/> (accessed 22nd of March, 2016)

⁶⁶ G. Philo, 2013, p. 2

February, leaving, as estimated in March, more than 12 000 people stranded at the Idomeni border crossing in northern Greece. As human rights organizations reported, the living conditions there were below par as the vast majority of the refugees slept in camping tents set directly on to fields or the coarse gravel of the railway tracks. Slovene and Polish troops, armed with teargas and plastic bullets, guarded the perimeter of the camp, preventing the people from crossing the borders.

Secondly, Germany has recently announced new legal measures requiring migrants and refugees to integrate into society in return for being allowed to live and work in the country. Asylum seekers will face cuts to support if they reject the mandatory integration measures such as language classes or lessons in German laws or cultural basics. According to the chancellor, the aim of Germany's first ever integration law is to make it easier for asylum seekers to gain access to the German labor market. As the purpose of my thesis is to discover how the analyzed conceptions are shaping the current discourses and policies, and not to evaluate governmental initiatives, I find it remarkable that this first integration law has not only been implemented presently, but also that financial support will depend on the attendance to the suggested classes. Also the inclusion of the class devoted to the cultural basics entails the assumption that the newcomers may not be civilized enough to live in German society, and the concern that this class may be necessary in order to promote the German identity for fear of losing one. In the current public discourse the notion of the Muslim identity is frequently opposed to German or European identity. In order to explain how ethnic identity conflates with religious identity, I will employ the racial theory in the forthcoming section.

Section 3.3 Racialization and Islamophobia

It can be argued that Muslims cannot be subjected to racism because they are a religious, not a racial group. The idea of race is particularly problematic. It is a relatively recent concept, first used in English in the sixteenth century.⁶⁷ The term 'race' relate to the means by which people are grouped together on the basis of physical traits like skin color and phenotypical characteristics. Race can also be understood as a biological fact, meaning that people can be distinguished by their genes. Such differences were used to permit the hierarchical rankings of races in terms of superiority and inferiority, and to determine behavior and attributes. In this vein, the concept of race were utilized to legitimize the oppression, enslavement and genocide of those who were regarded as inferior.

However, the meaning of race has been transforming within political, social, and

⁶⁷ J. Fulcher, J. Scott, 2003, p. 156

economic contexts, and I will employ the concept of racialization to underpin these changes. Robert Miles contends that racial meaning can be given not only to biologically marked groups, but can be ascribed to ideological and cultural traits what entails that some groups can be racialized irrespectively of the visible physical characteristics or genetic make up.⁶⁸ This approach reveals how racial meanings can be assigned to groups that are racially classified as white but were not afforded the privileges associated with whiteness.

Race is not a static concept and racism may now inflict dissimilar religious and ethnic groups, going beyond black and white paradigm. Most Arabs as well as European Muslims are racially classified as white, so their experiences with discrimination tend to be often overlooked or denied as racist. Regardless of their ethnic background, social status or education, Muslim immigrants living in Germany share a certain set of cultural traits that makes them subjects to ascription of a unified monolithic Muslim identity, which is made up of prejudices and stereotypes legitimized by Orientalism paradigm and the securitization of immigration issue. In other words, the Muslim community in Germany gets stigmatized by the essentialist framing of cultural traits that Islam supposedly entails. They get culturally targeted, what affects most if not all members of the Muslim community in Germany. For instance, an atheist coming from a Muslim family may still be singled out as cultural Muslim or Muslim by community, which implies Muslim by background, or to put it differently, birth and ancestry. This form of discrimination can be deemed as cultural racism.

Cultural racism simultaneously invokes racial hostility and religious hatred, both overlapping on various levels. This can be seen in Tariq Modood's definition of anti-Semitism, which he considers to be 'a form of religious persecution [which] became, over a long, complicated, evolving but contingent history, not just a form of cultural racism but one with highly systematic biological formulations.'⁶⁹ He points out that modern biological racism is deeply rooted in the pre-modern religious antipathy:

Centuries before those modern ideas we have come to call 'racism'...the move from religious antipathy to racism may perhaps be witnessed in post-Reconquista Spain when Jews and Muslims were forced to convert to Christianity or be expelled. At this stage, the oppression can perhaps be characterized as religious. Soon afterward, converted Jews and Muslims and their offspring began to be suspected of not being true Christian believers, a doctrine developed amongst some Spaniards that this was because their old religion was in their blood. In short, because of their biology, conversion was impossible. Centuries later, these views about race became quite detached from religion and in Nazi and related doctrines were given a thoroughly scientific-biologic cast and constitute a paradigmatic and

⁶⁸ R. Miles, 1993, p. 140

⁶⁹ T. Modood, 2005, p. 9

extreme version of modern racism.⁷⁰

In a similar vein Nasar Meer argues that apart from the fact that perceived differences of human bodies due to religion preceded biological racism in Europe, a radical Otherness had been the pivotal factor in racialization of a group resulting in antipathy, exclusion and unequal treatment of individuals because of their physical appearance and origins. Cultural and racial otherness caused the racialization of non-Christian religious minorities in Europe, and these factors still relate to Europeans' historical and contemporary perceptions of the people who are seen as not European. Consequently, cultural racism is a form of discrimination that requires a physical identification on a group basis, attributable to descent:

This means that how Muslims in Europe are perceived today is not un-connected to how they have been perceived and treated by European empires and their racial hierarchies, as well as by Christian Islamophobia and the Crusades in earlier centuries. This is because their perception and treatment clearly has a religious and cultural dimension, but equally clearly, a phenotypical component.⁷¹

It can be argued that apart from the alienation of the Muslim community based on cultural racialization, religious prejudice towards Muslims is thriving due to secular German society. Conservative Muslims who let themselves be pious in the public challenge the modern German state, which is declared to be secular. Following Talal Asad's argument, secularism has rejected transcendental power by affirming human independence⁷², not only confining religion to the private domain, but also framing any appeal to religion in terms of a mode of living as backward. Thus, evoking theological rhetoric reinforces the dichotomy between *modern* represented by Germans and *medieval* equated with Muslim immigrants. The current public discourse in Germany reveals the following oppositions such as secularism to Islam, Western to Muslim, modern to medieval, freedom of speech to censorship, human rights to religious dogmas, gender equality to oppression of women. As Anja Kublitz has found during her research on the immigrant discourse in Denmark,

In attributing the values of a dark historical period to Muslims, while at the same time situating Danes within modern times, an asymmetrical set of the oppositions is being contrasted. Not only are Muslims assigned to an earlier evolutionary stage, but also their traditions (Islam) are at the same time countered as something particularistic in relation to the universal values of the enlightened West.⁷³

Taking into account these theoretical linkages, I contend that essentializing religious

⁷⁰ T. Modood, 2005, p.10

⁷¹ N. Meer, T. Modood, 2010, p. 117

⁷² T. Asad, 2009, p.30

⁷³ A. Kublitz, 2015, p.117

differences and cultural traits to differentiate individuals into deserving and undeserving of certain rights and privileges is racial in nature and may be defined as a form of racial prejudice, cultural racism or, when it comes to the people practicing Islam, Islamophobia. There is no agreement on the definition of Islamophobia among scholars and policy-makers. According to Jocelyne Cesari⁷⁴, the term “is contested because it is often imprecisely applied to very diverse phenomena, ranging from xenophobia to anti-terrorism”. While the meaning of the expression implies anti-Muslim sentiment and hostility to Islam, Sabine Schiffer and Constantine Wagner argue, that Islamophobia can be deemed a form of cultural racism, where discrimination is directed towards a religious community, not an imaged ‘race’.⁷⁵ From a philosophical perspective, Islamophobia can be regarded as an outcome of a narrow understanding of secularization by western liberal mindset that results in trouble accommodating another religion like Islam. Therefore, anti-Muslim prejudice may be related to the limits of pluralism and multiculturalism in the West.

The term Islamophobia was officially recognized in January 2001 by the Stockholm International Forum on Combating Intolerance.⁷⁶ In the same year, the United Nations has condemned the rise of hostility towards Muslims and hatred of Islam by declaring it as much unacceptable as anti-Semitism.⁷⁷

The term was introduced into political use in England by a London-based think tank Runnymede Trust that established a Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia in 1997, which was to investigate cases of discrimination. The Commission explained Islamophobia as ‘unfounded hostility towards Islam’, including eight stigmatizing characterizations of Islam such as “monolithic and static; separate and ‘other’, not sharing the values of other cultures; as irrational, primitive and inferior to the West; as aggressive, violent and implicated in a clash of civilizations; as an ideology promoting political and military interests; as intolerant towards western critiques; as deserving of the discriminatory practices towards and exclusion of Muslims; and as making anti-Muslim hostility natural and normal”.⁷⁸ Therefore, the current hostile public attitude towards Muslims can be described in terms of Islamophobia, especially when it comes to ‘non-moderate’ Muslims, who manifest their faith or adhere to strict Islamic rules.

It can be argued that German xenophobia, and Islamophobia in particular, vary significantly based on region since the Second World War. Hostility towards foreigners

⁷⁴ J. Cesari, 2011, p.

⁷⁵ S. Schiffer, C. Wagner, 2011, p.79

⁷⁶ A.S. Roald, 2004, p.53.

⁷⁷ C. Allen, 2004, p.

⁷⁸ Runnymede Trust, 1997, p. 4

tended to be higher in East Germany than in West Germany, although comparatively far fewer foreigners lived among the 17 million East Germans than in the western part of the country. Recent representative surveys found that xenophobic sentiments decreased slightly from 23.7% in 2002 to 21.7% in 2012 in West Germany but increased from 30.2% to 38.7% in former East Germany.⁷⁹ Even 25 years after reunification this bias towards foreigners in the former GDR has not dropped. Some scholars argue that the political education can be held accountable for the difference. Such anti-racist political education was not practiced in East Germany, which took for granted that it had overcome racist sentiments by definition. A socialist state, it was contended, was unsusceptible to fascist tendencies. No research on what enabled the Holocaust or German responsibility for the Second World War took place in East Germany. The GDR's population was forgiven by decree:

As far as the government is concerned, all East German citizens were victims, a working class abducted by a fascist leadership. Overnight they all became anti-fascist, anti-racist and filled with fraternal comradeship. The whole debate about guilt in the West didn't take place in the East. We see the results today in the rise of the radical right wing there.⁸⁰

Muslim men and women, who may be referred to as conservative, experience a hostile attitude in different ways. As the topic of integration of Muslim immigrants is treated in securitization terms, Islam has recently become synonymous with terrorism, and as a result, Muslim men were criminalized. Muslim men get targeted by the state as potential threats to national security what in turn results in their perception as potential terrorists by the general public. As far as women are concerned, in the current political context of 'clash of civilizations' and perpetual war on terror, women's bodies are turned into the markers of authentic cultural and ethnic identity, and as indicators of the stage of development of their respective civilization fault-lines.⁸¹ According to this narrative, Western women, who were raised in the tradition of secular Enlightenment, are already liberated and thus don't require any more emancipatory policies, whereas non-Western women, particularly those alien to the Enlightenment tradition, are deemed backward and, as a consequence, need to be enfranchised. Therefore, in contrast to men, Muslim women have not been treated as if they posed a danger to homeland but rather are viewed as a cultural threat to society, especially those who manifest their relation to faith e.g. by wearing a particular piece of Islamic wardrobe, such as hijab, burqa etc. In the Western world, these garments have often been associated with inequality and subordination of women rather than evidence of

⁷⁹ H. Bonin, "Die Gastarbeiter-Aera ist laengst vorbei", Die Zeit, 9 Jan. 2015

⁸⁰ A.M. Hinze, 2013, p. 47

⁸¹ R. Braidotti, 2008, p.6

women's agency. In order to debunk this myth, I will take up Lila Abu-Lughod's argument, that burqa symbolizes women's modesty and respectability, even the particular status in society, and that in most cases the decision to wear it is a voluntary act. She presents hijab as the modern Islamic dress that many educated Muslim women took on to publicly mark piety and their way of being modern. Following her claim, that

We need to have as little dogmatic faith in secular humanism as in Islamism, and as open a mind to the complex possibilities of human projects undertaken in one tradition as the other,⁸²

it can be stated, that the West seems not to be ready to accept the cultural "other", excluding everything that does not fit in the general beliefs of what is good and what is wrong in terms of the liberal secular democracy. It has become a common sense now, that women who are identifiable as Muslim are portrayed as a cultural threat to Western ideals of feminism and gender equality. In a similar vein, Saba Mahmood argues that the notion of self-realization should be set apart from the autonomous will, as well as agency from emancipation. She points out, that agency should not be conceived of as resistance to relations of domination, but as a capacity for action that specific relations of subordination create and enable.

Thus, in order to explore the kinds of injury specific to women located in particular historical and cultural situations, it is not enough simply to point, for example, that a tradition of female piety or modesty serves to give legitimacy to women's subordination. Rather it is only by exploring these traditions in relation to the practical engagements and forms of life in which they are embedded that we can come to understand the significance of that subordination to the women who embody it.⁸³

She makes a point that bodily acts such as wearing the veil, help cultivate the virtues of Islamic culture, what in turn lead to gaining agency and even self-realization. Nevertheless, in the current public debate and the press, Muslim women, especially veiled, are rendered subordinate, oppressed, and powerless in relation to violent and aggressive Muslim men.

Section 3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that Orientalism legitimizes the view that the nations of "the West" is culturally superior to people in other regions, specifically, the East, which is characterized by the influence of Islam. Neo-orientalists, such as Lewis, ascribes to ethnically diverse group a common Muslim identity, which entails a set of common cultural traits such as despotic, aggressive, and incapable of upholding democratic values

⁸² L. Abu-Lughod, 2002, p. 788

⁸³ S. Mahmood, 2001, p. 225

or “achievements of the West”. These characteristics lie behind the assumption that Islam is incompatible with Europe, which is commonly buttressed by the notions of European Muslims involved in terrorist attacks. I also contended that while Orientalism can be held accountable for the production of stereotypes leading to essentialist misrepresentations of the Middle East, securitization has promoted the Islam-related issues to the matter of national security. Both concepts trigger hostility towards the Muslim community living in Germany. Religion has been racialized and ethnic identity replaced by religious identity, which paved the way for cultural racism that treats cultures in discriminatory terms. Islamophobia is not only gendered, but also contributes to framing Muslims as incapable of reasonable assessment and bearing double loyalties. As I have argued that these concepts are still persistent in the current public discourse, in the next chapter I intend to find out what key themes do they legitimize in the coverage of Islam-related topics in *Der Spiegel* and *Focus*, namely, the Islamic State and the refugee crisis.

Chapter 4. Analysis of the news magazines

To extend this thesis beyond the overview of the theoretical literature I conducted a research of the two German news magazines, which I'm presenting in this chapter. Firstly, I will elaborate on the theoretical framework and discuss the importance of this study, placing it in the context of the academic body of work done on the topic. Secondly, I will touch upon the procedure of the study, which included the collection and coding of data, its analysis and interpretation. In the third and fourth sections of the present chapter I will demonstrate my findings on the news framing of the issues of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis. Lastly, I will discuss the results.

Section 4.1 Theoretical framework

The principal aim of this study is to discover the lines along which Muslims, and particularly, Muslim immigrants in Germany get 'othered' in the press and, consequently, in the public discourse. I would like to find out and analyze the key themes in the coverage of the Islam-related topics in the German printed press, namely, the Islamic State and the refugee crisis, that the concepts reviewed in the previous chapter legitimize. Thus, I will attempt to discover how German Muslims and Muslim immigrants are framed in the current public debate.

I believe that acknowledgment of the problem and comprehension of the discourses that legitimize the 'othering' of Muslims may contribute to the changes in the current coverage of the Islam-related issues in the press. Once the problem is diagnosed it becomes hard to ignore, and relying on the conceptions that hide behind certain discourses can be regarded as ignorance. I believe that once an individual sees how his or her opinion is manipulated by these centuries-old theories, he or she may challenge the long-lasting assumptions that shaped his or her attitude towards, in our case, Muslims.

I will look into the ways in which most much-discussed Islam-related issues, such as the Islamic State and the refugee crisis are covered in the press. I will employ qualitative research method and discourse analysis in my study. As far as the former is concerned, I will draw on the approach to qualitative data analysis presented by Monique Hennink, Inge Hutter and Ajay Bailey⁸⁴, which is based on the combination of inductive and deductive strategies of analyzing textual data. As Hennik et al. point out, "the qualitative interpretative approach allows you to identify issues from the perspective of your study participants, and understand the meanings and interpretations that they give to behavior, events or objects"⁸⁵. Although, in my research I did not get the opportunity to conduct

⁸⁴ M. Hennik, I. Hutter, A. Bailey. *Qualitative Research Methods*, 2011.

⁸⁵ M. Hennik et al., 2011, p.9

interviews with journalists, I examined their articles, which provided me with the data to find and comprehend interpretations of certain events relevant for my study.

I also decided to draw on discourse analysis and apply it to the certain news reports in order to look into the concepts, which shape collective representations of certain topics, and into the legitimization process of certain attitudes towards these issues in the context of the social and cultural practices. As contended by Foucault, discourses are to be treated as practices, which systematically form the objects of which they speak.⁸⁶ Kocku von Stuckrad defines discourses as practices that organize knowledge in a given community; they establish, stabilize, and legitimize systems of meaning and provide collectively shared orders of knowledge in an institutionalized social ensemble. Statements, utterances, and opinions about a specific topic, systematically organized and repeatedly observable, form a discourse.⁸⁷ Consequently, discourse analysis explores the relationship among communicational practices and the reproduction of the systems of meaning; it is not only about interpretations of something that already exists, but rather about the analysis of the production of reality which is performed by discourse.

There has been done an extensive research on the news framing of Islam-related issues in the German press. The works of Schiffer et al.⁸⁸, Koomen et al.⁸⁹ can be singled out as contributing to the study of the news coverage of the Islam-related events in Germany in the recent decades. For instance, Koomen et al. discovered that public expressions made in the German press on the position and rights of Muslims are both more specific and more negative, what implies the existence of a country-specific element in the discursive framing. In research devoted to a cross-national comparison of the discursive framing of political claims on Muslims and Islam in four European countries, including Germany, they introduced two dichotomous indicators of discursive framing, namely *the specification of Islam/Muslim object categories in the public debate* and *the position towards the rights or positions of Islam or Muslims in society* to analyze the debates in French, Dutch, British and German written media⁹⁰. With respect to the topic of my thesis, of particular interests are the results yielded from the examination of the latter. Koomen et al. found that ‘in France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, however, the debate on Muslims and Islam in Germany appears to be more negatively and specifically framed’⁹¹.

⁸⁶ M. Foucault, 1989, p. 74

⁸⁷ K. von Stuckrad, 2013, p. 15

⁸⁸ S. Schiffer, et al. ‘Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia – New Enemies, Old Patterns’, 2011.

⁸⁹ M. Koomen et al. ‘Discursive framing and the reproduction of integration in the public sphere: A comparative analysis of France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany’, 2013.

⁹⁰ M. Koomen, et al. 2013, p.193

⁹¹ M. Koomen et al. 2013, p.197

These negative attitudes can be explained in terms of integration policies and cultural rights. The latter encompasses cultural group rights and conditions for naturalization, religious practices and foreign language provision. The examination of the German state led to the following conclusion: Germany is considered relatively unaccommodating in relation to granting cultural and religious rights to Muslims.

Another study conducted by Melanie Becker and Yasemin El-Menouar from the University of Dusseldorf demonstrated how integration of Muslim immigrants on various levels is mainly associated with a lack of cultural integration instead of other aspects, namely socioeconomic impoverishment, inequity in educational system, discrimination and alike.⁹² The research performed on *Der Spiegel* articles about the integration of Muslim immigrants into German society published up to 2007 revealed three dominant topics: the oppression of women, fundamentalist indoctrination in mosques and in Quran schools, and overarching issue of the formation of the so-called ‘parallel societies’, or in other words, the formation of ethnically and culturally homogenous neighborhoods.

With the refugee crisis and the rise of the Islamic State, the attention of the press has slightly shifted towards German nationals with an immigrant background joining the jihad and newcomers that seek shelter in Europe. Ever since the refugee crisis broke out, the press and politicians quite often slip into generalizations and stereotype thinking when it comes to the refugees, and Muslim refugees, in particular. My study will discover how the public framing of the recent Islam-related issues altered and which patterns were added to the coverage of mentioned topics.

Section 4.2 Procedure

Having said that, I would like to investigate the specifics of the mass media representations of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis in the two German news magazines, *Der Spiegel* and *Focus*. *Der Spiegel* is a German weekly news magazine published in Hamburg. It is one of Europe's largest publications of its kind, with a weekly circulation of 840,000. The magazine is known in German-speaking countries mostly for its investigative journalism. *Der Spiegel* is recognized as one of continental Europe's most influential magazines. In 2010 it was employing the equivalent of 80 full-time fact checkers, which the Columbia Journalism Review called “most likely the world's largest fact checking operation”. The magazine plays the role of opinion leader in the German

⁹² M. Becker and Y. El-Menouar. ‘Is Islam an Obstacle for Integration? A qualitative Analysis of German Media Discourse’, 2012.

press. In 2014 it reached roughly 6.3 million readers per issue, in 2015 the audience fell to 5.86 million readers per issue.⁹³

Focus is a German weekly news magazine published in Munich and distributed throughout Germany. It is the third-largest weekly news magazine in the country. It is considered conservative and leans towards economic liberalism. Focus was launched in 1993 to pioneer a new style of journalism for readers short of time. It was founded by Helmut Markwort and Hubert Burda and was positioned against *Der Spiegel* with the target audience described as the “information elite”. In 2014 it reached audience of 4,45 million readers per issue, in 2015 this share slightly dropped to 4,01 millions readers.⁹⁴

Although, both *Der Spiegel* and *Focus* magazines have the reputation of the objective and moderate in views news outlets, it cannot be stated that these magazines represent the whole range of the German media. Also the printed press is less popular than TV, which covers much wider audience and has a far-reaching impact in shaping the public debate. But still, the aim of my study is to demonstrate what concepts underlie the ‘othering’ of Muslims, and the opinion of journalists who create the reports are nonetheless relevant for the research, because they are the ones, who are being read and have an impact on the attitude towards Islam or Muslim newcomers.

I chose to analyze the articles published in these magazines in the period from January 2014 to March 2016, as the Islamic State and the refugee crisis have become the most recurrent Islam-related topics in the past two years. To access the archives of both *Der Spiegel* and *Focus* magazines, I used the academic service lexisnexis. On 26th of March the phrases ‘Islamischer Staat’ (Islamic state) and ‘Flüchtling*’ (Refugee*) yielded 1000 results in each magazine. In case of the Islamic state, some of the reports dated back to 1993, when ISIL did not exist. It can be explained that this phrase was used to describe countries with Islam as state religion, so I narrowed down the search to 2014 as a starting point, when ISIL proclaimed itself a caliphate. From that date on the search engine yielded 209 articles in *Focus* and 416 in *Der Spiegel* respectively. From this number were excluded interviews, magazine covers, readers opinions, tables of contents, reports on the international security policy of federal government and other articles that did not directly deal with the ISIL as the subject of inquiry. Thus, 40 stories published in *Focus magazine* and 48 articles of *Der Spiegel* were considered relevant to my study.

⁹³ Reach of the news magazine *Der Spiegel* in Germany from 2004 to 2015, <http://www.statista.com/statistics/399116/der-spiegel-reach-in-germany/> (accessed 11th of April, 2016)

⁹⁴ Reach of the news magazine *Focus* in Germany from 2004 to 2015, <http://www.statista.com/statistics/402560/focus-reach-germany/> (accessed 11th of April, 2016)

In case of the refugee crisis, some articles dated back to 1993. As the time frame of my research is 2014-march 2016, applicable to my study were 465 in *Focus* and 558 in *Der Spiegel*. From this number excluded were interviews, magazine covers, readers opinions, tables of contents, reports on the international security policy of federal government and other articles that did not directly deal with refugees as the subject of inquiry. Thus, 47 stories published in *Focus Magazine* and 55 articles of *Der Spiegel* were relevant to my research.

Only about one-third of the data are read to develop codes, so I selected 20 articles for each topic to analyze. After thorough reading of the material, I began creating codes, which can be seen in the codebook in the Appendix (p. 70). Some of the codes can be regarded as deductive, because they were derived from the concepts revised in the two previous chapters, namely ‘terrorism’, ‘Islam’, ‘religious violence’, ‘refugees’, ‘nation’ and alike. Other codes are inductive as they originated from the articles. Mostly they represented phrases and issues repeated across multiple reports, that is, for instance, ‘religious rhetoric’ or ‘security measures’. Also the analytic reading helped me define more subtle codes, which were not evident in the initial annotation of the data, specifically, ‘propaganda messages’, ‘IS as political entity’. The coding process resulted in 58 quotes. I then started analyzing the quotes as per topics. Evidently, I have not been able to use all quotations, but rather selected the most representative of the general opinion that I found throughout the data. Some key themes were highlighted across the material when I employed a thick description method, which represents the first task in the analytical cycle. Then I compared the issues, which constituted the codes to define nuances of the patterns. These two stages of the analytical cycle helped me categorize the data relating some of the issues into similar codes, which supplied me with a deep and more conceptual understating of the articles.

Section 4.3 Framing of the issue of the Islamic State

The analysis of the reports both in *Focus magazine* and *Der Spiegel* revealed that **the theological rhetoric** has been regularly used in the headlines (*Allah’s godless army; This Apocalypse we already know; The religious annihilation craze; Then the hell breaks loose; Paradise instead of lasagna; The warriors of apocalypse; I love Allah more; Either paradise or hell etc.*) as well as in the references to the militants (*apocalyptic movement/Apokalyptische, God’s warriors/Gotteskrieger, Holy war/Heiliger Krieg etc.*), and **the Islamic State is referred to** as a “**caliphate**” on numerous occasions. The press quickly picked up this term to address the Islamic State since the June 2014 onwards.

The second salient key theme that appeared to be a common way of reporting on the Islamic State is **linking Islam to violence and non-modern values**. The following passage constitutes a typical example of such framing:

In the name of Islam people are disenfranchised, persecuted and murdered. Nations molded by Islam should finally commit themselves to tolerance. (...) The brutality of terror in the name of Islam has reached an unimaginable dimension in the Middle East. Never in recent history has a terrorist group tried to subjugate whole countries by murder, rape and kidnapping at such a scale.⁹⁵

This is a foreword to the article entitled “*Religious Annihilation Craze*”, published on the 10th of November 2014 in *Focus magazine*. Here, Islam is represented as the religion that can cause violation of human rights and even murders. It is mentioned in relation to the terrorist group, the ISIL, which, according to the author, enslaves the whole states in the name of Islam. It is contended here, that there are nations, probably the ones living in the Middle East, where human rights violations occur on daily basis, and where people are getting killed just because of the religion, that, as author implies, propagates violence.

The link between Islam and violence is often combined with reference to Muslims who are prone to violence on the grounds of their faith that singles them out as immigrants. Generally **referring to immigrants of Turkish, North African or Middle Eastern origin by their religious identity and not ethnicity** constitutes a recurrent pattern in the German newsreporting,

Germans join the jihad, Muslims supply us with street fights, and a comedian is advised to keep his mouth shut: Islamism has become a German problem. But much to what extremists refer is inherent in Islam. (...) Islam has a magical quality. Actually, it does not even exist. Rather, there are numerous Islamic denominations, doctrines, schools and sects. The atrocities of the Islamic State have nothing to do with Islam, they say. In general, it is absolutely unacceptable to speak of “the” Islam. Only in case it gets insulted, “the” Islam suddenly appears.⁹⁶

This excerpt appeared in the article entitled “*A faith to fear*”. There is a quick shift from street fights of Muslims to the “atrocities of the Islamic State”, which entails an inherent

⁹⁵ V. Kauder, November 2014, Religiöser Vernichtungswahn, *Focus*. ‘Im Namen des Islam werden Menschen entrechtet, verfolgt und ermordet. Islamisch geprägte Nationen sollten sich endlich zur Toleranz bekennen. Die Brutalität des Terrors im Namen des Islam hat im Mittleren Osten ein unvorstellbares Maß erreicht. Noch nie in der jüngeren Geschichte hat eine Terrorgruppe mit Mord, Vergewaltigung und Verschleppung in einem derartigen Ausmaß versucht, ganze Länder zu unterjochen.’

⁹⁶ M. Klonovsky, November 2014, Ein Glaube zum Furchten, *Focus*. ‘Deutsche ziehen in den Dschihad, Muslime liefern sich bei uns Strassenschlachten, ein Kabarettist soll den Mund halten: Der Islamismus ist ein deutsches Problem geworden. Doch vieles, worauf sich die Extremisten berufen, ist im Islam angelegt.(...)Der Islam besitzt eine magische Eigenschaft. Eigentlich gibt es ihn gar nicht. Es gibt vielmehr zahlreiche islamische Glaubensrichtungen, Strömungen, Lehrmeinungen, Schulen, Sekten. Die Schreckenstaten des Islamischen Staates, so lautet der Kanon von Gruen bis Muslimfunktionaer, haben nichts mit dem Islam zu tun. Überhaupt ist absolut unstatthaft, von "dem" Islam zu sprechen. Nur wenn er beleidigt wird, ist "der" Islam plötzlich da.’

connection between these acts, which is violence caused by religious doctrine. Again, Islam is represented to be the reason for cruelties of the Islamic State. It is worth noticing how groups are denoted here, Germans and Muslims, as if these groups belong to the one category of ethnicity. The author makes a remarkable distinction between “Germans joining the jihad” and “Muslims, who supply us” with street violence, and who are probably German nationals, but in this phrasing the opposition is constructed between “our ethnic Germans” and “Muslims”. Also the author states, that “Islamism has become a German problem”, but he refuses to acknowledge Muslims as equal German citizens.

The fourth pattern that can be traced in both *Focus* magazine and *Der Spiegel* is **profiling Muslims as failed immigrants** and representing their **radicalization as the opposite of the successful integration**. Journalists habitually draw on the following scheme to report on the alleged fighters: the lower class origin, the troubled educational backdrop and temporal employment, social isolation. The analysis of their background usually does not go beyond this formula:

At the age of 19 Ahmet is just like many other migrants: disillusioned, without education or stable job, without a permanent job, full of vigor but with no plan of how his future should look like.⁹⁷

He (Ismail I.) is the second alleged fighter from Germany, who is to appear in court soon. (...) The 24 year old has not succeeded in his life. He finished the high school but fell short of efforts to graduate from the technical college. As Lebanese born kept taking drugs and skipping classes, he dropped out of the institution. He worked in a bakery, and in a fast food restaurant Kentucky Fried Chicken in Stuttgart-Wangen. His marriage lasted only a few months.⁹⁸

Mustafa K. dropped out of the high school and like many habitants of Lohberg district of underdeveloped city of Dinslaken struggled along as casual laborer. Sometimes as a parcel deliveryman, sometimes as a cleaner. Companions would later describe him as someone who got teased a lot, who had no chance with girls, who easily got into fights at the disco. As someone, who would spend the night drinking at the kebab shop on the Market Square. Everything changed when he turned to radical Islam. Suddenly he began to matter, he became part of the group that represented radical Salafist theses. He married according to Islamic law, the couple had a child. And at some point the radicalization had been so far

⁹⁷ B.Schrep, 22nd September 2014, Nur Himmel oder Hoelle, *Der Spiegel*. ‘Mit 19 Jahren steht Ahmet genauso da wie viele andere Migranten: desillusioniert, ohne Ausbildung, ohne festen Job, mit viel Kraft und ohne Plan, wie die Zukunft aussehen soll.’

⁹⁸ J. Diehl, 15th September 2014, *Ich liebe Allah mehr*, *Der Spiegel*. ‘Er ist der nächste mutmaßliche Syrien-Kämpfer aus Deutschland, der sich bald schon vor einem Gericht verantworten muss. Voraussichtlich Ende Oktober wird ihm in Stuttgart der Prozess gemacht. Dem 24-Jährigen ist in seinem Leben nicht viel gelungen. Für den Realschulabschluss reichte es noch, für eine Ausbildung schon nicht mehr. Weil der gebürtige Libanese immer wieder Drogen nahm und im Unterricht fehlte, flog er vom Berufskolleg. Mal jobbte er in einer Bäckerei, mal im Schnellrestaurant Kentucky Fried Chicken in Stuttgart-Wangen. Seine Ehe hielt nur wenige Monate.’

advanced that Mustafa, together with a number of like-minded Salafists from Lohberg, went to Syria to fight for terror militias such as the "Islamic State".⁹⁹

These short biographies contain details of the educational background, employment and personal life. Overall, the discussed individuals are depicted as failed at blending into society, disappointed with life, and as the individuals who turned to religion for self-realization. In these cases, Islam is represented to be capable of giving agency to young men and filling their lives with meaning, radicalizing them to the point of becoming terrorists.

This pattern is characterized by the *lack of accounts of the relatives of the German perpetrators with immigrant roots*. Either family members refuse to talk to the press, or they do not get asked for a commentary at all. In contrast, when it came to the German IS-fighters without immigrant roots, *Der Spiegel* provided the reports with the detailed interviews of the parents of the alleged criminals. Only one article out of eight that were devoted to the issue of European IS-fighters with an immigrant background published in *Focus magazine* and *Der Spiegel* provided the reader with both sides of the story by including a commentary of the jihadist's mother. The article, "*Paradise instead Lasagna*" also supplied an account of the researcher on the European jihadists fighting in the Middle East. He attempts to explain why young Belgians are getting easily recruited to fight alongside the Islamic State. He is a scholar, so his commentary provides the audience with a deeper insight into the problem that usually cannot be observed in the majority of the articles devoted to this topic.

Abdel was not a poor boy, his father was a teacher. He had no problems at school. But his skin is dark, because his father comes from an African country, which is why he never felt that he belonged here, his mother says. The other kids teased him. After his graduation Abdel lived alone, his mother came to clean his apartment. He told her that he had converted to Islam. She saw that he learned Arabic, his room was full of books. At the beginning his mother was happy that her child started doing something useful.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ J. Diehl, January 2015, *An Tagen wie diesen, Der Spiegel*. 'Die Hauptschule verließ Mustafa K. einst ohne Abschluss, und wie so viele im strukturschwachen Dinslakener Stadtteil Lohberg schlug er sich danach als Gelegenheitsarbeiter durch. Mal als Paketzusteller, mal bei einer Reinigungsfirma. Weggefährten von früher beschreiben ihn als einen, der viel gehänselt wurde, der keine Chance bei den Mädchen hatte, der bei Rangeleien in der Disco eine Menge einstecken musste. Einer, der nachts betrunken im Kebabladen am Marktplatz saß. Vieles änderte sich für ihn, als er sich dem radikalen Islam zuwandte. Plötzlich stand er für etwas, war Teil der Gruppe, die in dem von türkischen Traditionsmuslimen geprägten Lohberg nun die radikalen Thesen der Salafisten vertrat. Er heiratete nach islamischem Recht, das Paar bekam ein Kind. Und irgendwann war die Radikalisierung so weit fortgeschritten, dass Mustafa gemeinsam mit einer Reihe Gesinnungsgenossen aus Lohberg in den Krieg nach Syrien zog, um für Terrormilizen wie den "Islamischen Staat" zu kämpfen.'

¹⁰⁰ K. Kuntz, G.P. Schmitz, 24th of January 2015, *Paradies Statt Lasagne, Der Spiegel*. Abdel war kein armer Junge, sein Vater arbeitete als Lehrer. Er hatte keine Probleme in der Schule. Doch seine Haut ist dunkel, weil sein Vater aus einem afrikanischen Land kommt, deshalb fühlte er sich nie zugehörig, sagt seine Mutter. Die anderen Kinder hänselten ihn. Nach seinem Abitur lebte Abdel allein, die Mutter kam, um seine

The story about Abdel from Belgian Molenbeek includes the interview with his mother, Chantal Lebon. Here the reader is informed about Abdel's troubled childhood from the perspective of his mother, who mentions his assigned identity as a reason for social isolation and rejection by his schoolmates ("*his skin is dark*", "*the other kids teased him*"), what resulted in the lack of sense of belonging to the Belgian society ("*which is why he never felt that he belonged here*"). This particular passage, as well as the whole article, investigates the psychological side of the perpetrator, thus balancing out the general coverage on the jihadists with an immigrant background. The article also seeks to give reasons on the issue of the young people who were born in Europe going abroad to partake in the military operations in the Middle East. This extract features a commentary of the researcher:

Many young Muslims suffer from the lack of identity; they don't feel to be Belgians, because Belgium is not a nation. Flemish, Walloon and the German-speaking minority lived here side by side. After numerous state reforms, the country was carefully divided into regions and language communities. That is why some Belgian Muslims find the clear structure of an Islamic theocracy attractive. (...) The young people don't even find in Islam the final stop, says AlDe'emeh. In Flanders there are 150 mosques, and in almost all of them, the imams speak only Arabic, so that the young people do not understand them. On YouTube they listen to the Saudi hatemongers, watch the people suffering in Syria. They go to Syria to heal themselves, says AlDe'emeh.¹⁰¹

Although some of the theses of this passage can be argued, still this line of reasoning broadens the general standpoint on the European jihadists with immigrant roots that usually is confined to the cultural and religious incompatibility of Islam and Europe. This article attempts to go beyond the "war of values" thinking and cover psychological and socioeconomical factors that are at play when it comes to the weak spot of the integration strategies, be it in Germany or Belgium. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that such articles that supply the reader with the multifaceted reporting are scarce, as I have indicated earlier.

I would like to emphasize that whenever German nationals with an immigrant background are mentioned as fighters for the ISIL, it establishes a certain *link between immigration and a threat that the Islamic state as well as other terrorist organization*

Wohnung zu putzen. Er sagte ihr, dass er zum Islam konvertiert sei. Sie sah, dass er Arabisch lernte, sein Zimmer stand voller Bücher. Die Mutter freute sich am Anfang, weil ihr Kind etwas Sinnvolles tat.

¹⁰¹ K. Kuntz, G.P. Schmitz, 24th of January 2015, *Paradies Statt Lasagne, Der Spiegel*. 'Vielen jungen Muslimen fehle eine Identität, sie fühlten sich nicht als Belgier, weil es Belgien als Nation gar nicht gebe. Flamen, Wallonen und die deutschsprachige Minderheit lebten hier nebeneinanderher. Nach zahlreichen Staatsreformen, fein säuberlich aufgeteilt in Regionen und Sprachgemeinschaften. Die klaren Strukturen eines islamischen Gottesstaates sind für viele daher attraktiv. (...) Die Jugendlichen finden auch im Islam hier keinen Halt, sagt AlDe'emeh. Es gibt in Flandern 150 Moscheen, in fast allen sprechen die Imame nur Arabisch, sodass die Jugendlichen sie nicht verstehen. Auf YouTube hören sie dann saudi-arabische Hassprediger, sehen Menschen in Syrien leiden. Sie fahren nach Syrien, um sich zu heilen, sagt AlDe'emeh.'

poses. It most surely results in the securitization of the both immigration and integration issues, because the connection between these two topics are created in the public debate and in public conscience. Such representation may not be entirely fair, because when it comes to perpetrators without immigrant roots, the coverage differs immensely, as “white” perpetrators are frequently described as loners, gunmen etc. In cases when such loners and gunmen happen to be Muslim immigrants, they are immediately labeled as terrorists and fanatics. The following excerpt represents a typical instance of such news framing:

The spokesman of the Islamic State put it this way: “Smash his head with a rock, slaughter him with a knife or run him over, or throw him out from a high place, or choke him, or poison him”. And exactly in this manner the Western supporters of the Islamic State have acted ever since: in the Australian Sydney, the Canadian Ottawa, in Copenhagen, France and a few weeks ago on the train from the Netherlands to Paris.¹⁰²

It is worth mentioning, that the investigations of the assaults in Sydney¹⁰³ and Ottawa¹⁰⁴ revealed that the attackers were habitual offenders who suffered from mental disorder and substance abuse. In contrast, the entire passage suggests that ‘Western supporters’ act upon an order out of their beliefs and fidelity to the Islamic State. Apart from the broad generalizations, this example provides a glimpse into particular news framing of Muslim perpetrators. After the offenders were identified as Muslims, the press immediately labeled them as terrorists. It can be argued that in similar cases with white and Christian perpetrators, the press would refer to them as gunmen or troubled loners suffering from mental illness. In most of the cases, their crimes are considered to be random events, whereas Muslims/terrorists ought to have long-running conspiracies behind them. Moreover, in the crimes where white males are involved, the issue of their religion almost never makes it to headlines, unless the religion is Islam.

Apart from labeling Muslims as terrorists, this passage also constitutes the fifth key theme that is **including terrorist’s propaganda messages** from their Facebook or Twitter accounts in the news reports. By so doing, journalists probably unwillingly but widen the

¹⁰² P. Neumann, 14th of November 2015, *So kann es gehen – ein Plan gegen IS-Terror, Focus*. ‘Der Sprecher des Islamischen Staats drückte es so aus: "Zertrümmert ihnen den Kopf, schlachtet sie mit einem Messer, überfährt sie mit dem Auto, werft sie von einem hohen Gebäude, erwürgt oder vergiftet sie." Und genau so haben die westlichen Unterstützer des Islamischen Staats seitdem gehandelt: im australischen Sydney, dem kanadischen Ottawa, in Kopenhagen, Frankreich und vor wenigen Wochen erst auf dem Thalys-Zug von den Niederlanden nach Paris’.

¹⁰³ On 15–16 December 2014, a lone gunman, Man Haron Monis, held hostage ten customers and eight employees of a Lindt chocolate café in Sydney, Australia. The siege lasted 16 hours, after which one man was killed by Monis, and one woman got accidentally killed by a police bullet ricochet in the subsequent raid. Monis was also killed.

¹⁰⁴ A series of shootings occurred on 22nd of October 2014, at Parliament Hill in Ottawa. Michael Zehaf-Bibeau fatally shot a Canadian soldier on ceremonial sentry duty. He then ran inside the nearby parliament building and had a shootout with parliament security personnel. He was shot 31 times by six officers and died at the scene.

audience for perpetrators, conforming to the goals of the IS-militants to spread around their statements as far as they can be passed on. It can be argued that these messages can be accessed by anybody through Internet, but except from the young radicalized Muslims who may follow the ISIL accounts on purpose, the majority of population barely looks for their texts.

The day after the Paris attacks, Mohamed Mahmoud, the Austrian hatemonger who is well-known in Germany, made a statement from the underground, calling “the lions of Islam” to act on. “Brothers in Germany,” he tweeted, “ unbelievers should be run over in "a broad daylight on highstreet” or "slaughtered". Similar statements were made by another criminally famous German Islamist: the Federal Republic will be "the next target"; we should pray that perpetrators will fall as martyrs.¹⁰⁵

As in the previous instance, disseminating IS-propaganda statements works as potentially panic-inducing and thus, turning the problem of ‘homegrown terrorism’ into a securitization issue, which renders integration of immigrants a securitized issue and every visible Muslim a potential terrorist.

The sixth pattern reveals **the link between religious symbols and terrorism**, the hostility towards religious symbols in the public domain and, particularly, Muslim women, who are frequently represented as persons without agency.

The world of Islamism reached Germany long ago. Salafists brawl with Kurds in the city center these days; they take their women in niqabs for a walk in Berlin’s Humboldthain; raise money for their fellow brothers fighting in Syria.¹⁰⁶

Such phrasing equates every woman in hijab or niqab with a terrorist or a spouse of a terrorist, which establishes a discriminatory association of Islamic clothes with terrorism. It implies that everyone who manifests his or her piety publicly is affiliated with terrorists. Also it generally raises concerns over the presence of terrorists in Germany among its citizens or non-citizens with an immigrant background.

Some articles, mainly published in *Der Spiegel*, informed the reader about the origins of the Islamic State. These articles stand out because they place the Islamic State

¹⁰⁵ J. Diehl, 17th of January 2015, *An Tagen wie diesen, Der Spiegel*. ‘Schon am Tag nach den Morden von Paris meldete sich der auch in Deutschland bekannte österreichische Hassprediger Mohamed Mahmoud aus dem Untergrund zu Wort und rief die "Löwen des Islam" zum Handeln auf. Die "Brüder in Deutschland", schrieb er via Twitter, sollten die Ungläubigen in "einer vollen Einkaufsstraße" überfahren oder sie "herumschleichend abschlachten". Ähnliche Aufrufe setzte ein weiterer polizeibekannter Islamist in deutscher Sprache ab: Die Bundesrepublik werde "das nächste Ziel" sein; man solle dafür beten, dass die Täter als "Schuhada" (Märtyrer) fielen.’

¹⁰⁶ Unknown author, 13th of October 2014, *Die Extremismus-Falle, Der Spiegel*. ‘Die Welt des Islamismus hat Deutschland längst erreicht. Salafisten prügeln sich dieser Tage mit Kurden in den Innenstädten, sie führen ihre Frauen mit Nikab-Gesichtsschleier im Berliner Humboldthain spazieren, sie sammeln Spenden für ihre Glaubensbrüder, die in Syrien kämpfen’

and its fighters in the modern context, treating them not in the theological terms, but rather **analyzing them in terms of power relations and political science.**

The random boundaries and the false promises after the First World War made by the colonial empires. The support of the Wahhabi regime of Saudi Arabia that substantially finances the global terrorism. The fatal consequences of incorrect response to the 9/11 attacks. All this hides in these images of destruction.¹⁰⁷

In this extract the author links the failures that were made throughout history by the Western states that lead the subsequent vacuum of power in the Middle East and to the rise of the Islamic fundamentalists in the region. The IS is framed here as a symmetrical answer for the mistakes of the foreign policy of the Western states in the past.

Section 4.4 The framing of the refugees' issue

Firstly, there is a conspicuous difference in the coverage and framing the refugee-related news. It can be observed that from the beginning of the refugee crisis the journalists of *Focus magazine* assumed a critical stance toward the policy of open borders, declared by Merkel, whereas the reporters of *Der Spiegel* praised the decision but allowed themselves to criticize the lack of effort from the local authorities to help volunteers manage the situation. When it comes to the coverage of refugee-related stories, from the very early on *Focus magazine* referred to this issue in the majority of the cases as the refugee crisis (die Flüchtlingskrise) and the refugees (die Flüchtlinge), not the asylum seekers (die Asylbewerber) or the people fleeing from the war zones (die Kriegsgebiete). The last two notions are more often employed by the journalists writing for *Der Spiegel*. Starting from the spring to the beginning of September of 2015, there is a key theme can be traced, representing **refugees as victims** and Europe as reluctant in making decisions on taking them in:

For Europe the last stop of A4 has become the Ground Zero in refugee crisis. The horror has suddenly come close and become tangible, and if this terrible event can make a difference, then it should be this: Europe finally wakes up from its numbness. (...) Refugees die while Europe fails to aid them. But the drama continues. A week after the disaster of the A4 in Austria, this Wednesday, incomprehensible photos of a Syrian boy lying dead on a beach were published. He drowned during the crossing to the Greek island of Kos, his family had entrusted themselves to smugglers.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ G. Diez, 14th of March 2015, *Die Krieger der Apokalypse*, *Der Spiegel*. Die willkuerlichen Grenzen und die falschen Versprechen nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg durch die Kolonialmaechte. Die Unterstuetzung des wahhabitischen Regimes von Saudi-Arabien, das den weltweiten Terror wesentlich finanziert. Die fatalen Folgen der Fehlreaktion auf die Anschlaege vom 11. September 2001. All das steckt in diesen Bildern der Zerstoerung.

¹⁰⁸ M. Baumgaertner, 5th of September 2015. *Logistiker des Schattens*. *Der Spiegel*. 'Für Europa wurde die Haltebucht an der A4 zum Ground Zero in der Flüchtlingskatastrophe. Das Grauen war plötzlich nah und

This excerpt is probably the strongest among its kind, for it evokes the tragic events that caused a stir across the world. Here the author refers to the discovery of the dead people who allegedly were refugees in the back of a truck in Austria, abandoned on the side of the A4 highway, which links Budapest to Vienna. He then holds the European authorities accountable for the casualties caused by smuggling, framing the issue as “refugees die while Europe fails to aid them” (*Flüchtlinge sterben, weil Europa versagt*). The whole phrasing can be regarded as a call for measures that would legally facilitate the arrival of refugees in Europe.

Nevertheless, from mid-September and October on, when the decision to open borders came into force and thousands of refugees started entering the country, the reporting on the issue has remarkably changed. In both news magazines there can be found a tendency to raise concerns over the influx of the refugees. Most prominent is **the fear of loosing the cultural identity** on the grounds of the arrival of too many Muslims, and the growing presence of Islam. As early as from 12th of September the articles in *Focus magazine* covering the refugee’s issue are inclined to raise concerns over the consequences of the Chancellor’s decision, as in the following example, which constitutes a typical pattern of reporting on the refugee crisis:

Many nations who are strongly Christian-defined fear an impact of Muslim immigrants. (...) But hard-won European values must also apply to people who – as it is stated in the Basic Law – enjoy asylum here. The equality of men and women, freedom for religion, opinion and media and the right to the free development of personality must be understood and respected by the people, whom Germany grants refuge. Behind these claims which I deem obvious, many problems hide that should not be concealed. (...) Here many people have arrived who are illiterate. There are people who have already come here with anti-Semitic or homophobic prejudice due to their origin, who oppress women, and despise and persecute those of different faith. We have to deal with the Sunnis who fight the Shiites, and the Shiites, who do not want to tolerate the Sunnis. Police has yet to realize how many potential terrorists sneak into the country among those who is politically persecuted.¹⁰⁹

plastisch, und wenn dieses schreckliche Ereignis überhaupt etwas bewirken kann, dann das: dass Europa endlich aufwacht aus seiner Erstarrung. (...)Flüchtlinge sterben, weil Europa versagt. Doch das Drama geht weiter. Eine Woche nach der Katastrophe an der A4 in Österreich, an diesem Mittwoch, erschienen wieder unfassbare Fotos, diesmal eines syrischen Jungen, der tot an einem Strand liegt. Er ertrank während der Überfahrt zur griechischen Insel Kos, auch seine Familie hatte sich Schleusern anvertraut.’

¹⁰⁹ H. Markwort, 12th of September 2015. *Was in Europa wertvoll ist, müssen auch Asylanten respektieren. Focus.* ‘Viele stark christlich geprägte Nationen fürchten den Einfluss muslimischer Migranten.(...) Die nach langen Anstrengungen erkämpften Werte Europas müssen aber auch für Menschen gelten, die bei uns - wie es im Grundgesetz heißt - Asylrecht genießen. Die Gleichberechtigung von Männern und Frauen, die Freiheit für Religion, Meinung und Medien und das Recht auf die freie Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit müssen verstanden und respektiert werden von den Menschen, denen Deutschland Zuflucht gewährt. Hinter dieser - wie ich meine - selbstverständlichen Forderung verbergen sich viele Probleme, die nicht verschwiegen werden dürfen (...)Es kommen aber auch viele Analphabeten. Es sind schon Menschen eingereist, die auf Grund ihrer Herkunft antisemitisch oder homophob sind, die Frauen unterdrücken und Andersgläubige verachten und verfolgen. Wir müssen mit Sunniten rechnen, die Schiiten bekämpfen, und mit Schiiten, die Sunniten nicht tolerieren wollen. Nur schwer kann die Polizei erkennen, wie viele potenzielle Terroristen sich mit den politisch Verfolgten ins Land schleichen.’

First of all, in this passage one common religious identity is ascribed to various ethnicities, such as Iraqi, Syrian and Eritrean, on basis of which various types of presuppositions are made, such as a hostile attitude towards Jews, non-modern views on homosexuality and gender equality, and violence to non-believers. References to gay rights accentuate the differences between modern secular Germany and backwardness of the refugees. He resorts to this binary, which promulgates the inferiority of the Cultural Other, who is “due to their origin”, violent towards Jews, gays, women and non-believers. Such phrasing charges the refugee issue with the concerns over the European identity, which may be endangered due to those fleeing into the country. Secondly, the author renders the refugee issue a national threat, as according to the passage, helping the asylum seekers may mean inviting terrorists in the country, which may put it in peril.

A third key theme that can be discovered pertains to **the anxiety about national security** prompted by the influx of the newcomers as in the following and most common instances in the autumn issues:

Striking is that in the Berlin corridors of power still no panic prevails over the refugee crisis. That could end badly for Germany as millions are pushing into the country¹¹⁰.

Many people are extremely concerned that the influx of refugees never ceases. They fear for their jobs, houses, prosperity, security, and cultural identity. Property is being seized for refugees; gyms are cleared, and in the refugee camps increases the number of violence outbreaks¹¹¹.

Every day, thousands of refugees flee into the country. No one knows exactly who they are, where they stop and what they plan. Are the German security authorities going through a nightmare?¹¹²

The first passage establishes a connection between the refugee crisis and the future of the country that is assessed in negative terms. In the second example anxieties are raised in relation to the drastic changes that may happen in the daily life of ordinary Germans, with the influx of refugees, who are picking up fights in the housing they were provided with. The third instance almost likens the asylum seekers to the criminals who may ‘plan’ something sinister and never get caught on the grounds of their anonymity, as ‘no one knows exactly who they are’.

¹¹⁰ A. Rashid, 2nd of October 2015. *Deutschland trägt die Last der Welt. Focus*. ‘Verblüffend, dass in den Berliner Korridoren der Macht noch immer keine Panik herrscht angesichts der Flüchtlingskrise. Dabei könnte sie für Deutschland schlecht enden. Schließlich drängen Millionen ins Land.’

¹¹¹ M. von Ackeren, 10th of October 2015. *Abschied von der Über-Kanzlerin. Focus*. ‘Viele Menschen sind in größter Sorge, ob der Andrang der Flüchtlinge jemals aufhört. Sie fürchten um ihren Arbeitsplatz, um Wohnraum, Wohlstand, Sicherheit, ihre kulturelle Identität. Immobilien werden für Flüchtlinge beschlagnahmt, Turnhallen freigeräumt, und in Flüchtlingsunterkünften nehmen Gewaltausbrüche zu.’

¹¹² M. Krischer, 11th of November 2015. *Nach Deutschland, nur um Straftaten zu begehen. Focus*. ‘Jeden Tag strömen Tausende Flüchtlinge ins Land. Niemand weiß genau, wer sie sind, wo sie sich aufhalten und was sie vorhaben. Durchleben die deutschen Sicherheitsbehörden gerade einen Albtraum?’

The latter phrase was derived from the conversation featured in the 31st of November 2015 issue of *Focus magazine*. Although I decided not to include interviews in my research, I made one exception for this conversation because of its implicit panic-inducing language and phrasing of the title and the questions. The author, Markus Krischer, chose the catchy title “*To Germany only to commit crimes*” and formulated the questions, which already contained strong connotations of fear and suspicion of the newcomers: ‘Does the arrival of refugees lead to more crime in Germany?’, ‘What dangers do the refugees pose?’, ‘There are many children among the refugees who were raised in their homelands with all possible forms of crime. Will they continue their careers here?’.¹¹³ These questions entail the whole set of prejudices towards the people coming from the Middle East, which generally equate refugees with criminals, violence, and barbaric culture. It can be stated that **prejudices towards the refugees which are treated not as victims, but as perpetrators**, constitute a fourth pattern that I have discovered in my research:

Schmiedel and Übler draw a panel, a roof on three pillars. In the roof "BL" is written which means the Basic Law, the columns represent "Public law", "Civil Law", "Criminal Law". It is not only about the general concepts of law, but also about the rules of coexistence. The constitutional state in three hours goes with mentioning of all that may exist elsewhere but not in Germany: rule of force, self-administered justice, sharia, women as preys.¹¹⁴

The fact is, that "80 percent of the refugees are young, strong and single men". But the image reporting often conveys a "family picture". That should change obviously.¹¹⁵

The first passage assumes that from where these refugees came from, and it was mentioned in the article that they came from Syria and Iraq, such concepts as rule of force, street justice and a disrespectful attitude towards women prevails. Another instance can be observed in the report that featured in the October issue of *Focus* that ran a story on the statement made by ARD’s editor-in-chief, who insisted that the news programs wrongly showed only children in the refugee camps, as it distorted the audience’s perception, that the majority of the refugees are the families with children, whereas in fact the “80% of

¹¹³ M. Krischer, 11th of November, 2015. Nach Deutschland, nur um Straftaten zu begehen. *Focus*. ‘Führt die massenhafte Einreise von Flüchtlingen zu mehr Kriminalität in Deutschland?’, ‘Welche Gefahren gehen aktuell von Flüchtlingen aus?’, ‘Unter den Flüchtlingen befinden sich viele Minderjährige, die in ihrer Heimat mit allen denkbaren Formen der Kriminalität aufgewachsen sind. Setzen die ihre Karrieren bei uns fort?’.

¹¹⁴ B. Lakotta, 26th of March 2016, *Rechtsstaat in drei Stunden. Der Spiegel*. ‘Schmiedel und Übler zeichnen ein Tafelbild, ein Dach auf drei Säulen. Im Dach steht "GG" für Grundgesetz, darunter "Öffentliches Recht", "Zivilrecht", "Strafrecht". Es geht ums große Ganze, aber auch um die Regeln des Zusammenlebens. Der Rechtsstaat in drei Stunden unter Erwähnung all dessen, was es anderswo geben mag, in Deutschland aber nicht: Faustrecht, Selbstjustiz, Scharia, Frauen als Freiwild.’

¹¹⁵ ‘Tatsache sei aber, dass '80 Prozent der Flüchtlinge junge, kräftig gebaute alleinstehende Männer sind'. Die bildgeprägte Berichterstattung vermittele dagegen oft ein 'Familienbild'. Das soll sich offenbar ändern.’

newcomers are young males”. The phrasing and the meaning are meant to communicate a message that these refugees are not worth attending to, as they are strong and young, they could have stayed in their homeland. The description that is used here is meant to evoke suspicion as to whether we should sympathize them at all.

Another salient sample deals with the link between Islam and violence. In the report dated 24th of October, 2015 and entitled “*Salafists recruit*”, it says that

Persons who belong to the Salafist organization "Islamic Cultural Centre", would stop at asylum seekers houses, roll out prayer rugs and offer food to Arabic speaking men, said the interior minister.¹¹⁶

This particular instance, as many more that could be found in the printed press in Germany, reveals uneasiness with **the presence of Islam and its connection with violence**. It is worth mentioning that “Islamic Cultural Centre” in Bremen was shut down this February after some of its members joined the insurgent group, the Islamic state, to fight in Syria. But even taking into consideration the fact that some of its members were radicalized Salafists, the act of providing food for the refugees and opportunity to practice their faith has to do more with charity, but in the context of the whole article such attributes of Islam as prayer rugs are all symbols of danger that religion, especially Islam, contains.

It is worth noticing, that the turning point in the coverage of the refugee-related issues has been the assaults in Cologne, Hamburg and other German cities that took place on the New Year’s Eve and were committed by the asylum seekers, the majority of whom came from Algeria and Morocco. The January and February issues of both news magazines employed a similar scheme to frame the reporting on the refugees. In the sixth key theme that I distinguished, **the rhetoric of nation and nation-state** is employed.

At the moment it's all about the Not-Enough. Not enough police, not enough border control, not enough integration. Not enough state. Conversely, this means more state, please. More nation-state. What's a remarkable comeback. Ten years ago, the nation-state seemed to be doomed to die, carried off by globalization and neoliberalism. Now it is a hope. The nation-state is needed, but it is in a poor condition. It could not protect the women in Cologne, it is not in control of the influx of refugees. Currently it cannot provide a good frame for life in Germany. But it must do so. Now the time has come to create a good state.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ J. P. Hein, 24th of October 2015, *Salafisten werben. Focus*. ‘Personen, die dem salafistischen Verein 'Islamisches Kulturzentrum' angehören, würden vor Unterkünften vorfahren, Gebetsteppiche ausrollen und arabisch sprechenden Männern Essen anbieten, so der Innensenator.’

¹¹⁷ D. Kurbjuweit, 16th of January 2016, *Der gute Staat. Der Spiegel*. ‘Im Moment geht es vor allem um das Zuwenig. Zu wenig Polizei, zu wenig Grenzkontrolle, zu wenig Integration. Zu wenig Staat. Umgekehrt bedeutet das: mehr Staat, bitte. Genauer: mehr Nationalstaat. Was ein bemerkenswertes Comeback ist. Vor zehn Jahren schien der Nationalstaat dem Tode geweiht, dahingerafft von Globalisierung und

Here the state's lack of ability to protect its citizens on the grounds of the incorrect policy and failed integration strategy is emphasized. This passage can be interpreted as a call for the expanded police state measures.

Apart from the articles focused on the refugees who have already come to Germany, I have also studied the articles devoted to the coming elections, which touch upon the refugee issue that is inextricably bound up with the figure of the German chancellor. As I understand the complexity of the political analysis of the configurations of alliances on the German pre-election political stage that itself deserves to be turned into the topic of a paper, I will try to limit my research to the rhetoric and representation that are used in conjunction with the refugee crisis. The open-borders policy adopted in the late August 2015, is the highly debated decision, which is frequently framed in the press by the following wording: 'the hardest challenge of her tenure' (die größte Herausforderung ihrer Amtszeit) or 'the hardest challenge for Germany' (die größte Herausforderung für Deutschland). The pattern that can be revealed here deals with **accountability of Merkel for the policy of open borders**:

The concert (which Merkel attended) will raise funds for refugees. Her refugees. (...) Her decision last late-summer to open German borders for refugees has made her a historical figure. (...) What surprises many critics is not the decision to open borders but the stubbornness with which Merkel sticks to her course. Neither the terrorist attacks in Paris nor the sexual assaults on the New Year's Eve in Cologne, neither the indignation of angry citizens nor the warnings of her fellow party members have not yet made her put her open borders policy in question. (...) No matter how the matter proceeds.¹¹⁸

In this extract refugees are referred to as 'her refugees'. The whole phrasing holds both refugees and immigrants accountable for the atrocious attacks in the French capital, as well as the assaults that took place in Cologne. In social conscience these matters seem to be overlapping, as if the Paris attacks would not happen if the borders were closed or no woman has been groped in Cologne. In such a discourse, German Chancellor shares with "her" refugees all the accusations made by the public.

Neoliberalismus. Nun ist er eine Hoffnung. Der Nationalstaat wird gebraucht, ist aber in schlechtem Zustand. Er konnte die bedrängten Frauen in Köln nicht schützen, er bekommt den Zustrom von Flüchtlingen nicht unter Kontrolle. Er kann dem Leben in Deutschland derzeit keinen guten Rahmen geben. Muss er aber. Es geht jetzt darum, einen guten Staat zu schaffen.'

¹¹⁸ M. Feldenkirchen, January 2016, *Egal wie es ausgeht. Der Spiegel*. 'Das Konzert ist eine Benefizveranstaltung für Flüchtlinge. Ihre Flüchtlinge. (...)Ihre Entscheidung im vergangenen Spätsommer, die deutsche Grenze für Flüchtlinge zu öffnen, hat Merkel zu einer historischen Figur gemacht. (...)Was viele Kritiker mindestens ebenso verwundert wie die Entscheidung zur Grenzöffnung selbst, ist die Sturheit, mit der Merkel an ihrem Kurs festhält. Weder die Terrorangriffe von Paris noch die sexuellen Übergriffe aus der Kölner Silvesternacht, weder die Empörung wütender Bürger noch die Warnungen ihrer Parteifreunde hatten bislang zur Folge, dass sie ihre Politik der offenen Grenzen infrage stellte. (...) Ganz egal wie die Sache ausgeht.'

Another peculiar trait of the articles addressing the refugee issue in the context of the coming elections is connected with Merkel's biography. In the discussed above article by Feldenkirchen, that appeared in *Der Spiegel*, he refers to the Chancellor as a 'priest's daughter' (*die Pfarrerstochter*), drawing on this detail to explain her humanitarian stance towards the welcoming of the asylum seekers. The same biography detail was used in other articles, including the one of *Focus* issued on 30th of January 2016, that among other things, mentioned her perseverance with protestant radicalism (*mit einer protestantischen Radikalität*)¹¹⁹. It is remarkable to see how the notion of one's religious beliefs is used to explain certain behaviors, be it killings committed in the name of Islam, or expressing hospitality because of the Christian upbringing. In the former instance, religion is the source of evil that radicalizes ordinary citizens, turning them into terrorists, and in the latter example, it propagates kindness and sympathy for those in need. In both cases, it is used as irrational force that makes people commit mistakes, as the policy of open borders is addressed in press as a reckless decision.

My research also yielded some key themes that cannot be linked to the concepts mentioned in the previous chapters. For instance, starting from February issues, *Focus* launched a series of articles focused on the ways of integration of immigrants ("*Sport brings people together*",¹²⁰ "*Work is a decisive motor for integration*"¹²¹). Also can be found articles that debunk the fears and concerns that were raised in the earlier issues. Generally speaking, there has been a shift in the portrayal of the refugees as victims, to the asylum seekers as perpetrators, and to **the refugees as future members of society**:

In the Ruhr area, we employ people from 114 nations. Building on this tradition, we now have created some 400 additional internships and apprenticeships for refugees. With the offer, we want to make a concrete contribution and set an example for openness and tolerance (...) ...it is a building block. And an appeal to everybody to get active together, so that we turn integration in Germany into a success story.¹²²

This passage describes the way to facilitate integration of refugees into German society through work. The phrasing also implies collective action and positive perspectives of social action.

¹¹⁹ M. von Ackeren, Januar 2016, *Muss Sie gehen?* Focus.

¹²⁰ Unknown author, 13th of February, 2016. Sport bringt Menschen zusammen. *Focus*.

¹²¹ Unknown author, 13th of February, 2016. Arbeit ist der entscheidende Motor für Integration. *Focus*.

¹²² Unknown author, 13th of February, 2016. Arbeit ist der entscheidende Motor für Integration. *Focus*. 'Allein im Ruhrgebiet beschäftigen wir Menschen aus 114 Nationen. Auf dieser Tradition aufbauend, schaffen wir jetzt rund 400 zusätzliche Praktika und Ausbildungsplätze für Flüchtlinge. Mit dem Angebot wollen wir einen konkreten Beitrag leisten und ein Zeichen für Weltoffenheit und Toleranz setzen. (...) es ist ein Baustein. Und ein Appell an alle, gemeinsam aktiv zu werden, damit wir Integration in Deutschland zu einer Erfolgsgeschichte machen.'

As far as the topics of xenophobia or far-right parties is concerned, *Der Spiegel* in the period from January 2014 to March 2016 run one article on racism in Germany; three articles on the far-right movement, which mainly focused on Pegida. This national news magazine also featured more than 5 stories that included the accounts of the current and former refugees, providing readers with ‘their’ side of the story (“*Scars on the souls*”¹²³, “*Alone in Jermania*”¹²⁴, “*The loss*”¹²⁵). I considered that these publications would be worth mentioning because it reflected the attempt to provide audience with a wider range of angles from which to reflect on the current issues in Germany. So another pattern that can be discerned here is **the personal stories of former or current refugees**:

As Fauzi Saado fled from the civil war in Lebanon in 1988, he just wanted to “live like the others”. Relatives and acquaintances had told him that Germany was a beautiful country. “They have democracy there and can help. And they have no war,” said Fauzi.¹²⁶

Mohammed Jbili, 36, an accountant from Aleppo, and his wife Nur, 30, fled from Syria to Turkey in the summer of 2014 with their four children Kerem, Amir, Abdulmalek and Omar. Jbili worked in factories in Istanbul, on construction sites, in a tailor shop, often 14 hours a day, seven days a week. And still his wage could barely cover the rent. He saw no future for his family in Turkey. There was not enough money to flee to the EU. Night after night he and his wife laid awake, talking over and over again about a way out. In the end they made a decision that Jbili and Kerem would flee to Germany. Father and toddler crossed Greece and the Balkans in winter to get to the Federal Republic. He was sure that he would be able to bring his wife and kids along; otherwise he would not have embarked upon the trip. Now he is afraid that all the efforts to settle in Germany could be in vain.¹²⁷

The first excerpt demonstrates the reasons, which caused Fauzi Saado, a former asylum seeker, to settle in Germany. He escaped the war and wanted to lead a normal life ‘just like others’. The second passage provides a glimpse into the life of a current refugee, Mohammed Jbili, who is represented as an educated and hardworking man seeking a better future for his family. This pattern of ‘getting acquainted’ with the refugees supplies a

¹²³ F. Schmid, 12th of March 2016, Narben auf der Seele, *Der Spiegel*.

¹²⁴ M. Popp, 19th of March, 2016, Allein in Jermania, *Der Spiegel*.

¹²⁵ R. Claas, 2nd of October 2015, Verlust. *Der Spiegel*.

¹²⁶ F. Schmid, 12th of March 2016, Narben auf der Seele, *Der Spiegel*. ‘Als Fauzi Saado 1988 vor dem Bürgerkrieg im Libanon floh, wollte er nur “leben, wie die anderen auch”. Verwandte und Bekannte hatten ihm erzählt, dass Deutschland ein schönes Land sei. “Sie haben eine Demokratie und helfen. Und sie haben keinen Krieg”, meinte Fauzi.’

¹²⁷ M. Popp, 19th of March, 2016, Allein in Jermania, *Der Spiegel*. Mohammed Jbili, 36, Buchhalter aus Aleppo, und seine Frau Nur, 30, sind im Sommer 2014 aus Syrien in die Türkei geflohen gemeinsam mit ihren vier Kindern Kerem, Amir, Abdulmalek und Omar. Jbili arbeitete in Istanbul in Fabriken, auf dem Bau, in einer Schneiderei, oft 14 Stunden am Tag, sieben Tage die Woche. Sein Gehalt genügte trotzdem kaum, um die Miete zu bezahlen. Er sah für seine Familie keine Zukunft in der Türkei. Für die Flucht in die EU fehlte das Geld. Nächtelang lagen er und seine Frau wach, sprachen immer und immer wieder über einen Ausweg. Am Ende fassten sie den Entschluss, dass Jbili zunächst allein mit Kerem nach Deutschland fliehen würde. Vater und Kleinkind sind dann im Winter über Griechenland und den Balkan in die Bundesrepublik gereist. Er war sich sicher, seine Frau und die grösseren Kinder nachholen zu können sonst wäre er nicht aufgebrochen. Nun fürchtet er, dass all die Anstrengung umsonst gewesen sein könnte.

reader with a deeper understanding of lives of the displaced individuals, breaking dichotomies between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

Section 4.5 Discussing the results

As far as the issue of the Islamic State is concerned, *Focus magazine’s* reports turned out to frame the Islamic state in terms of the cosmic war, alluding to theological references. The securitization issue has proved to be the leading topic in the majority of articles on the Islamic-state fighters from Germany. *Der Spiegel’s* articles turned out to be more specific in giving information on denomination of Islam (e.g. Salafist movement) as far as radical Islamists and IS-fighters are concerned, they also featured a more deep analysis of these groups and tended to put the stories on the IS into the bigger picture of the Middle Eastern geopolitics. They also proved to report more elaborately on German jihadists with references to the national security sources. Almost every third article included the supposed number of radicalized Germans with an immigrant background.

My study revealed seven patterns which are recurrent in the coverage of the ISIL-related news: the usage of the theological rhetoric and the term ‘caliphate’; establishing the link between Islam and violence; referring to immigrants of Turkish, North African or Middle Eastern origin by their religious identity and not ethnicity; profiling Muslims as failed immigrants and defining radicalization as the opposite of integration; including propaganda messages of the Islamic state in the news reports; creating the connection between Islamic religious symbols and terrorism, and framing the Islamic state in political science’s terms.

The usage of the vocabulary related to religion in reporting about the Islamic State forces it into the public domain where it is utilized to emphasize the irrational nature of violence. Religion in general, in this context is rendered unreasonable and dangerous, as opposed to secular order, which is deemed rational and promoting freedom. Thus, the secular or state’s violence is justified and the audience is being prepared to accept its usage against any enemy that is appointed by the state. In addition, the theological rhetoric does not contain any relevance to the topic of the coverage, but rather adds suspense and triggers fear in the audience. When the ISIL streams live beheadings or destruction of world heritage sites, it pursues several goals, such as demonstration of their power over human life and, at a larger scale, the world. By transmitting and publishing these images accompanied by the theological rhetoric, the audience that does not pertain to the Islamic State, gets intimidated, and young men who either suffer from mental issues or are disappointed in life and easily manipulated, get lured into the war.

Emphasizing the Quranic nature of the Islamic State reinforces the link between Islam and violence, which has already been established since 9/11. The connection between the Islamic faith and violence is usually constructed without any attempt to define to which denomination of Islam IS-militants belong, or what goals they pursue. Moreover, Islam is propelled from the private sphere into the public domain, where it is held responsible for the deeds of the perpetrators. Thus, the Islamic religious identity is rendered more salient than other identities, which results in the stigmatization of Muslims and the rise of an anti-Islamic prejudice.

The recurrent usage of the term “caliphate” emphasizes its pre-modern nature, and places the Islamic State into a different time frame, pre-modernity, which blurs the boundaries between the Islamic state as paramilitary organization and a barbaric theocratic state. It can be argued that the whole idea of declaring itself a Caliphate isn't just an exercise in rhetoric: it is an attempt to establish itself as a rightful political entity in both the Middle East and the political arena. So following this reasoning, when the press reinforces the image of the Islamic State as a polity and recognizes it as such, in the public debate it becomes recognized as a viable state-like territory which only perpetuates its existence in social consciousness. It may also pose a direct challenge to Muslims everywhere to pick a side: to force those on the Salafi side to join their cause, and those on the progressive side to drop their affiliation with conservative Islam altogether. To support this line of thinking I'm presenting the passage from the IS press-release after the Paris attacks:

The Muslims in the West will quickly find themselves between one of two choices, they either apostatize and adopt the kufri religion propagated by Bush, Obama, Blair, Cameron, Sarkozy, and Hollande in the name of Islam so as to live amongst the kuffair without hardship, or they perform hijrah to the Islamic State and thereby escape persecution from the crusader governments and citizens.¹²⁸

Thus, when the press reinforces the ISIL's image as a polity and recognizes it as such, in the public debate it becomes recognized as a viable, although barbaric alternative that Muslims may choose to affiliate with. Running stories on the ISIL recurrently depicting it as the caliphate with its own law based on Quran can have an effect of legitimizing their presence in the region, and in the minds of German audiences, regardless of the origin of its members. It can be argued that glossing these details over will not stop spreading their Internet recruitment and propaganda videos where they clearly proclaim themselves as the

¹²⁸ H. Gambhir, The Islamic State's trap for Europe. 15th of November 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/hating-muslim-refugees-is-exactly-what-the-islamic-state-wants-europe-to-do/2015/11/15/dfc0ca84-87d1-11e5-be39-0034bb576eee_story.html (accessed 7th of April, 2016)

state, but it may contribute to the objective representation of them in the media space that overlaps and diffuses with the public sphere. By recurrently alluding to the words of the caliphate and the Islamic rule, it brings Islam to the public sphere and reinforces the link between Islam and violence, which stigmatizes Islam as religion and racializes Muslims regardless of their ethnicity.

The connection between religion and violence is usually established without any attempt to define to which denomination of Islam the IS-militants belong, or what goals they pursue. It is contended here that they are violent and barbaric on the grounds of the religion they preach, as are those nations “molded by Islam”, who are blamed for not being tolerant or modern enough, and as a consequence, aggressive and oppressive. This key theme epitomizes the tendency for broad generalizations and ascription of responsibility for the terrorist acts to all Muslims. In other words, it locates the responsibility for the crimes to religion only, and by so doing, stigmatizes all those practicing it, as being prone to such acts. It only conforms to the logic of Neo-orientalists such as Lewis, who writes that the roots of Muslim rage lie with their inability to put up with the fact that Christian civilization defeated Islamic civilization in military and cultural domination spreading the European way of life and ideas over its territories. Alternatively, this topic could have been framed in terms of political science such as totalitarian ideology.

German Muslims joining jihad are profiled as the failed immigrants. Their background stories frequently contain such topics as social isolation, the lack of achievements in educational institutions and the absence of fixed job. In general, their incapability of blending into society is associated with Islam, which fills their lives with meaning, radicalizing them to the point of becoming terrorists. Whereas these claims that can be summarized as the crisis of identity among the descendants of the first generation immigrants constitute only the consequences of a certain identity politics and a flawed integration strategy, issues such as socioeconomic inequality, disparate educational opportunities and conditions for integration into the labor market and political participation are glossed over or underrepresented. Furthermore, in this narrative Muslim immigrants are seen as a threat to social fabric and become targets for the state to externalize its failures on. This stance strengthens the assumption that religion, particularly Islam, can be regarded as a divisive point in the society. Therefore, those citizens who manifest their Islamic faith are getting marginalized and targeted as a threat to the national security.

Including propaganda messages in the news reports, which usually contains panic-inducing phrases and pictures, along with some statements, may result in spreading a hateful attitude towards Muslims, their securitization and thus stigmatization. Also it

generally raises concerns over the presence of terrorists in Germany among its citizens or non-citizens with an immigrant background, which causes racialization of Muslims, and elevation of any Islam-related issue to a matter of national threat, or in other words, their securitization.

Last but not least, the seventh pattern reveals attempts of framing the Islamic States in the political, rather than the theological terms. Some articles, mainly published in *Der Spiegel*, informed the reader about the origins of the Islamic State, framing the IS as a symmetrical answer for the mistakes of the foreign policy of the Western states in the past. However, in most cases, the military operations conducted by the West in the Middle East were not condemned or linked to the emergence of these militant groups. Rather, as far as the Islamic State is concerned, the opposition between inferior and barbaric Arab militants, and superior and civilized Westerners was constructed. Such constructions reinforce the difference between secular and religious violence, in which case, violence against ‘barbaric perpetrators’ can be justified, and their actions, provoked by their violent religion are condemned. In more recent issues of *Focus* reports were published where the Islamic State is defined as a totalitarian movement that shares common ground with fascism in terms of ideology and system, framing the IS in the political terms (“This Apocalypse we already know”¹²⁹, “The German Terror-Brigade”¹³⁰).

As far as the issue of the refugee crisis is concerned, my research revealed nine key themes which are regular in the coverage of the refugee-related news: depicting refugees as victims, raising concerns over loosing cultural/European identity; establishing the link between refugees and national security; prejudiced profiling of the refugees as perpetrators; establishing link between Islam and violence; usage of nationalist rhetoric; linking the figure of the German Chancellor to the refugees and holding her accountable for the all consequences; portraying refugees as future members of society, and including personal stories of refugees in the news reports.

In both news magazines there is a tendency to raise concerns over the influx of the refugees. The concerns can be divided into two patterns among which are the fear of loosing cultural identity on the grounds of arrival of too many Muslims, the growing presence of Islam, and the anxiety over the national security, because of the supposed influx of the terrorists disguised as asylum seekers, and as a consequence, the growing number of the so-called ‘home-grown’ perpetrators, radicalized German citizens with an immigrant background. The cultural or European identity can be supposedly under peril

¹²⁹ P. Berman, 19th of December 2015, *Diese Apokalypse kennen wir. Focus*.

¹³⁰ C. Elflein, 16th of June, 2014, *Die deutsche Terror-Brigade, Focus*.

because of the large numbers of Muslims coming into the country, which are getting generalized and ascribed a whole set of presuppositions, such as a hostile attitude towards Jews, non-modern views on homosexuality and gender equality, and violence to non-believers. As argued by Paul Mepschen, Jan W. Duyvendak and Evelien H. Tonkens, gay politics in Europe is used to emphasize the superiority of European secular modernity as opposed to the inferior backward cultural Other represented by Muslims.¹³¹ In order to fall into the first category and belong to the modern European society, one has to support rights of homosexuals because, as contended, it has recently become part of the European identity and part and parcel of the culturalization of citizenship. Another salient pattern is associating refugees with the national threat. The refugee crisis is not a humanitarian tragedy anymore, but rather a threat to national security. These discourses are shaped and legitimized by the securitization theory and Orientalism paradigm.

Coverage of the asylum seeker's issue frequently includes a set of prejudices towards the people arriving from the Middle East. The preconceptions comprise equating refugees with criminals, violence, and backward and barbaric culture that reveal the Orientalism concept at play.

Invoking nationalistic rhetoric constitutes another remarkable example of the reporting on refugees, usually in the form of calling for tightening security measures so that Germans can be protected from 'the enemy within.' Orientalism concept and securitization legitimize a certain discourse on the refugees and immigrants. Such representation constructs the image of the threatening Other, be it a German citizen with an immigrant background or a recently arrived refugee from Syria, ascribing to all of them the same menacing identity, particularly, the religious identity, which is said to be the reason for the violent behavior and all kinds of transgressions.

Portraying refugees as future members of society, which can contribute to the prosperity of the society, is another key theme that demonstrates the dynamic of the newsreporting on the asylum seekers in Germany. Showing their side of the story, as in the final sample that I discerned in my research supplies a reader with a deeper understanding of lives of the displaced individuals, breaking dichotomies between 'us' and 'them'.

It would be intriguing to conduct a research on the online media outlets that addresses a younger audience. In the world that so rapidly changes, generation gaps may seem relevant for studying the discourses, as the younger generation that was born when Internet already existed, find diverse sources of information to shape their viewpoints and generally tend to be more open-minded about the variety of issues. Additionally, my

¹³¹ P.Mepschen, J.W.Duyvendak, E.H.Tonkens, 2010, p. 970.

research does not cover the feedback of readers on the scrutinized articles, which can be found in the comments on the web sites or in the specific section devoted to the reader's opinion. It may be relevant for the research in this field to analyze how the coverage of particular topics are perceived by the audience and to what extent the printed press influence the public debate. Another path that can be undertaken to deepen the research is conducting interviews with journalists on how the decisions are made to frame issues from certain angles. Thus, I have outlined the areas for further research.

Chapter 5. Cultural and religious ‘othering’ of Muslims in Germany

In this chapter I will argue that the key themes identified in my research contribute to the construction of collective representations about Muslims in Germany as “repugnant cultural others”, which deprives them of the right of non-discrimination. I will also approach this issue by analyzing how addressing Muslim immigrants as religious subjects disrupts the social fabric of society and leads to their disenfranchisement and discrimination. Finally, I will suggest a number of recommendations for the press on how to address the issues of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis.

Section 5.1 Muslims as repugnant cultural others

So far I have argued that Orientalism paradigm and securitization of migration issue have formed the assumptions about Muslims in Germany, leading to racialization of German citizens of Turkish, Middle Eastern and North African origin. Thus, a unified Muslim identity is thrust upon them. As I have demonstrated, these conceptions, which have become conspicuous in the recent coverage of the refugee crisis and the Islamic State in the press, legitimize the current public debate on Muslims and Islam in Germany. This debate produced a set of common patterns with which Islam-related issues are being reported such as the linkage between Islam and violence as well as the association of Islamic religious symbols, specifically, items of clothing, with terrorism. Framing the Islamic state-related news in religious terms, frequently referring to it as caliphate, and including panic-inducing propaganda messages of the IS in the news reports renders Islam irrational, dangerous, and pre-modern, alienating the Muslim community. The issue of German jihadists with an immigrant background is analyzed through the cultural and religious lenses only. It can be related to the fact, that German society represents an example of community with prevailing holistic culture over individualism, and in such a society the idea of ethnicity or origin of individual is inextricably bound up with personality, the former determining the latter, as in the logic of the phrase “I am essentially a German, and I am a man through my being a German”. Thus, the unsuccessful attempts to blend in with German society are linked to the religious identity of individuals, which has been commonly mistaken for their ethnic identity due to its racialization. Such relevant factors which determine the outcome of the social immersion as the socioeconomic inequality, the disparity of educational opportunities and conditions for integration into the labor market, and political participation of citizens with an immigrant background are tended to be glossed over.

The debate about the refugees yielded a set of key themes that deal with national identity and nationalism. As I contended previously, one of the paramount values of German society is ethnicity or the sense of belonging to an ethnic community with the distinct national sentiment. It explains the ethno-cultural conception of citizenship that lasted until the year of 2000 and the current distinctions that are made in the German integration policy. Therefore, the fear of losing European/German cultural identity due to the influx of asylum seekers and alluding to the nationalism-themed topics is closely related to the ethnicity as a paramount value in the hierarchy of values of German society. Although, what constitutes the European/German identity tends to be vaguely defined in the articles employed in my research, it is explicit that religion, particularly, Islam is portrayed as the pivotal ingredient of individual's identity, and as a divisive point in society. For the former, people of different ethnicities are grouped together on the grounds of Islamic faith and get assigned the Muslim identity, which is singled out from the myriad of other identities that constitute a refugee or German national with an immigrant background. For the latter, depiction of Islam as a divisive point originates from the idea that a fundamental gap exists between "secular" Europeans and "religious" Muslims¹³². Resorting to theological rhetoric in the coverage of the IS-related news can also be employed to entrench this division between secular and rational Europeans and fanatically religious Muslims. Thus, the Muslim identity is racialized and opposed to the German identity. This opposition triggers the rise of nationalism and intentions to defend and preserve the German national identity based on ethnicity. This tendency is explicit in the theme characterized by invoking nationalistic rhetoric, usually expressed in the form of calling for tightening security measures so that Germans can be protected from 'the enemy within'.

Accordingly, these discursive practices construct German Muslims and the refugees, coming from Muslim countries, to settle temporarily or permanently in the country as "repugnant cultural others". Although the term was coined 25 years ago by Susan Harding¹³³, who used it to examine the implications of the one of the most famous court cases in history of the United States of America, the expression still has not lost its currency. The Scopes trial of 1925 tells a story about a high school teacher, John Scopes, who was accused of violating Tennessee's Butler Act, which made it unlawful to teach human evolution in any state-funded school.

¹³² L. Mavelli, 2012, p. 63.

¹³³ S. Harding, 'Representing Fundamentalism: The Problem of the Repugnant Cultural Other', 1991.

The trial attracted the biggest legal names of the country: a devout Presbyterian and the three-time Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan for the prosecution, and the great attorney Clarence Darrow who represented the defense. Darrow was prepared to convict the Bible as wrong and defend evolution as fact; Bryan to convict evolution as heresy and to defend the Bible as truth. During the hearings, Bryan had been publicly humiliated and his fundamentalist beliefs had been disgraced. The details of the debate between science and religion were simplified to the point that the Bible didn't represent reality word for word. Harding points out, that the Scopes trial was a spectacular media event, in which fundamentalists were 'othered' "live", cast out of public life and condemned as inferiors, because the media presented the event as the opposition between science and religion, the former superior to the latter. She observes that:

The problem with renarrating fundamentalists as a backward cultural "other" whose exclusion enables and secures a hegemonic "modern" point of view is that it places them in the same conceptual and political space – the vaunted margins – as women, gays, ethnic and racial minorities, workers, tribal and peasant peoples, the colonized and postcolonials. I say it is a problem because it provokes a chain of differentiating rhetorical moves in me and in my audiences, moves that would at least assure us that fundamentalists are "less oppressed" than other "others", and at best expose them as imposters who are not really oppressed at all and who therefore belong in the center, not the margins.¹³⁴

In other words, by framing the issues of Islam and Muslims with the patterns identified in my study, such as the linkage between Islam and violence, the pre-modern nature of Islamic fundamentalism, the press exerts a prejudiced attitude towards the Muslim community in the media space, depriving its members of the right not to be abused in the current public discourse. It may be stated that the 'othering' in the press leads to oppression in reality as it alters collective representations and, thus, produces the 'taken for granted' knowledge that German Muslims or the refugees coming to Germany for a temporary or permanent settlement in fact are different because of the religion they may practice.

Section 5.2 Religious minorities and human rights

The narratives, mentioned in the previous section, highlight the connection between Islam and violence, and Islamic religious symbols and terrorism, confining the role of religion to acts of violence and religious persecution. This standpoint renders religion a point of division and an important identity marker. In relation to the addressing community as religious in the public debate, Elizabeth Shakman Hurd observes, that

¹³⁴ S. Harding, 1991, p. 391

It creates a world in which citizens are governed as religious subjects, contributing to the consolidation of a social order in which groups are distinguished by perceived religious differences, creating apostates and insurgents on the margins of legal religion.¹³⁵

This approach enables public authorities to distinguish between good and bad religion, or appoint representatives to speak for the communities in attempts to moderate them, considering it a cure to terrorism. It encourages representatives of orthodoxy to actively engage in disputes over rights, while it also obliterates the diversity within the communities. Nationals with an immigrant background are being singled out as different from those without foreign ancestry, and are being marginalized. Such entrenchment of divisions imposes on them an unfavorable position of religious or cultural minorities in the power relations with a state, disenfranchising them. To explain this assertion I shall take up an argument laid out by Hanna Arendt, who pointed out that human rights essentially depended on being a citizen of a nation-state.¹³⁶ In other words, only if a state recognizes an individual as a national, can he or she acquire a set of human rights, which a state ensures to defend. But the emphasis on the otherness of religious minorities turns them into religious subjects and places them at odds with nation-state, which alters the set of liberties and duties for this category of citizens. Asad in his book *“Formations of the Secular”* argues that human rights and national rights are not identical:

Arendt might have noted, however, that sacredness in the modern secular state is attributed not to real living persons but precisely to “the human” conceptualized abstractly, or imagined in a state of nature. Every real person who belongs to a particular nation-state is always subject to its institutional violence – including the violence of its law, and liable to military conscription that can result in his death. It is only the abstract modern citizen who is sacred by virtue of his or her abstract participation in popular sovereignty.¹³⁷

Consequently, when immigrant communities are defined in terms of religious minorities, they begin to be singled out and treated on dissimilar terms, legally and socially. Following this line of reasoning, for the modern state, national rights, especially, duties of citizens overrule human rights, which are subordinate to the national duties. Thus, the state can ignore human rights, while imposing national duties on individuals. As long as the state does not infringe the rights of individual, and individual conforms to the rules of the state, national duties and human rights make up one category, namely, the rights and responsibilities granted with citizenship. Discrimination or any other kind of institutional violence against an individual or a group of individuals on the grounds of faith, gender,

¹³⁵ E.S. Hurd, 2015, p. 106

¹³⁶ H. Arendt, 1966, p. 299

¹³⁷ T. Asad, 2003, p. 143

ethnicity etc. thus means stripping them of human rights while still assigning national duties to a group discriminated against.

Here I would like to engage Dumont's theory of hierarchy of values, which, in my reading, confirms the statements made earlier. As I briefly explained in the second chapter, social values are culturally given judgments about what is most important in life. These culturally given judgments are supposed to be shared by all the members of the community, namely, a nation or a state, provided that it is more or less culturally homogenous. In a more diverse society social values may be less commonly shared. As social values and hierarchy are inseparable, when values of an individual do not coincide with the values of society, the more superior value encompasses the other. Encompassment may be regarded as imposing a coercive power of the state over an individual, which can sometimes result in reassuring national duties over human rights. For instance, German Muslims as citizens of the state have national rights, and thus are subjected to the state's coercive power. They are also the bearers of human rights, which, under some circumstances, they may be robbed of, e.g. get discriminated against. Consequently, the 'othering' of Muslims or other groups of people based on their religious identity, may lead to their discrimination and stripping of their human rights as equal members of German society.

By saying this, I don't imply that they cannot go to court to fight for the rights, but rather I argue that in the collective representations their claims to be discriminated will not be taken seriously. To underpin this point, I will present the case of a Muslim woman who was harassed for wearing a headscarf in Dresden in 2009. An Egyptian woman named Marwa El-Sherbini, who lived and worked in Germany, was insulted in a playground on account of wearing a hijab. She pressed charges against the offender but was brutally murdered in a courtroom during her testimony. The attacker stabbed her, and a police security officer who was called to the scene, shot El-Sherbini's husband, mistaking him for the perpetrator.

As it turned out later, the murderer, Alexander Wiens, a German citizen of Russian descent, sent a letter to the court before the trial, in which he made clear that he had no understanding whatsoever as to why this prosecution was being brought against him. He considered that the headscarf El-Sherbini was wearing was a sign of radicalism. He assumed that El-Sherbini was an Islamic terrorist, and felt entirely justified to attack her.¹³⁸ The fact that the German authorities failed to react to the threat letter reveals how collective representations, to a larger extent formed by the media, construct social reality,

¹³⁸ L. Fekete, 2010, p. 67.

in which those who suffer from inequity are denied their experiences by both the society and the state. It may result in their discrimination and stripping of their human rights as equal members of German society.

While the media is responsible for the reproduction of social imaginaries and social reality in which we live, it should contest any discourses that imply discrimination. In present times it becomes obvious that a more sensitive approach should be implemented when covering the issues related to migration and Islam, to provide the society with balanced discussion. The information that the public is supplied with through the media accounts can both legitimize the actions of governments, and facilitate societal change at the collective level, but it can also restrain and determine the behaviors of individuals, which are of utmost importance for wider social change. That is why I decided to take liberty and propose a set of recommendations on how the current issues of Islam might be covered in the German press.

First of all, I suggest that any paramilitant or insurgent organizations claiming to represent a branch of Islam should not be framed in religious terms, but rather in legal terms and terms of political science, as they usually tend to represent political ideologies that use violence as means of recruitment and intimidation. The press should curb usage of theological rhetoric in titles and content of articles and provide the reader with a more balanced and in-depth analysis of the issue by including accounts of scholars of religious studies, Middle Eastern studies and Political Science. Secondly, making specific references to the denomination of Islam when reporting on religious aspects of paramilitant groups would cease to ascribe responsibility for the terrorist acts to all Muslims, discriminating them on the basis of their religion. Otherwise, it locates the responsibility for the crimes to religion only, which stigmatizes Islam as religion and mistakes ethnic identities for religious identities, causing racialization of Muslims. Thirdly, the press should avoid framing the deeds of the Islamic state and similar groups as religiously motivated only, but provide the audience with a wider range of angles from which to reflect on it, as the link between Islam and violence oversimplifies the matter while obscuring all the stakeholders engaged in the issue. Additionally, this link constructs the opposition between state violence that is supposed to aim for the greater good, and religious violence that is deemed irrational and dangerous. This discourse legitimized by the press leads to justifications of state's military actions against any enemy that is appointed by the government. It most certainly causes the collateral damage and a surge in recruitment of fighters among those, who are affected by the bombings carried out with impunity. Fourthly, the usage of the term "caliphate" should be minimized in the news reports as it puts the Islamic State in

pre-modernity, thus impeding the rational examination of it, and additionally, rendering the Islamic faith incompatible with modernity, subjecting German Muslims to alienation and abjection. Fifthly, journalists reporting on the background of German Muslims joining the jihad of the IS should not reduce integration aspects to the religious and cultural ones and include other issues that hinder the social immersion of immigrants of second and third generations, such as economic depravity, educational inequality, hampered integration into the labor market and discrimination. Crisis of identity among immigrants or their descendants indeed plays role in radicalization, but other issues that affect successful integration are underrepresented. Furthermore, the media outlets should avoid including propaganda messages in the news reports, along with some statements, which may result in spreading the hateful attitude towards Muslims, and elevation of any Islam-related issue to a matter of a national threat, or in other words, its securitization.

As far as the coverage of the refugees is concerned, the German media outlets should focus more on the personal sides of the stories of asylum seekers, providing a deeper look into their lives, thus, switching from their dehumanization and portrayal as threatening others to showing the reasons behind their decision to flee their homelands. Sixthly, instead of fuelling fears over the possible loss of national identity or over security breaches, the press should devote some reports to goals and ideas people, be it German citizens or newcomers, share. Seventhly, journalists should also stop differentiating people along their religion or ethnicity and provide examples of unbiased attitude towards both their compatriots with an immigrant background and asylum seekers. The press should justly reflect the situation in society where the number of German citizens with an immigrant background who succeeded in life exceeds the one of the so-called failed immigrants. It is comprehensible that the success-stories has zero value for the journalists pursuing sensation, but the press should assume responsibility it has for defining the way the audience perceives the issues, and supply the reader with a broader picture of the society he or she is a part of, fostering acceptance and mutual respect.

Conclusion

The mass displacement of the people from Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, the DRC, and complex dynamics around politics, resources, religion and power has contributed to the creation of a global crisis of displacement. In Germany, which represents the final destination for many of these people and those, who are known as “boat people” and are currently crossing the sea in an attempt to flee war and poverty, debates over national identity gave way to the rise of the far-right movement across the country. German authorities have been trying to deal with the consequences of the influx of the asylum seekers by securitizing both issues of migration and integration of immigrants, specifically, Muslims. The information about Islam and Muslims in Germany is mostly mediated knowledge, as the recent surveys show. The news media provide the audience with the agenda for collective discussion, and the way the news is framed directly shapes the debates and defines social reality as it enforces a ‘taken for granted’ knowledge of social structures.

In the present thesis I endeavored to gain an insight into the production of social realities in the current representations of Islam and Muslims in the German printed press. I employed both the media and the anthropological approach to address this issue. On the one hand, Louis Dumont’s theory of hierarchy of values provided me with a deeper understanding of the Germany society and its paramount value, which is ethnicity. This essential trait of the German societal hierarchy of values determined collective representations of German nationality as well as the ethno-cultural model of citizenship that had lasted until 2000. Moreover, German society represents an example of community with prevailing holistic culture over individualism, and in such a society the idea of ethnicity or origin of an individual is inextricably bound up with personality, the former determining the latter, as in the logic of the phrase “I am essentially a German, and I am a man through my being a German”. It enables the current politics of differentialism that distinguishes between German citizens with an immigrant background and without it, contributing to the state-level ‘othering’ of German citizens with an immigrant background.

On the other hand, the concepts of Orientalism and securitization also have affected the public discourse on Muslims in Germany. I contended that while Orientalism can be held accountable for the production of stereotypes leading to essentialist misrepresentations of the Middle East, securitization has promoted the Islam-related issues to the matter of national security. Both concepts trigger hostility towards the Muslim community living in Germany. Religion has been racialized and ethnic identity replaced by

religious identity, which paved the way for cultural racism that treats cultures in discriminatory terms. Islamophobia is not only gendered, but also contributes to framing Muslims as incapable of reasonable assessment and bearing double loyalties.

To extend my thesis beyond the overview of the theoretical literature and to bridge the gap between media and the anthropological studies, I conducted the research of the German printed press to examine the key themes with which Islam-related issues, namely, the Islamic State and the refugee crisis, are covered. The study of the reports about the Islamic State produced a set of common patterns among which are the usage of the theological rhetoric and the term 'caliphate'; establishing the link between Islam and violence; referring to immigrants of Turkish, North African or Middle Eastern origin by their religious identity and not ethnicity; profiling Muslims as failed immigrants and defining radicalization as the opposite of integration; including propaganda messages of the Islamic state in the news reports; creating the connection between Islamic religious symbols and terrorism, and framing the Islamic state in political science's terms.

To sum up, in the public domain Islam is represented as a problem and a source of danger. Framing the Islamic state-related news in religious terms, frequently referring to it as caliphate, and including panic-inducing propaganda messages of the IS in the news reports renders Islam irrational, dangerous, and pre-modern, alienating the Muslim community. The issue of German jihadists with an immigrant background is analyzed through the cultural and religious lenses only. It can be related to the fact that in the Germany holistic culture prevails over individualism, thus connecting the idea of ethnicity with personality, the former determining the latter. Consequently, unsuccessful attempts of immigrants to blend in with German society are linked to their religious identity, which has been commonly mistaken for their ethnic identity due to its racialization disregarding such relevant factors as the socioeconomic inequality, the disparity of educational opportunities and conditions for integration into the labor market.

As far as the issue of the refugee crisis is concerned, my research revealed nine key themes which are regular in the coverage of the refugee-related news: depicting refugees as victims, raising concerns over loosing cultural/European identity; establishing the link between refugees and national security; prejudiced profiling of the refugees as perpetrators; establishing link between Islam and violence; usage of nationalist rhetoric; linking the figure of Merkel to the refugees and holding her accountable for the all consequences; portraying refugees as future members of society, and including personal stories of refugees in the news reports.

The fear of losing European/German cultural identity due to the influx of asylum seekers and alluding to the nationalism-themed topics is closely related to the ethnicity as a paramount value in the hierarchy of values of German society. Although, what constitutes the European/German identity tends to be vaguely defined in the articles employed in my research, it is explicit that religion, particularly, Islam is portrayed as an important identity marker. Resorting to the theological rhetoric in the coverage of the IS-related news can also be employed to entrench this division between secular and rational Europeans and fanatically religious Muslims. Thus, the Muslim identity is racialized and opposed to the German identity. This opposition triggers the rise of nationalism and intentions to defend and preserve the German national identity based on ethnicity. This tendency is obvious in the theme characterized by invoking nationalistic rhetoric, usually expressed in the form of calling for tightening security measures so that Germans can be protected from ‘the enemy within’.

These abovementioned patterns turn Muslims in the current public discourse into “repugnant cultural others”. The emphasis on their otherness because of Islam turns them into religious subjects and places them at odds with nation-state, which alters the set of liberties and duties for this category of citizens, as human rights and national rights are not identical.

Thus, when immigrant communities are defined in terms of religious minorities, they begin to be singled out and treated on dissimilar terms, legally and socially. Following this line of reasoning, for the modern state, national rights, especially, duties of citizens overrule human rights, which are subordinate to the national duties. Thus, the state can ignore human rights, while imposing national duties on individuals. Discrimination or any other kind of institutional violence against an individual or a group of individuals on the grounds of faith, gender, or ethnicity thus means stripping them of human rights while still assigning national duties to a group discriminated against.

The information that the public is provided with through media accounts can both legitimize the actions of governments, and facilitate societal change at the collective level, but it can also restrain and determine the individual behavior, which are of utmost importance for wider social change. This is why I suggested a number of recommendations for the press on how to address the issues of the Islamic State and the refugee crisis to foster acceptance of newcomers and mutual respect.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, dr. Kim Knibbe, for her insightful comments and support throughout the process. I am also very grateful to Nelly and Xuejun for all the proof-reading and the endless encouragement. Tessa, thank you for all the conversations that challenged and inspired me to look into the topic from different perspectives. Finally, thank you to my parents, for believing in me and always being by my side.

Appendix– Codebooks

The news coverage of the Islamic State’s issue

CODE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE FROM THE DATA
Terrorism	Deductive	This concept covers IS attacks, its policy implemented on the invaded territories; IS-army (terror-militias or terror-army)	The brutality of terror in the Middle East reached unthinkable dimensions;
Religious rhetoric	Inductive	Apply this code whenever religious terms and associations are introduced	<p>“This Apocalypse we already know”/“Diese Apokalypse kennen wir”; God’s warriors; “Then the hell breaks loose”/“Dann ist die Hoelle los”; “The warriors of apocalypse”/“Die Krieger der Apokalypse”, “Paradise or Hell”/“Himmel oder Hoelle”.</p> <p>‘...among German and West-European islamists Syria is considered to be a battlefield of the worldwide Jihad’/ Die Buergerkriegszone in Syrien gilt unter deutschen und westeuropaeischen Islamisten als das Schlachtfeld fuer den weltweiten Dschihad.¹³⁹</p>
Islam	Deductive	This concept covers any references to Islamic religion, ideology of the Islamic State	Islamic fighters; Barbaric ideology
Religious violence	Deductive	Apply this code whenever Islam is held accountable for deeds of the IS; war or battles	<p>‘But much to what extremists refer is inherent in Islam’/ ‘Doch vieles, worauf sich die Extremisten berufen, ist im Islam angelegt’;</p> <p>‘They torture, crucify and cut hands off: the Islamists of the IS-troops take over Iraq and train hundreds of Germans to be brutal</p>

¹³⁹ C. Elflein, 16th of June, 2014. Die Deutsche Terror-Brigade. Focus.

			<p>fanatics?/ ‘Sie foltern, kreuzigen und hacken Hnde ab: Die Islamisten der ISIS-Truppen berrollen den Irak und bilden Hunderte deutsche Mnner zu brutalen Fanatikern aus.’¹⁴⁰</p> <p>‘In the name of Islam people are disenfranchised, persecuted and murdered. Nations molded by Islam should finally commit themselves to tolerance.’/ ‘Im Namen des Islam werden Menschen entrechtet, verfolgt und ermordet. Islamisch geprgte Nationen sollten sich endlich zur Toleranz bekennen.’¹⁴¹</p>
Muslim/Muslims	Deductive	Apply whenever Islamic religious identity of an individual is mentioned;	<p>‘Germans join the jihad, Muslims supply us with street fights, and a comedian is advised to keep his mouth shut: Islamism has become a German problem.’/ ‘Deutsche ziehen in den Dschihad, Muslime liefern sich bei uns Strassenschlachten, ein Kabarettist soll den Mund halten: Der Islamismus ist ein deutsches Problem geworden.’¹⁴²</p>
Background story	Deductive	Use whenever fighter’s biography is told; education, job, marital status are introduced.	<p>‘At the age of 19 Ahmet is just like many other migrants: disillusioned, without education or stable job, without a permanent job, full of vigor but with no plan of how his future should look like.’/ ‘Mit 19 Jahren steht Ahmet genauso da wie viele andere Migranten: desillusioniert, ohne Ausbildung, ohne festen Job, mit viel Kraft und ohne Plan, wie die Zukunft aussehen soll.’¹⁴³</p>

¹⁴⁰ C. Elflein, 16th of June, 2014. Die Deutsche Terror-Brigade. Focus.

¹⁴¹ V. Kauder, November 2014, Religiser Vernichtungswahn, Focus.

¹⁴² M. Klonovsky, November 2014, Ein Glaube zum Furchten, Focus.

¹⁴³ B.Schrep, 22nd September 2014, Nur Himmel oder Hoelle, Der Spiegel.

Interview with family of IS-fighter	Inductive	Accounts of the relatives of alleged IS-perpetrators	‘He is the youngest of her two children, half-orphan since age of 13, when his father died of the lung cancer’/’Er ist das juengere ihrer beiden Kinder, eine Halbwaise seit seinem 13. Lebensjahr, da stirbt sein Vater an Lungenkrebs.’ ¹⁴⁴
Security measures	Inductive	Apply whenever tightening of security measures or actions of German/European surveillance are mentioned	‘The case illustrates the sense of alarm that prevails here in the judiciary, police and intelligence since the attack on the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo.’/’Der Fall illustriert die Alarmstimmung, die seit dem Anschlag auf das franzoesische Satiremagazin "Charlie Hebdo" hierzulande bei Justiz, Polizei und Geheimdiensten herrscht.’ ¹⁴⁵
Propaganda messages	Inductive	Statements of the IS-spokespersons, which are included in reports	‘Pope Francis is the last Pope. Then over Europe will reign only one law. Sharia.’/’Franziskus ist der letzte Papst", toente ihre Propaganda. Dann wird in Europa nur ein Gesetz herrschen. Die Scharia.’ ¹⁴⁶ ‘The spokesman of the Islamic State put it this way: “Smash his head with a rock, slaughter him with a knife or run him over, or throw him out from a high place, or choke him, or poison him”. And exactly in this manner the Western supporters of the Islamic State have acted ever since: in the Australian Sydney, the Canadian Ottawa, in Copenhagen, France and a few weeks ago on the train from the Netherlands to Paris.’/ ‘Der Sprecher des Islamischen Staats drückte es so aus: "Zertrümmert ihnen den Kopf, schlachtet sie mit einem Messer,

¹⁴⁴ J. Diehl, H. Gude, J. Jettner, C. Reuter. 3d of February, 2014. Mach Dir Keine Sorge. Der Spiegel.

¹⁴⁵ J. Diehl. 17th of January 2015. An Tagen wie diesen. Der Spiegel.

¹⁴⁶ E. Kallinger, 5th of December 2015. Rom ruestet sich. Focus.

			überfährt sie mit dem Auto, werft sie von einem hohen Gebäude, erwürgt oder vergiftet sie." Und genau so haben die westlichen Unterstützer des Islamischen Staats seitdem gehandelt: im australischen Sydney, dem kanadischen Ottawa, in Kopenhagen, Frankreich und vor wenigen Wochen erst auf dem Thalys-Zug von den Niederlanden nach Paris'. ¹⁴⁷
IS as political entity	Inductive	Apply whenever IS is analyzed in terms of the political science, not religious terms	<p>'The troops of IS are not monsters from the Middle Ages/Die Truppen des Islamisches Staats sind keine Monster aus dem Mittelalter.'¹⁴⁸,</p> <p>'As long as the British and the Americans deny the anarchy they have left in Iraq," wrote the <i>Guardian</i> columnist Simon Jenkins 2007, "they will have to deny their devastating side effects too." The IS is one of those side effects, and there are no monsters from the Middle Ages. On the contrary, says the British philosopher John Gray, that called the IS "'thoroughly modern movement", a kind of terror start-up with a clearly defined business model. (...) The advances of the IS, and in the destruction of the ancient towns, would therefore be more than the mere act, there would be a tactic behind those acts, an escalation for the sake of escalation: less a message from the 6th century and more a military program, that serves for the further conquest or represents a chance to eventually pull the West in the final battle.'/ 'Solange die Briten</p>

¹⁴⁷ P. Neumann, 14th of November 2015, *So kann es gehen – ein Plan gegen IS-Terror*, *Focus*.

¹⁴⁸ G. Diez, 14th of March 2015. *Die Krieger der Apokalypse*. *Der Spiegel*.

			<p>und die Amerikaner die Anarchie leugnen, die sie im Irak hinterlassen haben", schrieb der "Guardian"-Kolumnist Simon Jenkins 2007, "so lange muessen sie auch deren verheerende Nebenwirkungen leugnen."Der IS ist einer dieser Nebenwirkungen, und es sind auch eben keine Monster aus dem Mittelalter. Im Gegenteil, sagt etwa der britische Philosoph John Gray, der den IS eine "durch und durch moderne Bewegung" nennt, eine Art Start-up des Terrors mit klar umrissenem Business-Modell. (...) Das Vorgehen des IS, auch bei der Zerstoerung von antiken Kulturstaetten, waere demnach mehr als die reine Tat, es gaebe eine Taktik, die dahintersteckt, eine Eskalation um der Eskalation willen: weniger eine Botschaft aus dem 6. Jahrhundert und mehr ein militaerisches Programm, das der weiteren Eroberung dient oder der Chance, endlich den Westen in den grossen Endkampf zu ziehen.¹⁴⁹</p>
Caliphate	Inductive	This concept covers IS as caliphate	<p>‘His interrogations prove that the Caliphate warriors are not equipped with unified power structure.’/ ‘Seine Verhoere belegen, dass die "Kalifatskrieger" ueber kein einheitliches Machtgebilde verfuegen.’¹⁵⁰ ‘While working on a political solution for Syria in Geneva and in the rest of the country there is a fragile ceasefire, the main Western ground force fights here every day</p>

¹⁴⁹ G, Diez, 14th of March 2015, *Die Krieger der Apokalypse, Der Spiegel*.

¹⁵⁰ A. Splicker, 5th of December 2015. *Krieg ohne Strategie. Focus*.

			<p>against the Islamist caliphate.’/ ‘Waehrend in Genf an einer politischen Loesung fuer Syrien gearbeitet wird und im Rest des Landes eine fragile Waffenruhe herrscht, kaempft die wichtigste Bodentruppe des Westens hier weiter jeden Tag gegen das islamistische Kalifat.¹⁵¹</p> <p>Tunisians, the largest groups of foreigners the IS, have early founded a broad network in Libya and travel frequently from here to the "Caliphate".’/ ‘Tunesier, die groesste Auslaendergruppe beim IS, haben frueh ein breites Netzwerk in Libyen gegrundet und reisen vielfach von hier aus ins "Kalifat".¹⁵²</p>
Number of German IS-fighters	Inductive	Apply whenever number of German nationals joined the jihad are mentioned	<p>‘As far as the security services know, Marcel L. lost his life in the jihad - as did about 60 of his companions from Germany.’/ ‘Nach allem, was die Sicherheitsbehörden wissen, hat Marcel L. inzwischen im Dschihad sein Leben gelassen - wie rund 60 seiner Genossen aus Deutschland.’¹⁵³</p> <p>‘Hundreds of jihadists from Germany fight for the "Islamic state" in the Middle East’/ ‘Hunderte Dschihadisten aus Deutschland kämpfen für den "Islamischen Staat" im Nahen Osten’¹⁵⁴</p>

The news coverage of the refugees’ issue

CODE	TY PE	DESCRIP TION	EXAMPLE FROM DATA
Refugees	De duc	Use whenever	Refugees die while Europe fails to aid them. But the drama continues. A week after the

¹⁵¹ C. Stormer, 19th of March 2016. Die Bodentruppe des Westens.

¹⁵² Unknown author, 5th of December, 2015. Der Brueckenkopf des Kalifats.

¹⁵³ J. Diel. 17th of January 2015. An Tagen wie diesen. Der Spiegel.

¹⁵⁴ J. Diehl, 15th September 2014, *Ich liebe Allah mehr*, *Der Spiegel*.

	tive	asylum seekers or people fleeing from war-torn countries are mentioned	disaster of the A4 in Austria, this Wednesday, incomprehensible photos of a Syrian boy lying dead on a beach were published. He drowned during the crossing to the Greek island of Kos, his family had entrusted themselves to smugglers./Flüchtlinge sterben, weil Europa versagt. Doch das Drama geht weiter. Eine Woche nach der Katastrophe an der A4 in Österreich, an diesem Mittwoch, erschienen wieder unfassbare Fotos, diesmal eines syrischen Jungen, der tot an einem Strand liegt. Er ertrank während der Überfahrt zur griechischen Insel Kos, auch seine Familie hatte sich Schleusern anvertraut. ¹⁵⁵
Identity	Inductive	This concept covers European/German identity and issues that deal with preserving cultural traditions of refugees or non-refugees alike	Many people are extremely concerned that the influx of refugees never ceases. They fear for their jobs, houses, prosperity, security, and cultural identity./Viele Menschen sind in größter Sorge, ob der Andrang der Flüchtlinge jemals aufhört. Sie fürchten um ihren Arbeitsplatz, um Wohnraum, Wohlstand, Sicherheit, ihre kulturelle Identität. Immobilien werden für Flüchtlinge beschlagnahmt, Turnhallen freigeräumt, und in Flüchtlingsunterkünften nehmen Gewaltausbrüche zu. ¹⁵⁶
Islam	Deductive	Use whenever Islamic faith or its symbols are mentioned	Persons who belong to the Salafist organization "Islamic Cultural Centre", would stop at asylum seekers houses, roll out prayer rugs and offer food to Arabic speaking men, said the interior minister./ Personen, die dem salafistischen Verein 'Islamisches Kulturzentrum' angehören, würden vor Unterkünften vorfahren, Gebetsteppiche ausrollen und arabisch sprechenden Männern Essen anbieten, so der Innensenator. ¹⁵⁷
Violence	Inductive	Apply to crimes, suspicions, break-outs in refugees camps,	Property is being seized for refugees; gyms are cleared, and in the refugee camps increases the number of violence outbreaks. /Immobilien werden für Flüchtlinge beschlagnahmt, Turnhallen freigeräumt, und in Flüchtlingsunterkünften nehmen Gewaltausbrüche zu. ¹⁵⁸
Threat	Inductive	This concept covers security threat or tightening	Striking is that in the Berlin corridors of power still no panic prevails over the refugee crisis. That could end badly for Germany as millions are pushing into the country./Verblüffend, dass in den Berliner Korridoren der Macht noch immer keine Panik herrscht angesichts

¹⁵⁵ M. Baumgaertner, 5th of September 2015. *Logistiker des Schattens*. *Der Spiegel*.

¹⁵⁶ M. von Ackeren, 10th of October 2015. *Abschied von der Über-Kanzlerin*. *Focus*.

¹⁵⁷ J. P. Hein, 24th of October 2015, *Salafisten werben*. *Focus*.

¹⁵⁸ M. von Ackeren, 10th of October 2015. *Abschied von der Über-Kanzlerin*. *Focus*.

		of security measures, refugee crisis and policy of open borders	<p>der Flüchtlingskrise. Dabei könnte sie für Deutschland schlecht enden. Schließlich drängen Millionen ins Land.¹⁵⁹</p> <p>What surprises many critics is not the decision to open borders but the stubbornness with which Merkel sticks to her course. Neither the terrorist attacks in Paris nor the sexual assaults on the New Year's Eve in Cologne, neither the indignation of angry citizens nor the warnings of her fellow party members have not yet made her put her open borders policy in question. /Was viele Kritiker mindestens ebenso verwundert wie die Entscheidung zur Grenzöffnung selbst, ist die Sturheit, mit der Merkel an ihrem Kurs festhält. Weder die Terrorangriffe von Paris noch die sexuellen Übergriffe aus der Kölner Silvesternacht, weder die Empörung wütender Bürger noch die Warnungen ihrer Parteifreunde hatten bislang zur Folge, dass sie ihre Politik der offenen Grenzen infrage stellte.¹⁶⁰</p>
Angela Merkel	Inductive	Apply when references are made to German Chancellor	Merkel seem to be cool to the outside world. She wants to reduce the number of refugees, by all means, but keep the borders open. And she wants Europe to find a collective response to the epochal challenge./Merkel gibt sich nach außen kühl. Sie will unbedingt die Zahl der Flüchtlinge reduzieren, aber die Grenzen weitgehend offen halten. Und sie will, dass Europa eine gemeinsame Antwort findet auf die epochale Herausforderung. ¹⁶¹
Influx of refugees	Inductive	Use whenever large numbers of refugees "pouring" into the country is introduced	Many people are extremely concerned that the influx of refugees never ceases./ Viele Menschen sind in größter Sorge, ob der Andrang der Flüchtlinge jemals aufhört. ¹⁶²
Fear	Inductive	Apply whenever concerns are raised in the articles	Every day, thousands of refugees flee into the country. No one knows exactly who they are, where they stop and what they plan. Are the German security authorities going through a nightmare?Jeden Tag strömen Tausende Flüchtlinge ins Land. Niemand weiß genau, wer sie sind, wo sie sich aufhalten und was sie vorhaben. Durchleben die deutschen Sicherheitsbehörden gerade einen Albtraum? ¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ A. Rashid, 2nd of October 2015. *Deutschland trägt die Last der Welt. Focus.*

¹⁶⁰ M. Feldenkirchen, January 2016, *Egal wie es ausgeht. Der Spiegel.*

¹⁶¹ M. von Ackeren, 30th of January, 2016. *Muss Sie gehen? Focus.*

¹⁶² M. von Ackeren, 10th of October 2015. *Abschied von der Über-Kanzlerin. Focus.*

¹⁶³ M. Krischer, 11th of November 2015. *Nach Deutschland, nur um Straftaten zu begehen. Focus.*

			Many people are extremely concerned that the influx of refugees never ceases. They fear for their jobs, houses, prosperity, security, cultural identity. Property is being seized for refugees, gyms are cleared, and in the refugee camps increases the number of violence outbreaks./Viele Menschen sind in größter Sorge, ob der Andrang der Flüchtlinge jemals aufhört. Sie fürchten um ihren Arbeitsplatz, um Wohnraum, Wohlstand, Sicherheit, ihre kulturelle Identität. Immobilien werden für Flüchtlinge beschlagnahmt, Turnhallen freigeräumt, und in Flüchtlingsunterkünften nehmen Gewaltausbrüche zu. ¹⁶⁴
Terrorism	Inductive	Use whenever terrorists or perpetrators of non-Christian faith are mentioned	According to the intelligent service, there is still no evidence leading to the identification of an IS-terrorists. The people on the photo have probably served in "regime militias" in Iraq and Syria. It should not be excluded that some of them were actually involved in violent or war crimes. In case corpses are pictured, it has to be immediately investigated./Laut Verfassungsschutz führte noch kein Hinweis zur Identifizierung eines IS-Terroristen. Die abgebildeten Personen hätten vermutlich "regimetreuen Milizen" im Irak und in Syrien gedient. Es sei nicht auszuschließen, dass einige tatsächlich an Gewalt- oder Kriegsverbrechen beteiligt waren. Wenn auf ihren Fotos Leichen zu sehen sind, müsse man "zwingend" ermitteln. ¹⁶⁵
Values	Inductive	Apply to Christian cultural heritage, history, democracy, human rights and liberties	But hard-won European values must also apply to people who – as it is stated in the Basic Law – enjoy asylum here. The equality of men and women, freedom for religion, opinion and media and the right to the free development of personality must be understood and respected by the people, whom Germany grants refuge./Die nach langen Anstrengungen erdämpften Werte Europas müssen aber auch für Menschen gelten, die bei uns - wie es im Grundgesetz heißt - Asylrecht genießen. Die Gleichberechtigung von Männern und Frauen, die Freiheit für Religion, Meinung und Medien und das Recht auf die freie Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit müssen verstanden und respektiert werden von den Menschen, denen Deutschland Zuflucht gewährt. ¹⁶⁶
Nation	Deductive	This concept covers	At the moment it's all about the Not-Enough. Not enough police, not enough border control, not enough integration. Not enough state.

¹⁶⁴ M. von Ackeren, 10th of October 2015. *Abschied von der Über-Kanzlerin. Focus.*

¹⁶⁵ G. Schattauer, 6th of February 2016. *Terrorismus; Falscher alarm durch Doppel-Fotos. Focus*

¹⁶⁶ H. Markwort, 12th of September 2015. *Was in Europa wertvoll ist, müssen auch Asylanten respektieren. Focus.*

		nation, state, ethnic Germans	Conversely, this means more state, please. More nation-state. What's a remarkable comeback. Ten years ago, the nation-state seemed to be doomed to die, carried off by globalization and neoliberalism. Now it is a hope. The nation-state is needed, but it is in a poor condition. It could not protect the women in Cologne, it is not in control of the influx of refugees. Currently it cannot provide a good frame for life in Germany. But it must do so. Now the time has come to create a good state. /'Im Moment geht es vor allem um das Zuwenig. Zu wenig Polizei, zu wenig Grenzkontrolle, zu wenig Integration. Zu wenig Staat. Umgekehrt bedeutet das: mehr Staat, bitte. Genauer: mehr Nationalstaat. Was ein bemerkenswertes Comeback ist. Vor zehn Jahren schien der Nationalstaat dem Tode geweiht, dahingerafft von Globalisierung und Neoliberalismus. Nun ist er eine Hoffnung. Der Nationalstaat wird gebraucht, ist aber in schlechtem Zustand. Er konnte die bedrängten Frauen in Köln nicht schützen, er bekommt den Zustrom von Flüchtlingen nicht unter Kontrolle. Er kann dem Leben in Deutschland derzeit keinen guten Rahmen geben. Muss er aber. Es geht jetzt darum, einen guten Staat zu schaffen.' ¹⁶⁷
Integration of immigrants	Deductive	Use whenever immigrants or failures of integration policy are mentioned	In the Ruhr area, we employ people from 114 nations. Building on this tradition, we now have created some 400 additional internships and apprenticeships for refugees. With the offer, we want to make a concrete contribution and set an example for openness and tolerance (...) ...it is a building block. And an appeal to everybody to get active together, so that we turn integration in Germany into a success story. /'Allein im Ruhrgebiet beschäftigen wir Menschen aus 114 Nationen. Auf dieser Tradition aufbauend, schaffen wir jetzt rund 400 zusätzliche Praktika und Ausbildungsplätze für Flüchtlinge. Mit dem Angebot wollen wir einen konkreten Beitrag leisten und ein Zeichen für Weltoffenheit und Toleranz setzen. (...) es ist ein Baustein. Und ein Appell an alle, gemeinsam aktiv zu werden, damit wir Integration in Deutschland zu einer Erfolgsgeschichte machen.' ¹⁶⁸
Law	Inductive	Apply whenever delinquency among refugees or their	Schmiedel and Übler draw a panel, a roof on three pillars. In the roof "BL" is written which means the Basic Law, the columns represent "Public law", "Civil Law", "Criminal Law". It is not only about the general concepts of law, but also about the rules of coexistence. The

¹⁶⁷ D. Kurbjuweit, 16th of January 2016, *Der gute Staat. Der Spiegel*.

¹⁶⁸ No author is mentioned. 13th of February, 2016. Arbeit ist der entscheidende Motor für Integration. Focus.

		<p>inability of upholding law and order are introduced.</p>	<p>constitutional state in three hours goes with mentioning of all that may exist elsewhere but not in Germany: rule of force, self-administered justice, sharia, women as preys. /‘Schmiedel und Übler zeichnen ein Tafelbild, ein Dach auf drei Säulen. Im Dach steht "GG" für Grundgesetz, darunter "Öffentliches Recht", "Zivilrecht", "Strafrecht". Es geht ums große Ganze, aber auch um die Regeln des Zusammenlebens. Der Rechtsstaat in drei Stunden unter Erwähnung all dessen, was es anderswo geben mag, in Deutschland aber nicht: Faustrecht, Selbstjustiz, Scharia, Frauen als Freiwild.’¹⁶⁹</p>
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¹⁶⁹ B. Lakotta, 26th of March 2016, *Rechtsstaat in drei Stunden. Der Spiegel*.