

Islam in der Gesellschaft

Peter Antes

Rauf Ceylan *Hrsg.*

Muslime in Deutschland

Historische Bestandsaufnahme,
aktuelle Entwicklungen
und zukünftige Forschungsfragen



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Islam in der Gesellschaft

Herausgegeben von

R. Ceylan, Osnabrück, Deutschland

N. Foroutan, Berlin, Deutschland

A. Zick, Bielefeld, Deutschland

Die neue Reihe *Islam in der Gesellschaft* publiziert theoretische wie empirische Forschungsarbeiten zu einem international wie national aktuellem Gegenstand. Der Islam als heterogene und vielfältige Religion, wie aber auch kulturelle und soziale Organisationsform, ist ein bedeutsamer Bestandteil von modernen Gesellschaften. Er beeinflusst Gesellschaft, wird zum prägenden Moment und erzeugt Konflikte. Zugleich reagieren Gesellschaften auf den Islam und Menschen, die im angehören bzw. auf das, was sie unter dem Islam und Muslimen verstehen. Der Islam prägt Gesellschaft und Gesellschaft prägt Islam, weil und wenn er in Gesellschaft ist. Die damit verbundenen gesellschaftlichen Phänomene und Prozesse der Veränderungen sind nicht nur ein zentraler Aspekt der Integrations- und Migrationsforschung. Viele Studien und wissenschaftliche Diskurse versuchen, den Islam in der Gesellschaft zu verorten und zu beschreiben. Diese Forschung soll in der Reihe *Islam in der Gesellschaft* zu Wort und Schrift kommen, sei es in Herausgeberbänden oder Monografien, in Konferenzbänden oder herausragenden Qualifikationsarbeiten.

Die Beiträge richten sich an unterschiedliche Disziplinen, die zu einer inter- wie transdisziplinären Perspektive beitragen können:

- Sozialwissenschaften, Soziologie
- Islamwissenschaft
- Integration- und Migrationsforschung
- Bildungswissenschaft
- Sozialpsychologie
- Kulturwissenschaften
- Geschichtswissenschaft und
- weitere Wissenschaften, die Forschungsbeiträge zum Thema aufweisen.

Peter Antes · Rauf Ceylan
(Hrsg.)

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aktuelle Entwicklungen
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Herausgeber

Peter Antes
Leibniz Universität Hannover
Deutschland

Rauf Ceylan
Universität Osnabrück
Deutschland

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Vorwort

Mit dem Band „Muslime in Deutschland: Historische Bestandsaufnahme, aktuelle Entwicklungen und zukünftige Forschungsfragen“, der von Peter Antes und Rauf Ceylan editiert und herausgegeben wird, präsentieren wir den ersten Band der neuen Buchreihe *Islam in der Gesellschaft*. Zugleich möchten wir damit Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler motivieren, in dieser neuen Reihe zu publizieren und ihre Manuskripte einzusenden.

Die Buchreihe soll ein Ort für disziplinäre wie interdisziplinäre Forschungsarbeiten, Studien und Debatten schaffen, der Analysen und Diskussionen über ein herausforderndes wie wissenschaftlich anstrengendes Thema ermöglicht. Welchen Ort und Status hat der Islam in modernen Gesellschaften? Was prägt ihn, was verankert und verändert ihn? Wie wird der Islam wahrgenommen? Welches Verhältnis haben Muslime und andere religiöse wie nicht religiöse Menschen zum Islam? Welche muslimischen wie nicht muslimischen Interpretation des Islam gibt es? In welcher Beziehung stehen Islam und Integration wie Migration? Wie nähern sich die Disziplinen der Bestimmung methodisch wie theoretisch an?

Die Reihe *Islam in der Gesellschaft* möchte zu diesen und vielen anderen Fragen theoretische wie empirische Forschungsarbeiten publizieren. Sie möchte nationale wie internationale Analysen zugänglich machen. Den Islam verstehen wir dabei als eine heterogene und vielfältige Religion, wie aber auch kulturelle und soziale Organisationsform, der moderne Gesellschaften prägt, wie aber auch von ihnen geprägt wird, Konflikte erzeugt, Vergemeinschaftung und Wandel. Die damit verbundenen gesellschaftlichen Phänomene und Prozesse der Veränderungen sind nicht nur ein zentraler Aspekt der Integrations- und Migrationsforschung. Viele Studien und wissenschaftlichen Diskurse versuchen, den Islam in der Gesellschaft zu verorten und zu beschreiben. Diese Forschung soll in der Reihe *Islam in der Gesellschaft* zu Wort und Schrift kommen, sei es in Herausgeberbänden oder Monografien, in Konferenzbänden oder herausragenden Qualifikationsarbeiten.

Die Reihe möchte gerne Querverbindungen der Forschung ermöglichen. Sie wendet sich deshalb an unterschiedliche Disziplinen, die zu einer inter- wie transdisziplinären Perspektive beitragen können: Sozialwissenschaften, Soziologie, Islamwissenschaft, die Integration- und Migrationsforschung, Bildungswissenschaft, Sozialpsychologie, Geschichtswissenschaft, Kulturwissenschaft, Recht und weitere Wissenschaften können zu einer multiplen Analyse und zu einem wissenschaftlich breiter fundierten Verständnis beitragen. Dazu brauchen sie einen zuverlässigen Ort, der ihren interdisziplinären Annäherungen Ausdruck verschaffen kann. Die Reihe Islam in der Gesellschaft kann dieser Ort werden und dafür danken wir dem Verlag Springer VS.

Rauf Ceylan, Naika Foroutan und Andreas Zick
Osnabrück, Berlin und Bielefeld im September 2016

Der erste Band ist ein guter Anfang für die Reihe, weil er nicht nur die Breite und multidisziplinäre Perspektive auf den Islam kenntlich macht. Es geht um ein aktuelles Thema, welches angesichts der gesellschaftlichen Debatten und der vielerorts heftigen wie populistisch geführten Konflikte darum, ob der Islam überhaupt zur Gesellschaft gehört und ob Muslime gleichwertige Mitglieder in der Gesellschaft sind, eine wissenschaftliche Analyse fast unmöglich macht. Die Autorinnen und Autoren bieten aus disziplinär höchst unterschiedlichen, aber analytisch wie thematisch verbindenden Positionen neue Perspektiven auf Muslime in Deutschland an. Fünfzig Jahre nach Anwerbung von ‚Gastarbeiterinnen und Gastarbeitern‘, von denen Einige eben auch Muslime waren, ist es Zeit, weitere analytische Klarsichten in den öffentlichen und publizistischen Blick auf Muslime zu einzuspeisen. Der Band, den Peter Antes und einer der Reihenherausgeber Rauf Ceylan zusammengestellt haben, verbindet Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler, die eine historische wie gegenwartsbezogene, empirische wie theoretische, rechtliche wie theologische Analyse der Lebenslagen wie –perspektiven von Muslimen in Deutschland bieten. Nahezu alle wesentlichen Lebensbereiche von Muslimen werden angesprochen. Wir freuen uns über die Beiträge und hoffen, mit dem ersten Band einen Akzent setzen zu können, der zu weiteren Debatten und Analysen führen kann. Von hier aus kann es weitergehen.

Andreas Zick und Naika Foroutan

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Zu diesem Buch: Ein kurzer Überblick

Peter Antes und Rauf Ceylan

Der Islam in Deutschland weist eine über 50-jährige Geschichte auf, die wesentlich auf die Arbeitsmigration aus islamisch geprägten Ländern zurückgeht. Im Laufe der Jahrzehnte hat sich mit der Präsenz der Muslime nicht nur ihre Population erhöht sowie ihr Organisationsgrad gesteigert, sondern in allen gesellschaftlich relevanten Feldern (Politik, Bildungssystem, Universitäten usw.) sind zugleich erfolgreiche Integrations- und Partizipationsprozesse zu verzeichnen. Mit der zunehmenden öffentlichen Wahrnehmung der Muslime ist jedoch zugleich die gesellschaftliche Bewusstwerdung über die Existenz der zweitgrößten Religionsgemeinschaft im eigenen Land verbunden. Obwohl die Zahl der Muslime und ihre religiösen Organisationen bereits seit den 1970er Jahren stark zugenommen haben, sind islamkonnotierte Themen und Debatten erst zu Beginn der 2000er Jahre initiiert worden. Zum einen ist diese Entwicklung im Kontext globaler und europäischer Prozesse zu bewerten. Die politischen Entwicklungen in islamisch geprägten Staaten sowie die Migrationsprozesse aus diesen Ländern und die mediale Auseinandersetzung darüber haben hierzu beigetragen. Zum anderen basiert die gesellschaftliche Wahrnehmung auf der Tatsache, dass infolge der quantitativen und qualitativen Relevanz der muslimischen Minorität die Politik den Islam im integrations- und bildungspolitischen Kontext nicht mehr ausblenden konnte. So ist festzustellen, dass in einem rasanten Tempo in den letzten fünfzehn Jahren große Fortschritte in der Anerkennung und Eingliederung der muslimischen Community erfolgten. Allerdings verlaufen die Prozesse gesellschaftliche Wahrnehmung, strukturelle Integration und gesellschaftliche Akzeptanz nicht synchron. Denn begleitet wird die Entwicklung durch die gesellschaftliche Ablehnung der Muslime, die sich u. a. in islamfeindlichen Parteien und Bewegungen (AfD, PEGIDA) sowie durch Umfragen zu Islamophobie offenbaren. Wiederum kann diese Entwicklung nicht unabhängig von globalen und europäischen Prozessen bewertet werden, wenn auch nationalstaatliche Faktoren (Demografische Entwicklungen, (wirtschaftliche)

Abstiegsängste usw.) eine Rolle spielen. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser ambivalenten Entwicklung hat sich der vorliegende Band zum Ziel gesetzt, eine Bestandsaufnahme der 50-jährigen islamischen Geschichte im Kontext der Arbeitsmigration vorzulegen. Ziel ist es, das Thema auf der Grundlage einer facettenreichen Darstellung zu behandeln. In fünf zentralen Themenschwerpunkten – historische und gegenwärtige – soll das Leben der Muslime in Deutschland analysiert werden, um ein Gesamtbild zu erarbeiten. Auf der Basis einer Bestandsanalyse sollen zudem zukünftige Entwicklungen antizipiert bzw. prognostiziert werden.

Im **Themenschwerpunkt I** wird die gesellschaftliche Wahrnehmung des Islam in westlichen Gesellschaften, insbesondere in Deutschland untersucht. Der erste Beitrag von Maxie Wolf und Dirk Halm analysiert auf der Basis empirischer Daten, wie die Islamophobie und Orientalismus durch die Konstruktion eines „Muslim-Bildes“, vor allem in den Medien, die Wahrnehmung in der Rezeption dieser Religionsgruppe negativ prägt. Andreas Zick zeigt anhand sozialpsychologischer Theoriebildung und empirischer Untersuchungen, wie und warum Vorurteilsbildungen gegenüber der muslimischen Minorität existieren. Diese werden anhand aktueller empirischer Daten exemplifiziert. Im dritten Beitrag beleuchtet Alexander Häusler den antimuslimischen Rassismus in Deutschland. Dieses Phänomen zeigt er am Beispiel der rechtspopulistischen Bewegungen PEGIDA und AfD auf, indem er die Entstehung, Entwicklung und Strategien dieser Strömung plastisch macht.

Der **Themenschwerpunkt II** richtet den Fokus auf die Frage der rechtlichen Anerkennung des Islam bzw. der muslimischen Gemeinden in Deutschland. Stefan Muckel setzt sich in seinem Beitrag mit den Voraussetzungen zur Anerkennung des Islam bzw. der muslimischen Gemeinden als Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts auseinander. In diesem Kontext zeigt er die Herausforderungen auf, mit denen die muslimischen Organisationen auf dem Weg zur Anerkennung konfrontiert sind. Sven Speer beleuchtet in seinem Beitrag die deutsche Religionspolitik sowie religionspolitische Entscheidungen in den Jahren 1990 bis 2016, um den Umgang des Staates mit dem Islam kritisch zu hinterfragen. Dabei wird nicht nur die Religionspolitik als Integrationspolitik entlarvt, sondern auch das Postulat des Staates für eine Vereinheitlichung der muslimischen Struktur zur Diskussion gestellt.

Themenschwerpunkt III behandelt die Integration des Islam in akademischen Strukturen sowie im Bildungssystem. Vor diesem Hintergrund setzt sich der erste Beitrag von Peter Antes und Rauf Ceylan mit der Entwicklung der Institute für Islamische Theologie seit den Empfehlungen des Wissenschaftsrats in 2010 auseinander. Dabei wird aufgezeigt, dass eine muslimische scientific community im Entstehen ist, die die kompetenten theologischen Fragen für den deutschen Kontext behandeln kann. Der zweite Beitrag von Arnfrid Schenk knüpft an dieses Thema an. Auf der Basis von Interviews mit den wissenschaftlichen Vertretern

der unterschiedlichen Institute für Islamische Theologie skizziert Schenk die unterschiedlichen Profilierungen und zeigt auch kritische Entwicklungen auf. Sein Beitrag ist nicht nur ein Zwischenresümee, sondern lässt auch auf weiterhin positive Entwicklungen im akademischen Bereich hoffen. Weiter geht es im Beitrag von Ismail Yavuzcan um den Islamischen Religionsunterricht, der seit Ende der 1990er Jahre in unterschiedlichen Bundesländern zunächst als Schulversuch angeboten und dann in einen ordentlichen Religionsunterricht überführt wurde. Yavuzcan untersucht die unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen, um den gegenwärtigen Stand dieser bildungspolitischen Aufgabe darzulegen. Mit der Etablierung der Institute für Islamische Theologie sowie der Einführung des Islamischen Religionsunterrichts ist zugleich die Hoffnung verbunden, mehr muslimische Frauen für die Theologie zu gewinnen. Diese Zielsetzung setzt Melahat Kisi in ihrem Artikel auf den Prüfstand. Während für den Islamischen Religionsunterricht mittlerweile viele Religionslehrerinnen tätig sind, sieht es im akademischen Bereich derzeit nur im wissenschaftlichen Mittelbau bzw. bei Qualifikationsstellen positiv aus. Bei den Professoren ist eindeutig eine Männerdominanz festzustellen.

Im **Themenschwerpunkt IV** wird die Frage der muslimischen Identitäten sowie muslimische Religiosität aufgegriffen. Der erste Beitrag von Haci-Halil Uslucan geht auf die vermittelten Inhalte in der islamisch-religiösen Erziehung ein. Dabei thematisiert Uslucan die Bedeutung der religiösen Sozialisation im Verlauf der Lebensphase der muslimischen Jugendlichen insbesondere im Kontext ihrer gesellschaftlichen Integration. Im zweiten Beitrag von Yasemin el-Menouar wird u. a. auf der Basis empirischer Studie der Bertelsmann-Stiftung der Frage nachgegangen, ob die Religiosität der Muslime auch als Ressource wahrgenommen werden kann. Kritisch wird aufgezeigt, dass der Islam und die Religiosität der Muslime in den öffentlichen Debatten eher als ein Integrationshindernis wahrgenommen werden, statt sie auch „als soziale oder persönliche Ressource für den Integrationsprozess“ zu begreifen. Mit dieser Diskussion korrespondiert der Beitrag von Naika Foroutan, die in ihrem Beitrag zu hybriden muslimischen Identitäten nicht nur die Komplexität der muslimischen Community zeigt, sondern auch die Erkenntnis, dass der Islam keine benachteiligende Wirkung auf die gesellschaftliche Partizipation haben muss. Mit dem Artikel von Markus Ottersbach wird der monolithische Blick auf die Muslime dekonstruiert, wenn er die Heterogenität der muslimischen Jugendkulturen detailliert vor Augen führt. Ottersbach zeigt u. a., dass die heterogenen Lebensstile der muslimischen Jugendlichen keine Fortführung ihrer „Herkunftskulturen“ darstellen, wie so oft in der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung stigmatisierend zugeschrieben. Im Gegenteil, die Vielfalt der muslimischen Jugendkulturen sei ein Produkt individueller Auseinandersetzung unter den jeweiligen persönlichen Rahmenbedingungen. Der letzte Beitrag von Rüdiger Lohlker geht schließlich auf

das Phänomen des Salafismus ein, um die Frage zu erörtern, ob es sich hierbei um eine Erweckungsbewegung handelt. Thematisch ergänzt dieser Beitrag insofern die anderen Artikel, als dass der Salafismus auch ein Ausdruck einer Jugendkultur ist, die zudem infolge der hohen Zahl an Konvertiten nicht nur auf Jugendliche mit einem sogenannten Migrationshintergrund zu reduzieren ist.

Der **Themenschwerpunkt V** greift schließlich die Frage muslimischer Organisationen und Strukturen auf. Thomas Lemmen thematisiert im ersten Beitrag die unterschiedlichen islamischen Organisationen in Deutschland und zeichnet ihre Transformationsprozesse nach. Samy Charchira behandelt das Thema der muslimischen Wohlfahrtspflege, die in 2015 von der Deutschen Islam Konferenz – im Zusammenhang der nachholenden (strukturellen) Integration der Muslime – als ein mittel- bzw. langfristiges Ziel formuliert wurde. Charchira bespricht daher die Voraussetzungen, um diese ambitionierte Zielsetzung zu erreichen. Hakan Tosuner stellt in seinem Beitrag das Avicenna-Förderwerk vor und fokussiert die Diskussion auf die Ausbildung einer muslimischen Bildungselite, die in Deutschland zukünftig eine wichtige Vorbildfunktion und weitere gesellschaftliche Verantwortung übernehmen werde. Schließlich wird im letzten Beitrag von Annette Abdel-Rahman und Kathrin Klausning die Notwendigkeit muslimischer Akademien diskutiert, die am Beispiel der Entwicklungen in Niedersachsen konkretisiert wird.

Gesellschaftliche Wahrnehmung und gesellschaftliche Akzeptanz der Muslime in Deutschland

Perceptions of Islam in Western Publics

Between Orientalism, Islamophobia and Multiculturalism¹

Maxie Wolf and Dirk Halm

Abstract

The representation of Muslims and Islam in Western publics is dominated by topics related to terror, violence and fundamentalism. As far as the media discourse is concerned, the article asks in how far Eduard Said's postcolonial theory – Orientalism – can be applied to understanding the underlying structure of the reporting. The rationale of this approach is that journalists may function as “Orientalists” according to Said's reasoning, generating one-sided, Western-centric information. The article focuses on how Islam and Muslims are represented in the broadsheet newspaper *Daily Telegraph* by means of reporting about the first free democratic election in Tunisia and the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo*. Special emphasis lies on the extent to which the West/East dichotomy is maintained, possibly resulting in Islamophobia. As a result, it shows that Orientalism and Islamophobia are limited concepts when it comes to the representation of Muslims and Islam in Western publics. In contrast, the authors argue that multiculturalism and transnationalization have loosened Said's West/East dichotomy. At the same time, the findings show a rather weak connection between Islamophobia and Orientalism. Instead, the two concepts are relatively autonomous factors, frequently, but not continuously occurring in the media coverage of particular events, which are used to open more general debates about the role of Muslims and Islam in Western societies. We suggest that the West/East dichotomy is increasingly replaced by new dichotomies, e.g., by contrasting open and closed societies.

-
- 1 The present article is a revised and supplemented excerpt from a bachelor's thesis submitted in 2015 at Twente and Münster Universities (Double Degree European Public Administration); see Wolf 2015.

1 Introduction

The image of Islam in Western societies has become increasingly negative with the rise of fundamentalist terror since 9/11 (Halm 2013, 465; El-Gallal 2014, 14). Here, the media play an important role as a nearly sole source of information (cf. Richardson 2001, 148). As a consequence, a negative image of Muslims seldom derives from personal experience, but from the media coverage of the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria and terrorism in the ‘Western’ as well as in the ‘Muslim’ world. At the same time, the increasingly negative image of Islam still allows for differentiation, depending on the chosen topics (e.g., security, social integration) (cf. Halm 2013, 465–466). But overall, attitudes of the European population towards Muslims are far more negative than towards members of other non-Christian religions (Pollack 2010). At the same time, negative stereotypes are more frequent where interpersonal contact is lacking, which is frequently the case as long as the cultural majorities are concerned (Hafez and Schmidt 2015, 67). Thus, mediated experience is very important for the formation of Islam’s image. Leaving aside the (subjective) discussion of to which degree the image of Islam and Muslims in Western publics is unfair, one can say that it is at least unbalanced, depending to a large extent on second-hand information produced by media markets that play by particular rules. And obviously, Muslims are affected negatively by the outcomes.

The present article will discuss possible mechanisms of information production on Muslims by Western media.

- “Irregular” and spectacular events such as war and terrorism are of particularly high interest for consumers. As a result, these topics sell better than “regular” information or integrative developments (cf. Hafez 2000, 9).
- According to Edward Said’s much considered book *Orientalism* (1991, first published in 1978)², which sees the Western perception of the Muslim world rooted in the colonial era, one could expect that media still refer to an unresolvable dichotomy between the “superior West” and the “inferior East”, due to ongoing imperialism and eurocentrism (Macfie 2002, 91).
- In the aftermath of colonialism, Muslim voices are underrepresented in Western media, although they are an integral part of Western societies. Instead, as successors of the *Orientalists* who formerly provided arguments and legitimacy for colonialization (cf. Said 1985, 99), Western journalists dominate the reporting on topics concerning the *Orientalists* and thereby Islam, eventually promoting *Islamophobia* in Western publics.

2 In the following this is cited with the year 1991.

- However, a more diverse and manifold world view has emerged from multiculturalism and transnationalism which goes beyond imperialism and colonialism. Insofar, it is questionable whether former colonial structures are still in place and whether the media have taken up the new developments, or whether they continue to work within old patterns. At the same time, Islamophobia could be a reaction to multiculturalism and transnationalization rather than a continuous by-product of Orientalism, though both phenomena may interact.

Through the analysis of one positively and one negatively ('good story to sell') connoted case example, the present text looks for the representation of Muslims in Western media by examining the coverage of the first free democratic election in Tunisia in 2011 in the British broadsheet newspaper *Daily Telegraph*, which is considered to be a positive development and not as noteworthy as the terrorist attack on the French satire magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in 2015, the second example observed here.

The following chapter will present the theoretical framework, starting with the previously mentioned theory of Orientalism, which was developed with a specific character of international relations in mind. Thus, a more current perspective is introduced, leading to the introduction of the term Islamophobia, followed by a brief discussion of a possible connection between Orientalism and Islamophobia. After an introduction of the research methodology, we will present the results of the qualitative analysis of the corpus from the *Daily Telegraph* to then discuss in how far the concepts applied (Orientalism, Islamophobia) are sufficient and adequate to help understand the press articles examined.

The sample of 51 articles that the present text refers to is too narrow and does not in any way allow general conclusions to be drawn about the media coverage of topics related to Islam in Western media. Nevertheless, it can serve as a test of the general applicability of the conceptual framework outlined in the following chapter.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Orientalism in the Postcolonial Era

Orientalism "was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries generally used to refer to the work of the orientalist, a scholar versed in the languages and literatures of the East" (Macfie 2002, 3). Edward Said redefined the term as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'" (Said 1991, 2). Throughout his book, Said describes

how Orientalists who claimed to have knowledge about culture(s) and language(s) of the Eastern area, together with the colonial rulers, created the Orient and legitimized its colonialization. The Orientalists' writings represented the "irrationality, barbarity, obscurantism and backwardness" (Zebiri, 2008, 8) of the people living in the Orient, the Orientals. These writings also served to reevaluate the colonial rulers as "rational, peaceful, liberal, logical" (Said 1991, 49). This distinction is applied to a relationship of superiority and subordination by contrasting "us", meaning superior Westerners and "they", meaning inferior Orientals (Said 1991, 45), resulting in a dichotomy between East/Islam and West (Jung 2011, 9; Richardson 2004, 5-6). After the British and French colonial era ended, Said sees the United States as their successors (Said, 1991, 17). As a consequence, "the existence of an absolute and systematic difference between East and West, [...], and a conviction that the Orient is eternal and unchanging, [...] – survived intact" (Macfie 2002, 91).

According to Said, the Orientalists uphold the distinction between East and West through books and articles about the Orient (1991, 35), providing arguments for "colonizing and suppressing Islam" (Said 1985, 99), resulting in the legitimization of colonialization. Besides colonialization, the Oriental other had "a special role to play *inside* Europe" (Said 1991, 71; emphasis in original). This idea can be adapted to the current West vs. East/Islam debate that must be "not only about Islam and the West but also Islam *in* the West" (Esposito 2011, 73; emphasis in original).

Postcolonial studies ask in how far colonial dichotomies continue. Today, postcolonialism "is working against the backdrop" of violent terrorist attacks that are often equated with Islamism. As a result, postcolonial discourses identify the Western understanding of the world as racialized (Albrecht 2011, 4-7). One can assume that an ongoing distinction between West and Islam is a political measure to fight the emerging need of mutual understanding and communication. One example are right-wing parties that fuel xenophobia against Muslims and Islam by means of political programs (El-Gallal 2014, 104-105).

2.2 Orientalism and Islamophobia in the Context of Media Production

In contrast to Said's Orientalism, the term Islamophobia has spread widely in recent years, not only being used in academic, but especially popular debates about attitudes of Western majorities towards Muslims and Islam. The definition of the concept most frequently referred to is Islamophobia as "unfounded hostility towards Islam" (Runnymede Trust 1997, 4). It is seen as "a form of racism" (Marranci 2004, 105), but is subject to an ongoing debate about its proper definition. Initially leaving aside

the question of the extent to which attitudes in the West are empirically formed by Islamophobia, the concept is controversial due to the assumption that it may be utilized as a strategic argument in public discourses increasing “the accuser’s discursive power because it makes criticism of Islam seem irrational and pathological” (Halm 2013, 260). Adjustments to the concept may be seen as a reaction to such criticism. It is *inter alia* discussed whether the attack is really directed at Islam or rather at Muslims, introducing the term “anti-Muslimism” (Halliday 1999, 898). Marranci expounds the problem of the foundation of hostility against Islam and concludes that “Islamophobia is a ‘phobia’ of multiculturalism and the transruptive effect that Islam can have in Europe and the West through transcultural processes” (2004, 116-117). Analogically, El-Gallal suggests the reason for Islamophobia to be based on an identity crisis that has emerged from increasing supranationalization and globalization and the consequential process of immigration (2014, 103-104). For Zaki (2011, 4) however, the debate is clear: Islamophobia is “endemic in the European psyche”. Within his line of argumentation, he concludes that Islam has been singled out for special treatment because it “poses a challenge to the West in a way that no other belief system in the world does” (2011, 5-6).

How the concepts of Orientalism and Islamophobia are interrelated is a theoretically as well as empirically under-researched topic. Keeping in mind the role of the media and spinning out Said’s main arguments, ‘orientalist journalists’ publish their work adopting “a White outlook in their reporting” (Richardson 2004, 229), leaving little space for Muslims to represent themselves. At the same time, acts of terror and violence become the main topics of reporting that potentially promote Islamophobia when these acts are presented as a general threat to open, multicultural societies. One could expect that the West/East dichotomy will be a main argument where orientalist and islamophobic discourses meet, as ‘othering’ is an integral part of both concepts.

3 Media Coverage of Islam – Spotlights on Britain and Germany

There is a vast amount of scientific literature relevant regarding to which extent Western media take up the West/East dichotomy. At the same time, most of the research is qualitative, allowing for the proof of the existence of a dichotomy between West and Islam in the reports, but giving little information about the extent the media discourse is affected by such tendencies as a whole. Content-wise, reporting is based on many factors. Journalists, for example, are “shaped by various social forces

which contribute to their understanding of Muslims and Islam”. Simultaneously, “media is fluid and changing”, resulting in a constant transformation of the way in which Islam and Muslims are portrayed. Influencing factors are developments of political and social circumstances such as increasing interstate relations, for example, which can lead to more movement across increasingly fluid national borders. Furthermore, the occurrence of particular events can influence the way in which the portrayal of Muslims and Islam as well as the media itself develops (Akbarzadeh/Smith 2005, 6). An older quantitative study is available for the case of Britain – whose *Daily Telegraph* is subject to the present article. As a main result of the analysis, broadsheet newspapers divide the society into Briton and Muslim, which can be considered a tool to distance both groups, even though they live in the same country (Richardson, 2004, 118).

For Germany, there is a further older quantitative study, which is still interesting insofar as its design corresponds with the concepts of Orientalism and Islamophobia, as it inter alia singles out an item group labeled “Incompatibility of Islam and the West”, the core orientalist argument. Comparing the press reporting in the years before and after 9/11, it shows that this item group in no way correlates with the (expected) increase in items that indicate Islam as a threat or skepticism regarding the successful integration of Muslims into German society (both latter item groups related more to Islamophobia) (Halm 2013, 464-465). Thus, the data show no evidence of the promotion of Islamophobia due to orientalist tendencies.

Although the data observed are from the first half of the 2000s, they hint at the fact that Orientalism and Islamophobia are not necessarily connected in the press coverage of negatively connoted events related to Islam and Muslims. And taking the picture as a whole, there is no rejection and exclusion of Muslims in the German media, which would indicate general Islamophobia, though such examples occur. Increasingly negative depictions of Islam and Muslims are owed to a high share of security-related items, partly, but not completely affecting other discourses (cf. Halm 2013, 465).

4 Research Methods

4.1 Research Design

The research design is qualitative content analysis. Content analysis can “be used in an inductive or deductive way” (Elo/Kyngäs 2007, 109). The deductive approach has been chosen here due to the fact that the study is based on an existing theory and

aims at testing it in different contexts. The deductive content analysis can be further reduced to either formal structuring, typecasting or scaled structuring. The scaled structuring used in the present text is especially suitable for studies that analyze the intensity of phenomena by a classification into different scales (Mayring 2010, 94), allowing for quantified distributions of qualitatively gained results in a sample.

4.2 Sampling

The data collection was conducted from June 15, 2015 until June 20, 2015, with the electronic search engine LexisNexis. The sample comprises newspaper articles published by the British broadsheet newspaper *Daily Telegraph*. The *Daily Telegraph* was chosen because Said based his theory on British and French colonialization. The sample results from the detection of the terms *Charlie Hebdo* and *Tunisia* within a limited time after the incidents: October 23, 2011 until October 30, 2011 for the search term *Tunisia* and January 07, 2015 until January 14, 2015 for *Charlie Hebdo*. Both events were of high interest, as *Tunisia* was the cradle of the ‘Arab Spring’, while the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo* not only brought murder and terror to the heart of Europe, but could also be seen as an explicit assault upon values such as freedom of the press. The *Tunisia* election is understood as a potentially positively connoted event because it can be associated with convergence to democracy, and although the Islamist *Ennahda* gained a relative majority in the election, it led to a new democratic and liberal constitution. This is of special interest because if Islam and the East are rarely represented in a positive way, one can examine how the positive potential of the event is represented by the media.

The sampling resulted in 51 articles, each provided with an article ID. The article’s title, date of release, date of retrieval, the assigned category and a brief overall evaluation are listed in a table in the appendix.

4.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis was conducted as illustrated in Figure 1. The steps show the procedure of the whole analysis.

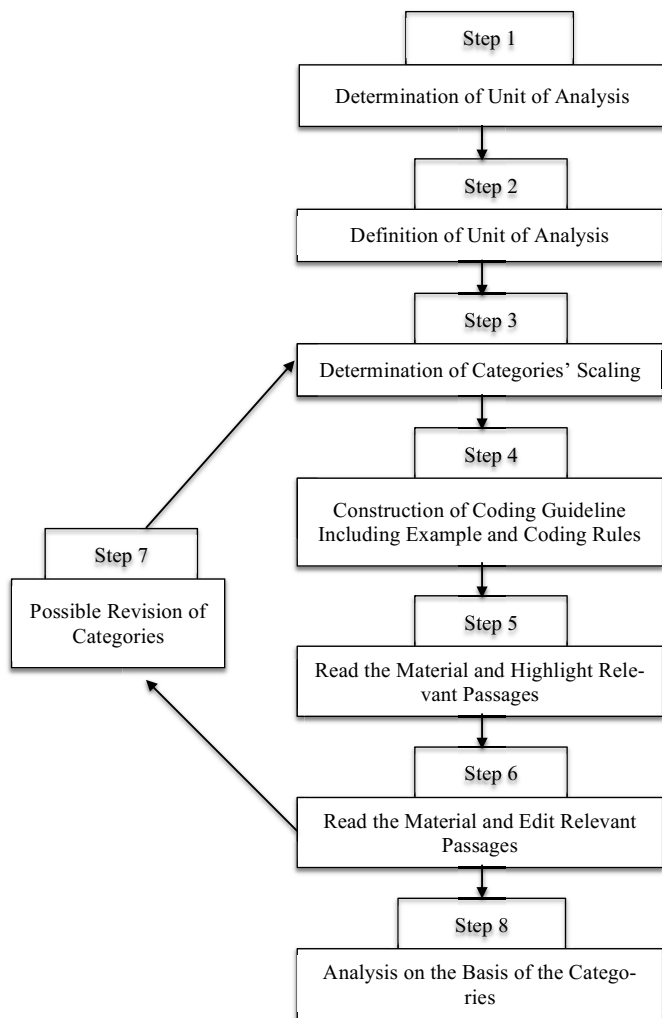


Fig. 1 Process of Content Analysis with Scaled Structuring

Source: Mayring, 2010, 102 (German language; translation for present article)

Figure 2 shows the results of the fourth step of the analysis (“Construction of Coding Guidelines”).³ It suggests categories, definitions and coding rules. The unit of analysis of the research question is the *Daily Telegraph*’s reporting from the perspective of a dichotomy between West and East. The category’s scaling determines the extent to which the distinction is made. While the first category in Figure 2 refers to the general geographical distinction, the second category refers to cultural, political and ideological meanings of West and East. Category 3 strongly relates to Said’s Orientalism. Category 4 represents the common understanding that Muslims and Islam are also present in the West. Category 5 instead unites a kind of ‘counter-discourse’, establishing cross-border, cross-cultural and cross-religious entities. Category 6 was included for articles that cannot be clearly assigned. In order to answer the research question, the coding guideline provides the framework for the qualitative content analysis.

Category	Definition	Example	Coding rules
C1: Local/Geographical Distinction	• Division of world into the local entities West/East containing Middle East, Far East and North Africa; Orient/Occident	In the case of Tunisia: Localization of the country, possibly with reference to border countries	• Division is only made for local reasons
C2: Distinction as Other	• Division goes beyond locality, with more political, ideological and cultural meaning • Words of special interest: ‘Us’/‘Them’; ‘British’/‘Foreigner’	In the case of Charlie Hebdo: Their understanding of freedom of the press is different from ours	• Representation of a local other that differs in terms of culture and politics
C3: Distinction as Superior/Inferior Other	• Division into superior/inferior West vs. inferior/superior East/Islam • Words of special interest: ‘inferior’/‘superior’; ‘un(der)developed’/‘developed’	In the case of Tunisia: Free elections in such an autocratic state cannot be compared to our democratic elections	• Article clearly refers to a relationship of superiority and subordination • One area is considered to be ‘better’ • more democratic/stable than the other

3 By undertaking Step 7, additional categories (4 and 5) were added in the course of the analysis.

Category	Definition	Example	Coding rules
C4: Distinction as Other Within	• Division into West and East/Islam that is located in the West - Words of special interest: 'European-born Tunisian/Algerian/Syrian'	In the case of Charlie Hebdo: The Islamist terrorists lived in France for all their lives	• Article clearly states that the other can be assigned to the East as well as the West
C5: No Distinction, but Unity	• Understanding of society as one, independent from religion and nationality • Words of special interest: 'Unity'; 'We'	In the case of Tunisia: Tunisians living in Britain had the opportunity for an absentee vote to exercise their right to vote	• Article argues for a belonging to society beyond nationality and religion • Does not state any weakening argument
C6: Distinction not Ascertainable	• The context of distinction is not clear and cannot be categorized	In the case of Charlie Hebdo: There are satire magazines in the East as well as in the West	

Fig. 2 Coding Guideline

5 Results

5.1 Sample size and frequency of reporting

The overall sample contains N=51 articles, 7 articles on the election in Tunisia and 44 on the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo*⁴. This uneven distribution is owed in

4 It needs to be added that 14 articles resulted in the search regarding Tunisia. In three articles, Tunisia was only mentioned in a subordinate clause. These articles did not report about the election, but resulted due to the search term 'Tunisia'. Additionally, three articles were almost identical to three others because sometimes more current information is added. Those small corrections left the majority of the text untouched. Here, the more current article was included in the sample. A comparable procedure was performed for the *Charlie Hebdo* sample. The result of the search in the LexisNexis was 79 articles. Fourteen articles were updated versions of previous articles, therefore, as in the case of Tunisia, the most recent article was included in the sample. Moreover, letters to the editor were generally excluded because this study aims at analyzing the reporting itself and not the reactions to it. A Further exclusion criteria was the lack of

particular to the data collection method on LexisNexis, which did not provide all of the *Daily Telegraph's* articles. Generally, the distribution between the articles about the election in Tunisia and those about the terrorist attack on Charlie Hebdo is uneven. This finding may support our assumption that negative and spectacular, maybe even frightening incidents are of higher relevance due to mechanisms of the media market. Although this is not only plausible, it has also been shown in previous studies on the reporting of Islam, our sample can only very carefully be used to support those findings, or to reject the possibility that changes in the recent media reporting might be at hand. For example, the more important factor for the low take-up rate in the case of Tunisia could be the lacking interest in phenomena abroad. The first free election in Tunisia is an event that 'happened elsewhere', outside of Europe. In contrast, the terrorist attack in France happened in the heart of Europe, which might explain the higher take-up rate.

5.2 The First Free Democratic Election in Tunisia

Aside from the representation of events of (inherently) different character in the media, an orientalist perspective may lead to a negative bias in the reporting here. Figure 3 shows the distribution of categories in the sample. Three out of seven articles make a geographical contrast: They position Tunisia in the Arab world (Articles 3, 6 & 7) and one article refers to Libya as the neighboring state (Article 3). Those articles were assigned to the first category. Another text (Article 4), however, goes further than geographical localization (Category 2). Category 6 is represented three times. These articles simply report about the parties that ran for election. One extremely dominant topic in every article is the Islamist party *Ennahda* and the rise of Islamist parties in general, not only in Tunisia.

the words 'Islam' and 'Muslim'. Articles that do not contain 'Islam' and/or 'Muslim' are understood to be simple reports about the case examples, without any connection to culture, religion or people.

Distribution by Category	Sample
1	N=3
2	N=1
3	N=0
4	N=0
5	N=0
6	N=3
Total	N=7

Fig. 3 Distribution of Articles in the Tunisia Sample

Referring to *Ennahda*, the articles balance pro and con arguments, often by quoting individuals. Marwen Hamadan, an architecture student, for example, states that he does not “want to live with Islamic ideology” and that he worries about a possible religious dictatorship lead by *Ennahda* (Article 7). It becomes obvious that such worries are a serious matter, which is underlined by the term *dictatorship*. However, the author quotes Mohammed Ammar as a counterpart who would be happy if *Ennahda* wins the election. Both voices are left uncommented. By giving a voice to opponents as well as sympathizers, one can assume that the *Daily Telegraph* does not position itself. This assumption is confirmed in another article that describes violent protests that broke out after the election (Article 2). Initially, it seems as if the protests are reasonable and embody the fear of an Islamist party as a political leader. This impression is defused by referring to analysts who “have said that *Ennahda*, even in a majority alliance, would be unable to ‘dictate’ any programme to the assembly”. Here, both positions are included and again left uncommented. In both articles, with the help of pro and con arguments, the authors present a balanced view. Moreover, both articles often quote individuals in order to strengthen the statements. They range from politicians and analysts to individuals from civil society. Various Muslims with different attitudes are quoted. Furthermore, the importance of each voice is not weighed up against the other. Assuming that, Said’s statement (1991) that Orientals hardly get the chance to represent themselves does not apply here, which is an unexpected finding.

The article assigned to category 2 (Article 4) mentions the possible impact the Islamist party may have on the constitution and thereby on the West. Furthermore, it refers to Egypt and Libya as countries in which Islamist parties are also on the rise. Thus, a geographical distinction is made between the West and other countries,

followed by an association with Islam and Islamism. In order to strengthen the apparent concern about the Islamist parties, the article gives an example of Libya's Islamist party that will possibly introduce a "sharia government", leaving this term undefined, but stating that this form of government would be "the antithesis of the West's concept of personal liberty". Even though these statements are made in connection to the political development in Libya, the article concludes that "[t]here was always a danger that dark forces would lie behind the Arab awakening". As a result, a development in one particular country is generalized to every country that was part of the Arab Spring. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the author creates an image of not only current danger, but also tries to evoke a feeling of caution towards countries where the Arab Spring occurred.

This argumentation cannot be generalized to every article in the sample. For example, the Arab Spring is also mentioned without negative associations (see Article 7), and the other articles assess *Ennahda* from different, unagitated angles.

According to Kalin and Esposito, the relationship between the West and Islam is challenging (2001, 157), in addition to Said's patterns of superiority and subordination. Article 7, entitled "Tunisians enjoy the fruit of the Arab Spring", establishes a modified perspective by referring to Tunisia's reputation as the "Arab world's most progressive state" and its society's fear of losing this status with *Ennahda* in power. Here, a distinction between open and closed societies overlaps the Orient/Occident dichotomy, driven by the assumption that cooperation with Western countries (who set the standards for what can be understood as modern political systems) is seen as a necessity.

Taken as a whole, the dominant tone in the reporting of Tunisia's election is unexpectedly neutral from the angle of an orientalist framework. Only one article was categorized as a report that utilizes the distinction of East/Islam and West to attach more than a geographical difference to these regions. However, it is important to stress that the articles do not only give insight into the election itself, but rather broach the issue of the country's Islamist party. Even though the topics are strongly connected to each other, the election is used as a stimulus to discuss *Ennahda* and the reporting not only assesses the outcome of the election and possible consequences for Tunisia, but also for the Arab World in general. In this respect, the election is the opener to a discussion on the rise of Islamist parties. This assumption can be further interpreted. Reasons for the emphasis on this particular topic could be concerns about the Islamist parties or clarification of their political impact. Additionally, the frequency of this discussion implies that *we* claim to understand the domestic circumstances in these countries, with constant regard to democracy as the ideal political system. Such a perspective can be considered to be

eurocentric and postcolonial. As a consequence, the *Daily Telegraph* rarely reflects on the positive impact the election might have had on the country.

Even though it seems judgmental to describe the Arab Spring as a “dark force”, the overall discussion of the Islamist party does not end by taking a clear position. As a result, Richardson’s claim that broadsheet newspapers “believe ‘Muslim government’ and free election of ‘Muslim political parties’ to be disadvantageous to the ‘democracy’ of Muslim countries” (2004, 89) is not accurate here. This finding might depend on the changes the media most likely has gone through since Richardson’s publication. However, it cannot be denied that some of the rather (old) statements about media coverage are still visible.

5.3 The Terrorist Attack on Charlie Hebdo

The sample for the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo* consists of 44 articles. As shown in Figure 4, the spread among the categories is wider than in the Tunisia sample. The categories contribute better to the structuring of this (larger) sample and are therefore more frequently referred to in the analysis.

Distribution by Category	Sample
1	N=1
2	N=5
3	N=4
4	N=13
5	N=5
6	N=16
Total	N=44

Fig. 4 Distribution of Articles in the *Charlie Hebdo* Sample

The majority of the articles discuss the offenders’ identities. Article 8 was assigned to the first category. It reports about the life of one of the victims who was killed in the attack. Within this description, France is geographically positioned in Europe.

In category 2, article 50 goes in line with Richardson and his claim that Islam and the West as well as Muslims and Westerners are perceived as two differing cultural camps (2004, 114). Al-Azhar, a prestigious university, commented on the new issue of *Charlie Hebdo* after the attack as follows: “The drawings ‘do not serve the peaceful *coexistence* between peoples and *hinders the integration* of Muslims into European and Western societies” (Article 50; emphasis added by the authors). This is ambiguous because the word *coexistence* implies that, on the one hand, Western societies and Muslims can live together peacefully. On the other hand, one may assume that Muslims cannot be a part of this society. Here, the author gives a voice to a Muslim institution, which, however, goes in line with his own argumentation. This finding provides an insight into the different processes that may influence the article’s content. It hints at the ambiguities that Marranci (2004) and El-Gallal (2014) established concerning the inclusion of Islam into Europe and the resistance of majorities to such inclusion.

Within the articles assigned to category 3, phrases such as “Western way of life” and “war of civilisations” are used (Article 10). Here, the massacre induces the general Islam vs. West debate. The common tone is that Islam and Islamists challenge Western countries and societies by attacking their values, for example, freedom of expression. This is strengthened by using terms such as “jihadists” in a diffuse manner, possibly contributing to the transformation of Islam into “a form of attack” (Said 1997, xv). Insofar, the four articles in category 3 are fitting examples of Said’s Orientalism. The dichotomy between East/Islam and West is maintained. Moreover, it is even represented as unresolvable by referring to the West’s guaranteed “moral victory” (Article 26) as well as the “war of civilisations” (note the variation on Huntington’s “clash”) in which France was portrayed as the victim (Article 10).

Articles assigned to category 4 deal with the ‘others within’. Even though the 13 articles were each assigned to the same category, they still differ considerably from each other. There are two dominant topics. Firstly, the definition of the other within is derived from the country of origin and language of the individuals. Examples are the description of the terrorists’ French skills: “accentless French” (Article 11) and “speaks in French and stuttering Arabic” (Article 35). It seems contradictory that those violent individuals live in France, speak French even better than Arabic, but belong to a terrorist organization. Moreover, the origins of the terrorists and other Muslim individuals point out that they are the other within: “Franco-Algerian” (Article 11), “native-born jihadists” (Article 18) and “French-Islamists” (Article 17). Such descriptions combine West and East or West and Islam. The second dominant topic are individuals who traveled to Eastern countries, such as Iraq and Syria, were radicalized there and returned to Europe. Exemplary passages are: “Muslim extremists who travelled to Syria and Iraq [...] to fight would return home to plot