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# Perceptions of Islam in Western Publics

## Between Orientalism, Islamophobia and Multiculturalism<sup>1</sup>

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### 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.

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- 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)<sup>2</sup>, 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.

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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.

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## 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.

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### **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).

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## 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.

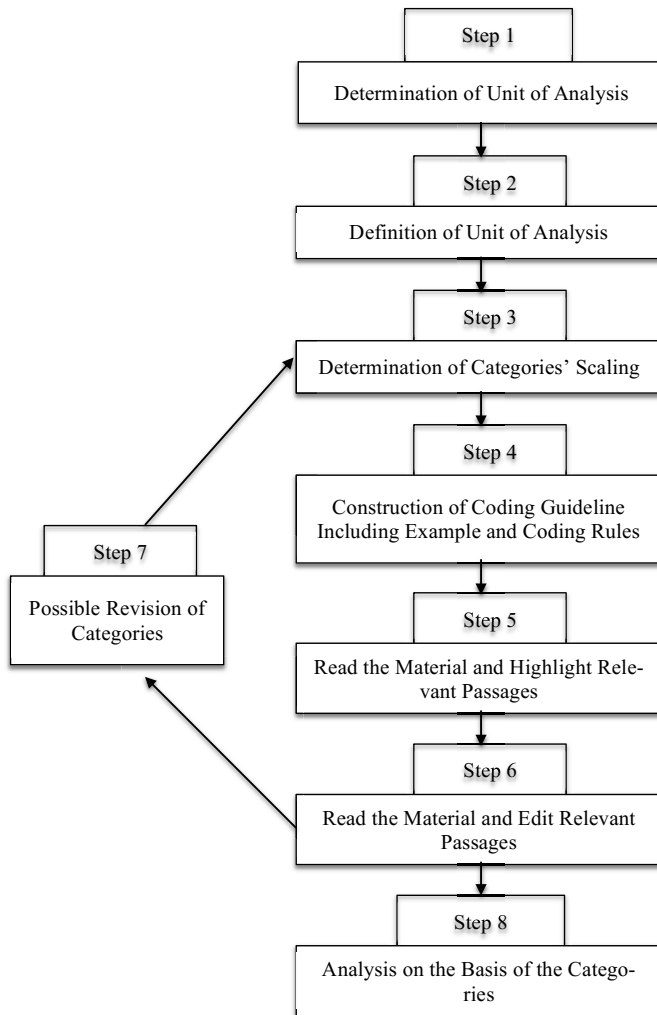
## 4.2 Sampling

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”).<sup>3</sup> 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         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Division of world into the local entities West/East containing Middle East, Far East and North Africa; Orient/Occident</li> </ul>  | In the case of Tunisia: Localization of the country, possibly with reference to border countries                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Division is only made for local reasons</li> </ul>   |
| C2: Distinction as Other                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Division goes beyond locality, with more political, ideological and cultural meaning</li> <li>• Words of special interest: ‘Us’/‘Them’; ‘British’/‘Foreigner’</li> </ul>     | In the case of Charlie Hebdo: Their understanding of freedom of the press is different from ours                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Representation of a local other that differs in terms of culture and politics</li> </ul>   |
| C3: Distinction as Superior/Inferior Other | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Division into superior/inferior West vs. inferior/superior East/Islam</li> <li>• Words of special interest: ‘inferior’/‘superior’; ‘un(der)developed’/‘developed’</li> </ul> | In the case of Tunisia: Free elections in such an autocratic state cannot be compared to our democratic elections | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Article clearly refers to a relationship of superiority and subordination</li> <li>• One area is considered to be ‘better’</li> <li>• more democratic/stable than the other</li> </ul> |

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   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Division into West and East/Islam that is located in the West</li> <li>- Words of special interest: 'European-born Tunisian/ Algerian/Syrian'</li> </ul> | In the case of Charlie Hebdo: The Islamist terrorists lived in France for all their lives                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Article clearly states that the other can be assigned to the East as well as the West</li> </ul>                                      |
| C5: No Distinction, but Unity     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understanding of society as one, independent from religion and nationality</li> <li>• Words of special interest: 'Unity'; 'We'</li> </ul>                | In the case of Tunisia: Tunisians living in Britain had the opportunity for an absentee vote to exercise their right to vote | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Article argues for a belonging to society beyond nationality and religion</li> <li>• Does not state any weakening argument</li> </ul> |
| C6: Distinction not Ascertainable | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The context of distinction is not clear and cannot be categorized</li> </ul>   | 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*<sup>4</sup>. 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.

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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

carnage” (Article 11) and “native-born jihadists travelling to countries such as Syria and Iraq, who then plan to return to bring terror to the streets of European cities” (Article 18). Words such as “home” and “return” indicate that these individuals are resident in Europe or even belong there. Here, Said’s dichotomy is softened because one can live in the West while having roots in the Middle East or North Africa. However, following the articles’ arguments, the circumstances abroad are in complete contrast to a generalized West. To a large extent, the articles explicitly address ‘extremists’ and ‘Islamists’. However, Article 27 implies that Islam is the driving force of this terrorist attack. Moreover, the author pleads for a stop to the Islamization of Europe. This statement is justified by examples of how Muslims “want to create a sort of state within our state”. Additionally, Muslims, according to this article, want to change *our* (superior) laws and replace them with *their* (inferior) legislation.

The five articles in category 5 do not distinguish between nationality and religion. For example, article 28 reminds the readers that it would be wrong to blame Muslims in general for the attack in France (Article 28). Another example is article 16 that includes a more open and empathetic world view. It does not divide the world into East and West, but proposes a differentiation between “open” and “closed” societies. Societies stick together due more to shared values than nationality (Article 16). Terms like “we”, ‘unity’ and ‘European solidarity’ explicitly include Muslims in the articles of this category. It is obvious that terrorism cannot simply be dismissed. However, Muslim organizations and individuals are important voices in the fight against it (Article 34). The most striking argument is given in article 39, which states the existing possibility of being “both Western and Muslim”.

The articles assigned to Category 6 count up to 16. The reasons why an article was assigned to this category varied. Many articles do not draw a dichotomy. Some mention Islamists without assigning them to a particular country or area (Articles 31 & 32). Other articles include a variety of arguments that could each be assigned to different categories. The final position does not yet become clear (Articles 36, 37, 47 & 49).

As with the Tunisia election, the attack on Charlie *Hebdo* is used to open up a broader debate on the position and role of Muslims in British society. A dichotomy between East and West is frequent, but its prominence is to a large extent due to the demarcation of the authors from Islamist terror, not from Muslims as a whole – similar to Halm’s findings (2013, 465) regarding German media which showed that, to a large extent, rejection of Muslims are combined with items related to security. Instead, new dichotomies are emerging, like ‘open’ and ‘closed’ societies, which can both include Muslims.



## 5.4 The Link between Orientalism and Islamophobia

One can expect that articles which report in an 'orientalist tone' also discriminate Muslims on the grounds of Islamophobia. Orientalism in the media coverage on the Tunisia election and the *Charlie Hebdo* attack can be indicated by the space for Muslims to represent themselves. In fact, the articles about the election in Tunisia quote various individuals, mostly Muslims from different political camps as well as from Tunisian society. This shows an ambiguity because, on the one hand, this representation clears up the perception of Muslims as backward and irrational. On the other hand, it is still the journalist's decision who he/she cites. However, the diversity of the quotes indicates that Muslims are given the chance to represent themselves in the articles.

The reporting about the other case example is less evident. The articles focus on thorough descriptions of the terrorists. They are only cited when the quote can be linked to their extremism. Examples are "Allah has been revenged" (Article 9) and "If you attack the Caliphate and the Islamic State, you will be attacked" (Article 35). This finding relates to Said et al., who claim that often only "Muslim figures who appear in the media are the ones who held extremist views [...] who do not represent the Muslim community at all" (2007). One can assume that the perception of Muslims and Islam as barbaric is strengthened by quoting such individuals. Moreover, politicians, police officers as well as analysts or other individuals from Europe are quoted far more often. This gives the impression that Muslims get the opportunity to represent themselves whenever the quote goes in line with the intended message. Here, a tendency towards 'orientalist journalism' can be recognized.

In how far this reporting evokes Islamophobia is not as obvious. Again, in our analysis we refer to the categories of 'othering' established above. Articles that were assigned to categories 2, 3 and 4 potentially sustain Islamophobia, leaving out category 1, 5 and 6. Category 5 is instead understood to undermine the West/East dichotomy, while category 1 and 6 neither place an ideological meaning on Islam, nor understand the society as united.

In the reporting about the election, there is no clear link between Orientalism and Islamophobia. However, one aforementioned article stands out. Article 4 assigned to category 2 sees the Arab Spring as a possible danger, strongly relying on Islam as an intermediate element. However, this is an extreme example and the overall impression of the sample does not indicate islamophobic attitudes.

As already mentioned, the sample of the articles about the *Charlie Hebdo* attack is more diverse. The articles assigned to categories 3 and 4 highly outweigh the articles in the fifth category. Article 33 shows the most striking example. One of the offenders, Amedy Coulibaly, is strongly associated with Islam through the

description of how he sieged a Jewish supermarket and suddenly started praying to Allah before the police stormed in.<sup>5</sup>

It is important to note that the author did not make up this fact. Yet, the undifferentiated representation leads to the assumption that the readers of the *Daily Telegraph* may fail to differentiate between Muslims who pray for their faith and other Muslims who supposedly kill in the name of Islam. As a consequence, the attitude towards terrorists may be generalized to the whole Muslim population, while the extremists are equated “with the religion of Islam rather than considering it a dangerous aberration” (Esposito and Mogahed 2007, 27). However, the remaining articles in the sample do not show such a clear tendency. Therefore, the articles that indicate ‘orientalist journalists’ who provide arguments for Islamophobia cannot be generalized to the whole sample. The connection between Orientalism and Islamophobia seems to come closest to the following reading, given the articles of our sample: Muslims get the opportunity to represent themselves through the filters of ‘orientalist journalists’ who write and publish articles about countries and events associated with Muslims and Islam. The readership is, in some cases, equipped with arguments for discrimination of Muslims and Islam based on unfounded hostility, in some cases they are not. At the same time, generalizing rejection of Islam and Muslims does not only occur in the context of Orientalism, but also derives from the fear that Islam is a threat to societies and an international system that is increasingly multicultural and transnational.

Such fears can be taken up by politicians, be it right-wing or left-wing parties. This situation is also described in the data. Article 13 (Category 6) describes how “the attack on Charlie Hebdo is likely to play into the hands of Marine Le Pen, leader of the far-right Front National”. Le Pen does not argue in the context of Orientalism, but takes advantage of the opinion that Islam is a threat to societies. Such fears as well as the role of France in the European Union are transferred into publicly stated islamophobic attitudes expressed by words and phrases such as “this is a terrorist attack carried out in the name of radical Islam” and “murderous ideology”. This consequently promotes a hostile attitude towards Islam and Muslims and Islamophobia thereby becomes socially acceptable. Clearly, Marine Le Pen is an extreme example of a politician who does not shy away from openly stating her anti-Semitic and islamophobic attitude. However, the data also showed subliminal Islamophobia, especially in descriptions of the terrorists and their backgrounds.

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5 Amedy Coulibaly was not responsible for the *Charlie Hebdo* attack. Nevertheless, he was in close contact with the other offenders and simultaneously planned additional attacks. Therefore, the articles about the *Charlie Hebdo* attack also reported about Coulibaly.

It goes without saying that multiculturalism and transnationalism result in diverse societies. The idea of integration often plays a role within this debate. Article 31 (Category 6) refers to that idea by reporting about the Kouachi brothers and their backgrounds. The author describes their apparently troubled childhood and adolescence. It is stated that they “spent their teenage years at a centre for troubled and vulnerable youngsters”. This fact is accentuated by quoting Patrick Fournier, the director of the centre, who commented that the two brothers were “perfectly integrated and never posed behavioural problems”. Here, one must ask why the concept of integration is brought up. As already stated above, the two brothers were Frenchmen, lived in France for most of their lives and spoke French fluently. We note that nationality or religion is not necessarily the deciding factor on integration. However, the author may have understood Islam to be an intervening factor, meaning that even though the Kouachi brothers were “perfectly integrated”, only their religious affiliation was the reason for the attacks. This subjective interpretation should be taken with a grain of salt. Nevertheless, a possible connection between Islamophobia and the belief that Islam and Muslims pose a threat to societies can be detected in the data. Such developments have to be carefully observed in order to provide a society of mutual acceptance that the European Union claims to hold.

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## 6 Conclusion

By representing the Orientals as irrational, barbaric and violent, the Orientalists, mostly scholars, provided arguments for oppression. The works of both colonialism and the Orientalists created an unresolvable dichotomy between the Orient and Occident. This can also be understood as a West/East dichotomy, in which the term East, including the Middle and Far East as well as North Africa, is strongly associated with Islam and understood to be the inferior other. The world, however, has changed through ongoing migration as well as multiculturalism since Orientalism was published. As a result, different opinions on the new cultural and ethnic landscape have emerged. One example is the coining of the term ‘Islamophobia’. Muslims and Islam can be treated and represented as monolithic and dangerous without colonialization in place. Therefore, Albrecht’s (2011) statements concerning postcolonialism are found to be more accurate. However, it needs to be noted that Said’s theory is based on the colonial era and thus on subjugation. As a consequence, the disagreement can be traced back to the temporal developments since Orientalism.

The reporting of the *Daily Telegraph* establishes a different dichotomy than the one Said referred to. Even though the *Daily Telegraph* abides by the general

distinction between West and East, the dichotomy is loosened. In today's world people do not either belong to the Orient or the Occident. They can live in the West while following Islam. However, this development is more often represented as threatening and dangerous than advantageous, but this does not necessarily indicate that those articles are islamophobe.

At the same time, not surprisingly, the specific events covered by media reports highly shape the degree of skepticism towards Islam and Muslims, leading to the assumption that, in the line of the findings of Halm (2013, 466) in the case of Germany, it is rather the frequency of terrorist incidents covered than the quality of the reporting which make up a problematic image of Islam in the West.

Based on our findings, we suggest that Orientalism and Islamophobia need to be viewed from another angle. The concept of Orientalism should be developed beyond the Orient/Occident dichotomy. Colonialization of the Orient is no longer present. The world has developed into a tight network, resulting in the necessity for new concepts which can help to understand othering. Marranci (2004) already took up this aspect by relating multiculturalism to Islamophobia. Moreover, El-Gallal (2014) included similar aspects such as the emerging identity crisis through transnationalism and globalization on the one hand, and the cultural diversity that correlates with immigration on the other. We suggest that the discourse develops towards a distinction between closed and open societies.

Since the data basis of the present analysis was rather narrow, we understand our text to be an exploration of the challenges that research on the image of Islam faces in a situation where established patterns of reporting persist to a certain extent on the one hand, but media adapts to the new transnational and multicultural realities quite rapidly on the other hand. In this context, research has to be careful not to become subject to interest-driven discourses itself, in the struggle of Muslims and non-Muslims finding and defending their roles in the world and in Western societies.

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## Appendix: Overview of Articles' Classification

| ID  | Article's Title   | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation  |
|-----|---|-----------------|-------------------|----------|---|
| 001 | Tunisian election protestors riot   | 29.10.2011      | 15.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Short article about riots after the election</li> </ul>  |
| 002 | Protests flare in Tsunami as Islamist party wins first democratic election    | 28.10.2011      | 15.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Presentation of protests with quotes of the leader of the Islamist party as counter arguments</li> <li>Supports this statement by referring to analysts</li> </ul>   |
| 003 | We'll keep liberal laws, say Tunisia's Islamists                              | 27.10.2011      | 15.06.2015        | 1        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Article refers to Libya as the neighbor state</li> <li>Mentions differences between Tunisia's and Libya's Islamists</li> </ul>   |
| 004 | Resurgent Islamism  | 26.10.2011      | 15.06.2015        | 2        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Article mentions the possible impact of the Islamist party</li> <li>Claims that Islamism is on the rise</li> <li>Libya might introduce a 'sharia government'</li> <li>Arab "awakening" is presented to be a possible danger</li> </ul> |
| 005 | Tunisia starts coalition talks  | 26.10.2011      | 15.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Article reports about possible coalition partners for Islamist party</li> <li>Relationship between parties is expected to be consensual</li> </ul>   |
| 006 | Tunisian Islamists to gain huge victory in first elections of the Arab Spring | 25.10.2011      | 15.06.2015        | 1        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tunisia is located in the Arab world</li> <li>Article reports about Islamist party and possible future scenarios</li> </ul>  |
| 007 | Tunisians enjoy the fruit of the Arab Spring                                  | 24.10.2011      | 15.06.2015        | 1        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tunisia is located in the Arab world and referred to as the "Arab world's most progressive state"</li> <li>Reflects on positive and negative voices towards the Islamist party</li> </ul>  |



| ID  | Article's Title                                      | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation   |
|-----|--|-----------------|-------------------|----------|--|
| 008 | Cabu   | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 1        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positions France in Europe</li> <li>• Mentions the war in Algeria</li> <li>• Mainly about the life of the journalist Jean Cabu who was killed in the attack on <i>Charlie Hebdo</i></li> </ul>  |
| 009 | A terrible price for freedom of speech               | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 2        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• States the terrorists' connection to al-Qaeda Yemen and simultaneously equates them with Islam/Islamists</li> <li>• Mentions France's colonial past</li> <li>• Reflects on Anti-Muslim attitudes</li> <li>• Does not take an unequivocal stance</li> </ul>  |
| 010 | I salute the Charlie Hebdo martyrs for their bravery | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 3        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refers to the "Western way of life" and that the "jihadists" loathing it</li> <li>• Mentions the "war of civilizations"</li> <li>• Wants the "extremists" to accept the "liberal democracy" of the West</li> </ul>  |
| 011 | War on Freedom                                       | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assigns the terrorists to Algeria and France: "Franco-Algerian"</li> <li>• Refers to the European intelligence service's fear that extremists who traveled to eastern countries like Syria and Iraq would return and "plot carnage"</li> <li>• Mentions that the terrorist threat level in Britain is the second-highest</li> </ul> |
| 012 | Magazine resolute in ridiculing extremists           | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 3        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The attack is understood as "an act of barbarism", "challenges us all as humans and Europeans" and "an attack on freedom of expression and the press", which is a "key component of our free democratic culture"</li> </ul> <p>→ Quotes politicians</p>   |

| ID  | Article's Title   | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation   |
|-----|---|-----------------|-------------------|----------|--|
| 013 | Le Pen aims for surge in support as she condemns 'murderous ideology' | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Short article about Front Nationale and how politician Marine Le Pen reacted towards the attack</li> <li>• Article does not take a stance on the statements</li> </ul>  |
| 014 | Attackers 'delinquents who were radicalised'                          | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about the identities and lives of the terrorists</li> <li>• Refers to the Middle East and the war in Iraq as well as the Muslims who suffered from the war</li> </ul>   |
| 015 | Cartoons that lit the fuse of Islamist hatred                         | 08.01.2015      | 16.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mentions al-Qaeda and that they put the editor of <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> on the wanted list</li> <li>→ no clear location of al-Qaeda</li> </ul>   |
| 016 | We must have the freedom to cause offence                             | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 5        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Divides world into open and closed societies</li> <li>• Frequent use of words like 'we', 'our', 'enemy'</li> <li>→ shared values decide about the categorization</li> <li>• Terrorists do not share these values, e.g., freedom of speech</li> </ul>                  |
| 017 | Paris network that links gunmen to Isil                               | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explains terrorists' backgrounds and their connection to other terrorists/organizations</li> <li>• Mentions "French Islamists", "Tunisian-Frenchman", "Frenchman of Algeria"</li> </ul>   |
| 018 | Again it appears security services have taken their eye off the ball  | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Puts emphasis on the danger of "native-born jihadists" who fight in countries like Syria or Iraq and "bring terror to the streets of European cities"</li> <li>• Discusses the failure of French and British police to early recognize possible terrorists</li> </ul> |
| 019 | 18-year-old named by police who gave himself up remains in custody    | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Short article about the third suspect</li> <li>• No reference to the origin of suspect</li> </ul>   |

| ID  | Article's Title                                       | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation  |
|-----|---|-----------------|-------------------|----------|---|
| 020 | Killers go to ground in forest larger than Paris      | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about the three suspects and the search for them</li> </ul>  |
| 021 | 'You want to kill me?' said policeman. 'OK chief ...' | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 2        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about the murder of the policeman who was a Muslim</li> <li>• Quotes a friend who claims that "they just saw the uniform and killed him", impressed by his nationality but not by his religion</li> <li>• Mentions solidarity of the French people</li> </ul>  |
| 022 | Al-Qaeda plotting UK attack                           | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Threat is clearly located in Britain</li> <li>• Fear is justified with reference to 600 British jihadists who fought in Syria</li> <li>• Those "Islamic extremists" want "to harm the West"</li> </ul>   |
| 023 | Magazine print run up from 60,000 to a million        | 09.01.2014      | 17.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about next <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> publication</li> <li>• Quotes statements from a <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> columnist</li> </ul>  |
| 024 | The lessons of Paris must not be forgotten            | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Situation in France is transferred to Britain</li> <li>• Criticizes the failure of French authorities</li> <li>• Mentions the British government's new attempt to "tackle the problem of returnees from overseas conflicts"</li> <li>• Comments on further adjustments, such as the "promotion of Western values"</li> </ul> |
| 025 | Suspect linked to Finsbury Park Mosque                | 09.01.2015      | 17.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positions terrorism and recruitment of "Muslims for jihad" in Europe</li> <li>• Mentions the suspects' connection to a mosque in Britain</li> </ul>  |

| ID  | Article's Title  | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation  |
|-----|--|-----------------|-------------------|----------|---|
| 026 | We must remain reasonable, free and strong                     | 10.01.2015      | 18.06.2015        | 3        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about the terrorists' will to destabilize the West</li> <li>• Attacks need to be understood</li> <li>• Position of the West is ensured because its "moral victory is guaranteed"</li> </ul>  |
| 027 | Terrorism is working – we are not all living in a free society | 10.01.2015      | 18.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Distinguishes between the West and Muslim countries</li> <li>• Recognizes that millions of Muslims live in the West</li> <li>• "They" want to "Islamise the entire society"</li> <li>• States that there is a "price for living in a free society"</li> </ul>                      |
| 028 | Orwellian words of wisdom                                      | 10.01.2015      | 18.06.2015        | 5        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reminds the readers not to blame Muslims for the attack, by quoting George Orwell</li> </ul>   |
| 029 | Attack may be latest inspired by al-Qaeda propagandist         | 10.01.2015      | 18.06.2015        | 2        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Short article about connection between suspect and an al-Qaeda propagandist</li> </ul>   |
| 030 | Terror mentor's wife on benefits in Leicester                  | 10.01.2015      | 18.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about the living conditions of the family of one of the suspect's mentors</li> <li>• Claims they receive benefits from the British state</li> <li>• Not only other within, but other that profits from being within</li> <li>• Possible financing of terrorists</li> </ul> |
| 031 | Attacker's roots in jihadist group that met in a Paris park    | 10.01.2015      | 18.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about connection of the two suspects with a "closely-knit network of Islamist extremists"</li> <li>• Does not clearly refer to any distinction</li> </ul>  |
| 032 | Twin sieges bring three days of horror to a grisly end         | 10.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Detailed report about the hunt for the two <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> suspects</li> <li>• Also reports about a third terrorist</li> <li>• Does not mention the origins of the terrorists</li> </ul>  |

| ID  | Article's Title  | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation  |
|-----|--|-----------------|-------------------|----------|---|
| 033 | PARIS 9/1: France's Terror Nightmare   | 10.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Short summary of the two coordinated sieges from the past day</li> <li>• Terrorists belong to al-Qaeda</li> <li>• Quotes David Cameron who claims to protect 'our' values</li> <li>• European solidarity with France creates a we-feeling</li> </ul>     |
| 034 | The Islamists want war, but it would be fatal if we fell for it                | 12.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 5        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mentions words like 'we' and 'unity', including Muslims</li> <li>• Claims Muslim organizations and individuals to be an extremely important voice in the fight against terrorism</li> </ul>  |
| 035 | Supermarket killer's video of homage to Isil before his attack                 | 12.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about a video one of the terrorists recorded before the siege of a Jewish supermarket</li> <li>• In the video the terrorist speaks French better than Arabic</li> <li>• He is linked to Isil and has close links to mosques in France</li> </ul> |
| 036 | After a minute of silence, the chants started 'We are not afraid', they roared | 12.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Considers the terrorist to be "home-grown Islamist terrorists"</li> <li>→ strong argument for 'other within'</li> <li>• Also gives arguments for unity that includes Muslims and Islam</li> <li>→ position is not clear</li> </ul>                       |
| 037 | Random shooting of jogger was killer's first act of terror                     | 12.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quotes the brother of one of the victims who claims that the terrorists were just terrorists, not Muslims</li> <li>• Religion is not to blame for the attack</li> <li>→ Leaves the quote uncommented</li> </ul>  |

| ID  | Article's Title  | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation   |
|-----|--|-----------------|-------------------|----------|--|
| 038 | Liberty, equality, fraternity: France defies the terrorists      | 12.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 5        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about the solidarity march in Paris</li> <li>• Many nationalities and religions were present<br/>→ solidarity independent from the nation and religion</li> <li>• However, solidarity by countries like Russia, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia is questioned</li> </ul> |
| 039 | The lasting message of 'Nous sommes Charlie'                     | 12.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 5        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• States that it is possible to be both Muslim and Western</li> <li>• Reports about the mutual support and joint fight against terrorism</li> </ul>   |
| 040 | We often discussed al-Qaeda assaults, gunman's widow told police | 12.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about the wife of the supermarket attacker and her attitude towards Islam</li> <li>• Neither Islam nor the woman is linked to West/East</li> </ul>  |
| 041 | Muslims must shed the narrative of grievance                     | 13.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 3        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attacks due to insults to faith are considered to be "limited to Islamists"</li> <li>• Claims that position of Muslim community has changed from a pre-eminence to economic, political and military weakness</li> </ul>   |
| 042 | Why tougher terror measures inevitably fall by the wayside       | 13.01.2015      | 19.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discusses the legal acts that have been enacted after past terror attacks in Britain</li> <li>• Often not effective and "undermine the very freedoms we seek to defend"</li> </ul>  |
| 043 | Mohammed cartoons in UK Hebdo edition                            | 13.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports about possible threats of next <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> publication</li> <li>• Magazine will also be sold in Britain<br/>→ According to the UK distribution partners, the fear is unfounded</li> </ul>  |

| ID  | Article's Title  | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation   |
|-----|--|-----------------|-------------------|----------|--|
| 044 | French streets flooded with 15,000 soldiers and police to guard against further assaults | 13.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Expresses concerns about France's terror alert that "remained at its maximum level"</li> <li>Many soldiers guard Jewish schools and Jewish as well as Muslim places of worship</li> </ul>   |
| 045 | Pope condemns 'deviant religion' for the attacks   | 13.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 2        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Positions Syria and Iraq in the Middle East, with association to Islam</li> <li>Quotes the Pope who "blamed the spread of fundamentalist terrorism" to be the causing factor "of the violence tearing apart the Middle East"</li> </ul>   |
| 046 | Isil jihadist hackers hit at the heart of US military                                    | 13.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cyber attack by Isil on the US Central Command</li> <li>Attack was used for Isil propaganda</li> <li>Not geographically or culturally other within, but technologically</li> </ul>  |
| 047 | This is a critical moment for the destinies of Britain and Europe                        | 14.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Discussed the consequences of the 'Je suis Charlie' solidarity and possible influence on the political landscape in Europe and Britain</li> <li>Unity vs. diversity</li> </ul>  |
| 048 | 'Vigilantes will thrive without a snoop'   | 14.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 4        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Discussion of political attitudes within Britain and possible future scenarios linked to laws</li> <li>→ Disagreement in the political landscape</li> <li>Refers to Iraq and Syria as reasons for terrorists in Britain</li> <li>Mentions preachers of hate from the Middle East who preach in Britain</li> </ul> |

| ID  | Article's Title   | Date of Release | Date of Retrieval | Category | Overall Evaluation   |
|-----|---|-----------------|-------------------|----------|--|
| 049 | Hunt for terror cell spreads as suspects held in Bulgaria       | 14.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>States that the threat clearly comes from inside as well as outside of the West</li> <li>→ Other within</li> <li>Not every Muslim is categorized as other</li> <li>→ Unity</li> </ul>   |
| 050 | Charlie Hebdo issue 'to make world laugh, not mourn'            | 14.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 2        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Creation process of new <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> issue is outlined</li> <li>Quotes cartoonist to explain the caricatures</li> <li>Quotes Muslim institution who claims that the cartoons hinder "the integration of Muslims into European and Western society"</li> </ul> |
| 051 | Families united in grief as Paris and Jerusalem bury their dead | 14.01.2015      | 20.06.2015        | 6        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Describes the funerals of the three police officers and four Jewish victims</li> <li>Culprits are not further described</li> </ul>  |



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