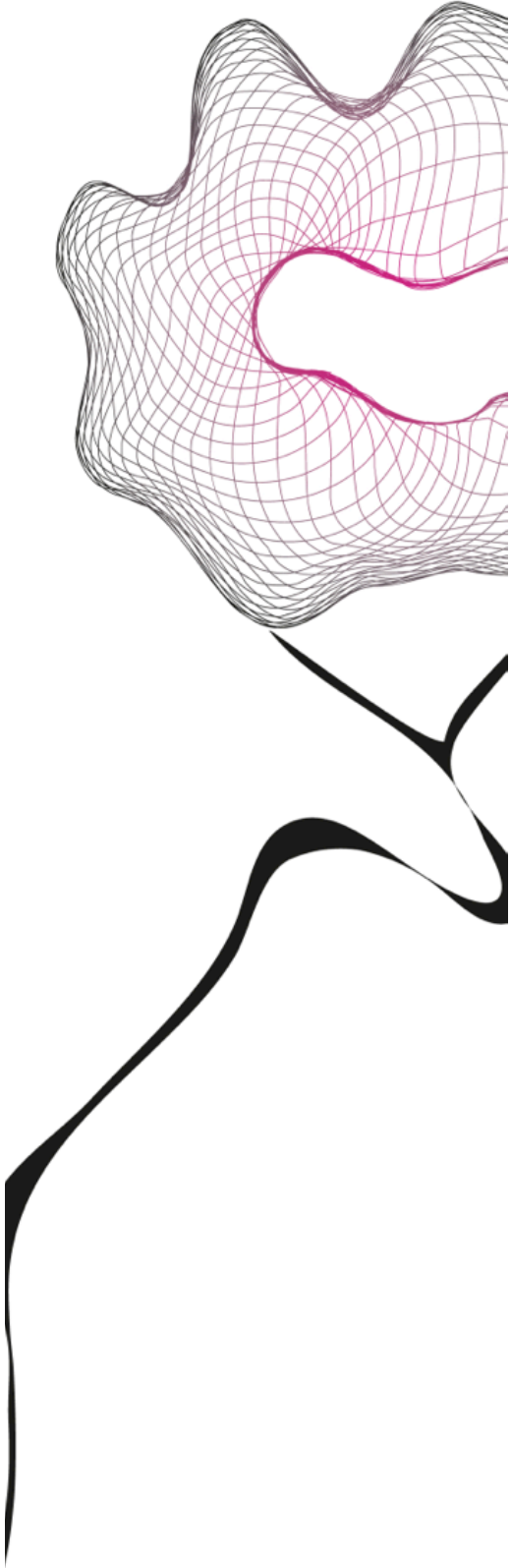BACHELOR THESIS

ORIENTALISM AND ISLAMOPHOBIA AS CONTINUOUS SOURCES OF DISCRIMINATION?

AUTHOR
Maxie Wolf

UNIVERSITIES
University of Twente, Enschede, Netherlands
Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences
Department of Public Administration

Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, Germany
Institut für Politikwissenschaft

EXAMINATION COMMITTEE
Dr. Ringo Ossewaarde (University of Twente)
Prof. Dr. Dirk Halm (WWU Münster)

STUDY PROGRAM
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UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE.

WESTFÄLISCHE
WILHELMS-UNIVERSITÄT
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Abstract

This thesis focuses on how Islam and Muslims are represented in the British broadsheet newspaper *Daily Telegraph* by means of reporting about the first free democratic election in Tunisia and the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo*. The postcolonial theory of Edward Said called Orientalism and the concept of Islamophobia are applied as approaches for explaining and understanding the underlying structure of the reporting. Special emphasis lies on the extent to what the West/East dichotomy is maintained, resulting in the possible provision of arguments for Islamophobia. By examining the relevant newspapers, the thesis argues that Orientalism is not a suitable approach to conceptualize the key assumptions of the representation of Muslims and Islam. In contrast, the author argues that multiculturalism and transnationalism have caused a loosening of Said's proposed West/East dichotomy. However, the critical revision of these findings demonstrates a rather low connection between Islamophobia and Orientalism. Separately, the two concepts are contributing factors to the continued undifferentiated utilization of particular events to open more general debates. Such debates face the role Muslims and Islam play in European countries and their societies. The thesis essentially draws the conclusion that postcolonial discourses have changed throughout the years, but can still be applied on the media landscape, which is fluid itself. As a result, the revision of the world's perception from West and East into open and closed societies is suggested.

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1. Introduction

> "Fear of the 'other' is so widespread and ferocious that we may be tempted to
> think of it as an immutable attribute of the human animal" (Kofi Annan, 2004).

After the West's typical Other, the Soviet Union, was not present anymore a gap filler needed to be found. Islam took up this place (Donnan/Stokes, 2002: 2). Consequently, an increasing trend towards Islam was set off. Nowadays there is neither one particular Other, nor one overarching authority that determines this discourse. However, Islam finds itself in the midst of Europe and America and has been affected negatively throughout the years (Esposito, 2011: 73 et seqq.). This trend is strengthened through institutions like the media that stabilize themselves by the conviction that the West "represents the very apex of civilisation" (Van Ginneken, 1998: 62; cited in Richardson, 2004: 95). Such a perception is developed through wrong assumptions about Islam, ranging from its equation with violence and terrorism to the assumption that it is generally inferior to Western culture (El-Gallal, 2014: 109). Here, the media plays a decisive role and is in most cases the first and sometimes only source of information (Richardson, 2001: 148). Especially newspapers are of fruitful character, because semantics matter in the coverage. According to Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005), newspapers can form the reader's portrayal of Muslims and Islam by carefully selecting the writing style, type of language and images used (Akbarzadeh/Smith, 2005: 6). The Western media landscape is coined by negative representations of Islam, meaning a reporting that predominantly relates to terrorism and extremism (El-Gallal, 2014: 14). These topics sell better than regular information or even positive developments (Hafez, 2000: 9). Thus, a comparison of newspaper articles about one event that complies with the assumption of a 'good story to sell' and another event that does not meet those criteria can create new knowledge concerning (non-) balanced reporting. Examples are in the newspaper coverage of the first free democratic election in Tunisia in 2011, which is considered to be a positive development and arguing with Hafez (2000) not as noteworthy as for example the terrorist attack on the French satire magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in 2015. Such a procedure also offers the possibility to generally review the media landscape and test whether Hafez (2000) assumptions are still valid.

Attached to the representations are splits between West and East, with the East being strongly associated with Islam (Richardson, 2004: 114). Taken together, those debates can intervene in the opinion formation of the public. Consequently, the need for terminology that participants can relate to emerges and terms like Islamophobia find their way into the use of language. Based on that, this thesis seeks to answer the following research question: **"To what extent does the reporting of the British newspaper *Daily Telegraph* establish a West/East dichotomy and provide arguments for Islamophobia by means of the first free democratic election in Tunisia and the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo*?"** By the West/East dichotomy, the research question refers to Edward Said's seminal book Orientalism, which is based on the colonialization of Eastern countries by Britain and France. Islamophobia refers to the hostility towards Islam. Separately, Orientalism and Islamophobia have found much attention in the scholarship. A possible combination however has not been examined before. Therefore, an understanding of newspaper articles is strived for under the current circumstances, meaning postcolonialism as well as the occurrence of Islamophobia. Due to the ongoing imperialism and eurocentrism after the end of the colonial era (Macfie,

2002: 91), it is expected that Said is proven correct. As a result, it is also expected that newspapers referring to an unresolvable dichotomy between the superior West and the inferior East provide arguments for Islamophobia. Thus, a positive correlation results. In general, the thesis focuses on reforming the causal relationship between colonialism and Orientalism on the more current framework of eurocentrism. Through multiculturalism and transnationalism a more diverse and manifold world view emerges, which goes beyond imperialism and colonialism. Here, the aim is to examine whether former colonial structures are still in place. In addition, it is of particular interest whether the media landscape takes up the new developments or remains in old patterns. Thus, the aim is to draw the attention to possible biased and unfair representations of Islam and Muslims, resulting in the ever-increasing need for a more differentiated portrayal of them. Through the analysis of one positively as well as negatively connoted case example, insights into the representation of Muslims as people and Islam as a religion are sought. Moreover, the time period between the events ensures insights into a potential change of reporting throughout the years. Attached to that, insights into possible differences of the reporting between events occurring in Europe and those occurring in an Arab-Islamic country are sought. Furthermore, possible methods of subjugation beyond colonialism may unfold. Hence, the following hypothesis is reviewed: **"The reporting of the *Daily Telegraph* makes a contrast between 'Us' and 'Them' that goes beyond geography, with negative connotations attached to 'Them', independent of the event."**

This research provides a review of the European Union's fundamental idea of being united through mutual support and understanding. It is undeniable that Muslims and Islam are present in Europe and can therefore be understood as parts of this system. Furthermore, with regard to the increasing number of Islamist terrorist attacks throughout the world, it is of utmost importance that the public differentiates between a minority of extremists and the majority of peaceful Muslims (Esposito/Mogahed, 2007: 27). As a result, this field of research is not only of fruitful character for European Studies, but may generate new knowledge that is yet unknown. The thesis is a deductive way of qualitative research. Moreover, it is an explanatory, theory testing approach. At first, the theoretical framework is presented, starting with the previously mentioned Orientalism theory. However, it is based on different international relations than the current ones. Thus, a more recent perspective is demonstrated in the subsequent section, leading to the introduction of the term Islamophobia. Thereafter, a connection between Orientalism and Islamophobia is proposed. Next, the media is presented, followed by insights into British newspaper coverage of Muslims and Islam. Valid and reliable findings are ensured through a transparent methodological discussion. This includes the introduction of the research design and the methods of data collection and data analysis, resulting in a coding guideline for the newspaper articles. The suggested categories are premised on the theoretical findings of chapter two. The data set utilized for the thesis are articles published by the *Daily Telegraph*, which are evaluated qualitatively. Thus, they can be classified into qualitative data. Then, the analysis of the positively as well as negatively connoted event is presented. Here, the articles are classified into the previously defined categories. The detected results are then utilized to get to the examination of the proposed connection between Islamophobia and Orientalism. In the end, the main findings are concluded and implications are stated.

2. Theoretical Framework

The following chapter provides a theoretical framework for the analysis of the given subject, derived from the research question. Therefore, the two terms, Orientalism and Islamophobia, are introduced and connected. Furthermore, the media and more specifically British media are described. The purpose of this chapter is to present the different variables of the research question, their connection and framework, while subquestions are examined. The first subquestion is based on the assumption that the world is often divided into West and East. Throughout the next paragraphs it will get obvious that the East is strongly associated with Islam[1], leading to the following subquestion: How is the distinction between West and East or West and Islam justified?

2.1 Roots of Orientalism

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). However, Edward Said and various other scholars, redefined the term as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the times) 'the Occident" (Said, 1991 (first published in 1978)[2]: 2). This being said, the purpose of this section is to view the previously posed subquestion from the perspective of Orientalism. It is of special interest to understand the historical aspects the West/East dichotomy is based on. This point is sought to be made by demonstrating Said's line of argumentation. Throughout the book Said describes how so-called Orientalists who claimed to have knowledge about culture and language of the Eastern area, together with the colonial rulers created the Orient and legitimized its colonialization (ibid.: 2). 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 revaluate the colonial rulers as "rational, peaceful, liberal, logical [...]" (Said, 1991: 49). This distinction is even taken to an over- and subordination relationship by contrasting 'Us', meaning superior Westerners and 'They', meaning inferior Orientals (Said, 1991: 45), resulting in an unresolvable dichotomy between East/Islam and West (Jung, 2011: 9; Richardson, 2004: 5 f.)[3]. After the British and French colonial era ended, the United States of America took up their place (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). Thus, in addition to colonialism, imperialism goes in line with Western hegemony (ibid.: 9).

Therefore, the subquestion can be answered on the basis of Orientalism: The Orientalists justify the distinction between Orient and Occident through books and articles about the Orient. Said establishes a line of argumentation, by strikingly postulating that the Orientalists

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[1] It is important to note that terms like 'West' and 'Islam' as well as 'East' are enormous generalizations but "to get away from such simplifications is, however, virtually impossible" (Halliday, 1999: 893).
[2] From now on quoted with the year 1991.
[3] As one can imagine the definition's reinterpretation of Orientalism as well as Edward Said's book itself openly attacking European and American hegemony ignited a still ongoing debate, which ranges from "generally sympathetic, but critical" to "generally opposed" (Macfie, 2002: 4).

claimed to know more about Islam and the Orientals than the Orientals knew about themselves (Said, 1991: 35). Next, these Orientalists are understood to provide arguments for "colonizing and suppressing Islam" (Said, 1985: 99), resulting in the legitimization of colonialization. Besides the colonialization, the Oriental Other had "a special role to play *inside* Europe" (Said, 1991: 71; emphasis in original). This thought can be carried on 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).

2.1.1 West vs. Islam: A More Modern Perspective

The rising number of Muslim immigrants, especially from former European colonies as well as the Iranian revolution, increased the Western awareness of the Orient, East and Islam (Esposito, 2011: 75; Albrecht, 2011: 6). Consequently, Islam, which used to be a distant religion, started to become visible in Europe[4] (El-Gallal, 2014: 103). Today, the view of Islam is often sceptical to hostile (Bielefeldt, 2013: 369). This section aims at viewing the West/East dichotomy from today's perspective with Said's hypotheses in mind. Therefore, the purpose is to answer the subquestion with reference to the current circumstances. Here, it is relevant to expand the understanding of the West/East dichotomy, without colonialization in place. Generally, the understanding of West and East includes geography, culture and civil society and sometimes the previously categorization into 'Us' and 'the Other' (Hidir: 2013: 183). The debate changed throughout the years and at one point understood Muslims as "the enemy 'within'" (Allen, 2007: 152[5]). Referring to Muslims as 'the enemy' gives an insight into religious intolerance that is, according to El-Gallal (2014), on the rise (El-Gallal, 2014: 13).

One way to answer the subquestion could be the postcolonial approach. According to Albrecht (2011), postcolonial theories such as Edward Said's Orientalism "emerged out of an anti-colonial resistance discourse" (Albrecht, 2011: 2). Even though time has passed since Said's Orientalism, the postcolonial discourse is still in place. Within this discourse it is of interest to find out whether colonial dichotomies are still continued (ibid.: 4). Moreover, postcolonialism "is working against the backdrop" (ibid.) of violent terrorist attacks that are often equated with Islamism. As a result, postcolonial discourses identify the Western understanding of the world as racialized (ibid.: 7). Thus, following Albrecht's (2011) line of argumentation, it becomes obvious that postcolonialism faces and criticizes the Western hegemony as well as the attached fearful 'Othering' against Islam (ibid.). Together with the increasing nationalism, it can be assumed that the 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 f.). It needs to be noted that one can also refer to other political programs that advocate the precise opposite. Moreover, it also needs to be taken into account that the religious intolerance does not explicitly face Islam. In general, "[r]eligious intolerance stems from a lack of respect for the beliefs of others" (ibid.: 13). However, Islam is predominantly mentioned within such debates (ibid.: 20). Based on findings by Bottici and Kühner (2012) one can conclude that this debate results in "a Eurocentric and negatively biased representation of Middle East, through which Islam is

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[4] Today, there are more than 20 million Muslims resident in Europe (Esposito, 2007: 74 f.).
[5] The quote was slightly changed to correctly integrate it into the sentence.

portrayed as a fixed blueprint [...]" (Bottici/Kühner, 2012: 106). Often the need for common terminology emerges, resulting in the coinage of the term Islamophobia.

2.1.2 Islamophobia in the Context of Orientalism

Islamophobia, besides Orientalism, is the main variable of the present research question. Presenting a clear definition is essential, in order to accurately link Orientalism and Islamophobia. Hence, this section serves as a pre-step until the two concepts are connected. This step was previously designated to be yet unexamined by the scholarship. In order to understand possible overlaps between Orientalism and Islamophobia, this section needs to be linked to the previous findings, which is ensured through the examination of the additional subquestion: To what extent does the phenomenon of Islamophobia embrace the distinction between Islam and the West?

Islamophobia can be understood as "unfounded hostility towards Islam" (Runnymede Trust, 1997:4) and is "a form of racism as well as unfounded fear of Islam" (Marranci, 2004: 105)[6]. There is not one overarching definition in place; rather there is an ongoing debate about the understanding of Islamophobia[7]. For Zaki (2011) however the debate is clear: Islamophobia is "endemic in the European psyche" (Zaki, 2011:4). Apparently, Zaki understands Europe as a constituting factor of Islamophobia. Within his line of argumentation, he concludes that Islam has been singled out for a special treatment, because it "poses a challenge to the West in a way that no other belief system in the world does" (ibid.: 5 f.). Moreover, it is strikingly postulated that there is no comparable debate or term for other religions (ibid.). This depiction needs to be critically assessed. Firstly, islamophobic statements need to be seen from a more differentiated perspective, meaning opinions, which are anti-religious per se, are different from those that are exclusively anti-Islam (Allen, 2007: 150). In comparison to the first, for example anti-Semitism is just as present as Islamophobia (ibid.: 159). Through the above-mentioned trend towards right-wing parties in the EU, the rise of Islamophobia as well as anti-Semitism ensued (ibid.). Finally, acknowledging the mere fact that other religious groups such as Jews and Christians are also victims of religious intolerance.

In order to answer the subquestion Marranci (2004) can be quoted who claims that "[i]t is Islamophobia [...] that prevents Muslims to become of Europe" (Marranci, 2004: 112). That is because Muslims are asked to become a part of Europe, while they are confronted with a "Christocentric European environment" (ibid.). Thus, Muslims are asked to 'find their way' into a society that may tolerate, but not accept or support Islam. Such a strong statement can be relativized by more recent literature. El-Gallal (2014) suggests the reason for Islamophobia to be based on an identity crisis that emerges out of increasing supranationalization and globalization and the consequential process of immigration (El-Gallal, 2014: 103 f.). However, both scholars refer to Europe as a contributing factor. Therefore, it can be assumed that the distinction of West and Islam can also be found in the concept of Islamophobia.

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[6] Marranci (2004) comes to the conclusion that Islamophobia must more accurately be seen as "hostility for which reasons may exist" (Marranci, 2004: 112 f.). Her findings are further discussed in the subsequent paragraph as well as the conclusion of this thesis.
[7] It is inter alia discussed whether the attack is really directed at Islam or rather at Muslims, bringing the introduction of the term 'anti-Muslimism' to the foreground (Halliday, 1990: 898).

2.1.3 The Connection Between Orientalism and Islamophobia

This section aims at suggesting the yet undiscussed connection between Orientalism and Islamophobia. Recalling the main arguments of Said, Orientalists researched the Orient and published their findings, which provided arguments for the suppression of Islam[8]. Thus, the following connection results, inspired by Said's terminology: 'Orientalist journalists' publish their work in newspapers and therefore bring the topic into the public. The contents of the articles may provide arguments for Islamophobia. Furthermore, Said states that the Orientals did not have the opportunity to represent themselves. One has to bear in mind that in the present day, there are Muslim scientists as well as media coming from Islamic countries. Thus, Muslims can represent themselves, but in the European context, "broadsheet newspapers adopt a White outlook in their reporting, [...] talking to them *about* Muslims rather than assuming that they are talking *to* Muslims" (Richardson, 2004: 229; emphasis in original). Hence, it can be assumed that European newspapers leave little or no room for Muslims to represent themselves. Therefore others, e.g. journalists, represent them.

2.2 The Media's Role

The media "plays an important social role in our community with the ability to influence people" (Akbarzadeh/Smith, 2005: 1). This influence is utilized in domestic reports that revert to the above-mentioned "split between 'Islam' and 'the West'" (Richardson, 2004: 114), resulting in possible discriminations[9] of Muslims and Islam. Consequently, this section focuses on assessing whether the media takes up the West/East dichotomy. Moreover, it is questioned in how far this take-up is utilized to strengthen the reporting's argumentation. In order to reach this point, the previous findings provide a basis for the following. As already touched upon in the introduction, the emphasis lies on newspaper articles. It needs to be noted that newspapers are only a fraction of today's media landscape and that other sources, such as the internet, are much faster moving. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the reporting of newspapers has a high standing.

Content-wise, many factors decide on the reporting[10]. Generally, "*presupposed* 'Differences' between Muslim and non-Muslim, Islam and West" (Richardson, 2004: 75) are presented. These reports "are marked by 'Their' inferiority, negativity and threat" (ibid.), which strongly relates to the previous sections. Often the topics are reduced to terrorism, fundamentalism and subjugation of women (ibid.: 130). Comparable findings apply to the media coverage of Muslims and Islam in the British press. Richardson (2004) for example states that broadsheet newspapers, like the *Daily Telegraph*, divide the society into Briton and Muslim, which can be considered as a tool to distance the Britons from Muslims, even though they live in the same country (Richardson, 2004: 118).

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[8] Transferring this to the present day, the terminology of Said needs to be slightly revised. The following terms are suggested: Orientalists are among others seen as today's journalists that occupy themselves with the Muslim world and/or Islam, also called 'orientalist journalists'. Orientals will be given the term Muslims.

[9] Discrimination means unequal treatment on the basis of politically, socially, culturally or economically reasons (El-Gallal, 2014: 79).

[10] The journalists for example are "shaped by various social forces which contribute to their understanding of Muslims and Islam" (Akbarzadeh/Smith, 2005: 6). Moreover, newspapers "need to make profit" (Fowler, 1991: 20; cited in Richardson, 2004: 34). However, those processes cannot fully be reproduced and understood from the outside.

Here, a reference to the West/East dichotomy is detectable. The articles published in such newspapers are consumed by "predominantly educated, professional, economically and politically powerful individuals and groups" (ibid.: 36).

Important to note is that the "media is fluid and changing" (Akbarzadeh/Smith, 2005: 6), resulting in a constant conversion of the way in which Islam and Muslims are portrayed (ibid.). Influencing factors are developments of political and social circumstances, for example, increasing interstate relations, which can lead to more movement across increasingly fluid national borders. Furthermore, the occurrence of particular events can influence the way in which portrayal of Muslims and Islam as well as the media itself develops. As a result, the analysis of the thesis at hand can be affected. Possible threats are that the theory of Orientalism fits to one case example better than to the other and that the concepts of Orientalism and Islamophobia do not only serve to reveal particular power structures, but are utilized deliberately. These are aspects the author of the thesis bears in mind whenever own findings are presented. Therefore, a thorough analysis of newspaper coverage is indispensable. Firstly however, a short interim conclusion is needed, to sum up the key theoretical insights.

In the first section of this chapter the distinction and division of the world into West and East, based on geography, politics and culture, was introduced. Edward Said adopted this view in his seminal book Orientalism that found international relations to be unequal in terms of an over- and subordination of Orient and Occident, with the Occident colonizing the Orient. From a more modern perspective, it was found that postcolonialism still creates a discourse that faces the West/East dichotomy and works against backdrops of events, which are aligned with Islam. This perspective can be carried on to Islamophobia. Here, insights into hostility towards Islam were provided. Europe appears to be the model example of the ambiguity that emerges through the demand that Muslims and Islam should adapt, while intolerance may be in place. Thereafter, a connection between Orientalism and Islamophobia was proposed, in which 'orientalist journalists' are understood to provide arguments for Islamophobia. As a consequence, the media such as newspapers come into play. First insights showed that the media coverage of Muslims and Islam appears as discriminating on the grounds of 'Othering'. This observation needs to be examined with constant regard to possible changes in the media landscape, due to transnationalism. After the methodological steps are explained, the analysis chapter assesses whether this assumption proves true.

3. Research Methodology

In order to analyze the reporting of a newspaper, a clear methodological outline is needed. Important aspects such as validity and reliability are ensured through a comprehensible procedure. Therefore, the following paragraphs give an overview of the chosen research design. Moreover, the data collection method discovers explanations. This paragraph provides an insight into the archive of the electronic search engine LexisNexis as well as the explanation of the research question's case examples. In addition, the chosen time period of one week receives attention. Finally, the method of data analysis aims to create a basis for the analysis, in which eight steps are outlined. This section concludes with a coding guideline, in order to structure the data collection and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The chosen research design for this thesis is content analysis. It aims at answering "the classic question of communications research: 'Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?'" (Babbie, 2010: 360). The thesis at hand explicitly faces those questions. Therefore, content analysis is a well-suited research design. However, the term content analysis is yet extremely broad and can be minimized to "either qualitative or quantitative data" and can "be used in an inductive or deductive way" (Elo/Kyngäs, 2007: 109). Here, the deductive approach is utilized, which is due to the study being based on an existing theory and aiming at testing it in a different time setting as well as context. Additionally, the deductive content analysis can be further reduced to either formal structuring, typecasting structuring or scaled structuring (Mayring, 2010: 94 et seqq.). The scaled structuring is especially suitable for a study that analyzes the intensity of a phenomenon. This aspect is examined within the thesis at hand. Summed up, it is a suitable approach to analyze public opinion and its change. However, it also has weaknesses, for example the condition of a recorded text, which limits the possible sample (Babbie, 2010: 344). Additionally, as already mentioned, it is very broad, which may be problematic for a small research project or a bachelor thesis. Therefore, other research designs were considered. Another possible method would have been content structuring. This method is also a content analysis, focusing on extracting and summarizing particular content areas (Mayring, 2010: 94). However, the thesis at hand rather aims at examining the extent of a phenomenon than understanding contents with the help of summaries. Therefore, a classification into different scales, which is possible with the chosen research design, is a basic requirement for the analysis. Consequently, scaled structuring is the most suitable method for this research.

3.2 Method of Data Collection

The data collection was conducted from June 15, 2015 until June 20, 2015. The source for the data collection is the electronic search engine LexisNexis. The sample composes of 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 and due to the language skills of the author a British newspaper presented a fruitful source. Besides, almost half of the *Daily Telegraph*'s readership (47%) belongs to the A/B class, meaning the élite (Richardson, 2004: 36). Thus, it can be assumed that influential individuals

read this newspaper[11]. The articles that make up the sample are therefore not only read with regard to the categories, but possible impacts on opinion formation as well as on politics or economy will be in particular focus. The sample results through entering specific terms as well as a time limit. Those terms are 'Charlie Hebdo' and 'Tunisia'. Both events were of special interest in the past, for example the occurrences in Tunisia were connected to the Arab Spring[12]. As a result, it is assumed that the election in Tunisia is sufficiently covered by the *Daily Telegraph*. The election is understood as a positively connoted event, because it can be associated with convergence to democracy. This is of special interest, because Islam and the East are hardly represented in a positive way (Hafez, 2000: 7). Therefore, it is of special importance to examine whether the positively connoted event is represented in a negatively connoted way. The other event under study is the terrorist attack on the French satire magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*, in 2015[13]. This is of high relevance, because it may give further insight into the argumentation of the previously mentioned critics of Islam. Moreover, it occurred very recently and thus provides insights into the current reporting of the *Daily Telegraph*[14]. Even though there is one positively and one negatively connoted example, a set of most similar cases is assumed, due to the reasons introduced above.

For both events a time frame of one week was entered[15]. The time frames were: October 23, 2011 until October 30, 2011 for the search term 'Tunisia' and January 07, 2015 until January 14, 2015 for 'Charlie Hebdo'. This decision was based on the assumption that enough articles, considering different perspectives, are published within one week. This data collection method ensures that only relevant articles result. Consequently, a total sample of 51 articles results, which are thoroughly divided up into the article ID, the article's title, its date of release, the date of retrieval, the assigned category and an overall evaluation in a table, attached in the appendix (see appendix one).

3.3 Method of Data Analysis

After the data has been collected, one can evaluate it mostly using ordinal scale (Mayring, 2010: 101). Such a procedure can be utilized as an intensity analysis (ibid.), which will be conducted as illustrated in figure one. The different steps show the procedure of the whole analysis. The optional step seven was carried out, because the articles about the attack on

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[11] The reporting of the *Daily Telegraph* may intervene in the readership's opinion formation. These opinions, in a further step, may influence the decisions the individuals make in their daily lives, including their jobs. As a consequence, the *Daily Telegraph* may have a passive impact on politics, economy or other areas of the public domain, due to its readership.

[12] The Arab Spring was initiated in Tunisia in December 2010 when a vegetable seller burned himself, because he did not see any life perspective for him. This led to protests and demonstrations against the authoritarian regimes in countries like Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Syria (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Arabischer Frühling).

[13] This terrorist attack was traced back to an Islamic background and ended in the deaths of twelve people (France 24, *Charlie Hebdo* shooting).

[14] To ensure external validity it would have been interesting to examine a newspaper from an Eastern or Arab-Islamic country. Due to the language skills of the author, such an analysis cannot be conducted.

[15] In the case of Tunisia, it would have been of special interest to evaluate articles that were published before the election. It is to be expected that such articles report about the Arab Spring and its possibilities and threats. However, the other case example is not connected with previous occurrences. Thus, a time frame that includes articles before the events is not reasonable for both case examples.

Charlie Hebdo called for an especially thorough revision of the categories. Hence, two categories (four and five) were added (see figure two).

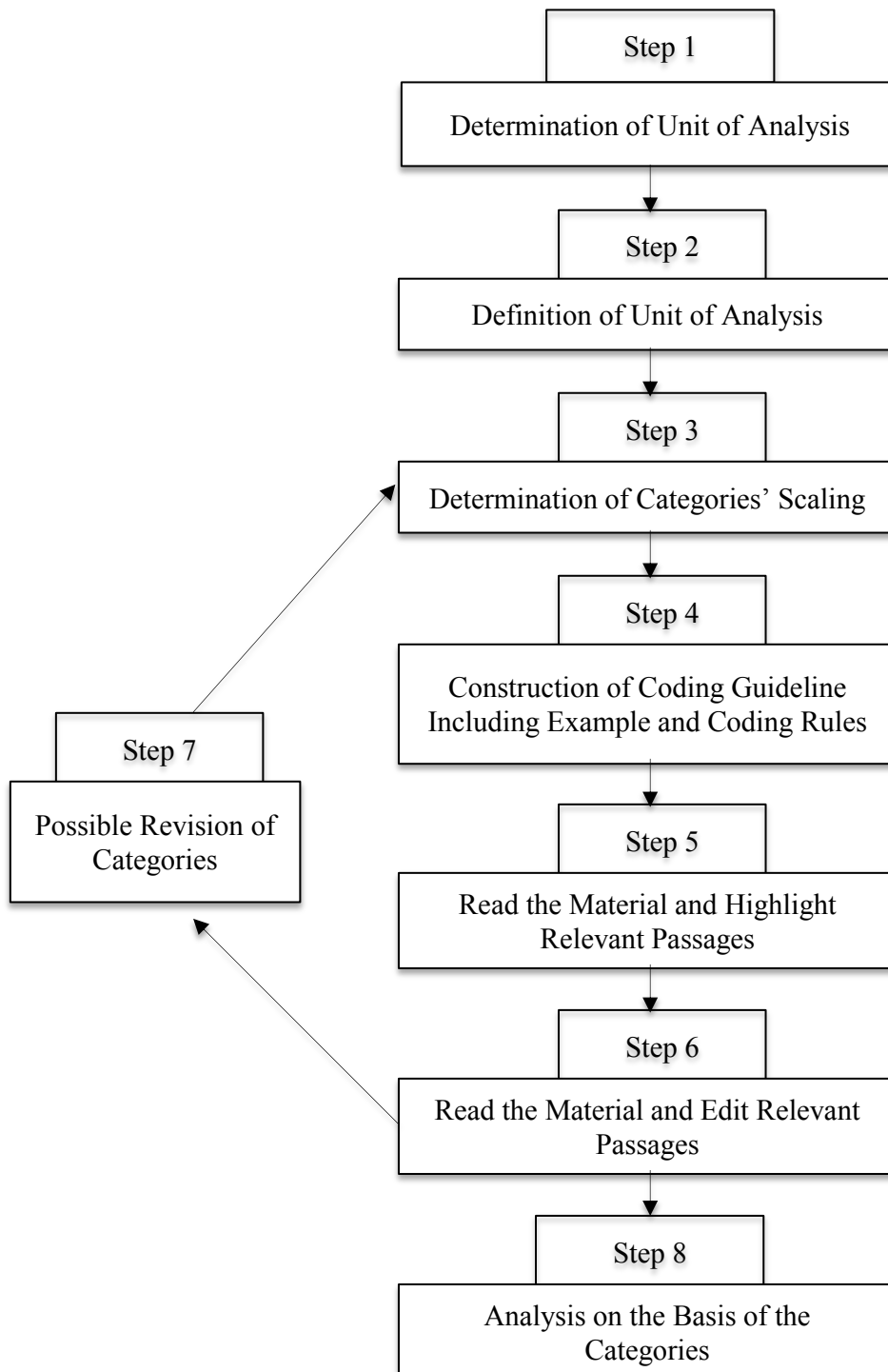| Step	Description
Step 1	Determination of Unit of Analysis
Step 2	Definition of Unit of Analysis
Step 3	Determination of Categories' Scaling
Step 4	Construction of Coding Guideline Including Example and Coding Rules
Step 7	Possible Revision of Categories
Step 5	Read the Material and Highlight Relevant Passages
Step 6	Read the Material and Edit Relevant Passages
Step 8	Analysis on the Basis of the Categories

Figure 1: Process of Content Analysis with Scaled Structuring
Source: Mayring, 2010: 102; the original language of the figure is German and was translated by the author

Figure two (see page 12) is the result of the fourth step listed above. It suggests categories, definitions and coding rules. The unit of analysis of the research question is the reporting of the *Daily Telegraph*. Yet, this needs to be further specified. Therefore, it is considered in the light of the dichotomy between West and East, defined in chapter two. The category's scaling

determines the extent to which the distinction is made. While the first category refers to the general geographical distinction, mentioned in the introductory section of chapter two, the second category refers to cultural, political and ideological meanings of West and East (see 2.1.1). Category three strongly relates to Said's Orientalism. In order to reflect on the common understanding that Muslims and Islam are also present in the West, category four was composed based on section 2.1.1. The last content-related category is category five. Even though the theoretical insights in chapter two do not emphasize a representation that introduces the possibility of unity independent from nationality and religion, this representation was found in the material and needed to be transferred into a category. Category six was included for articles that cannot be clearly assigned. The articles are assigned to the categories with the help of keywords, listed in the definition column of figure two. Additionally, the following terms, based on chapter two, are utilized for the analysis: Arabic world; West/East; Western/Eastern values; backwardness/irrationality vs. rationality/progressiveness; dangerous/threat vs. peace/peaceful behaviour; Muslim/Islam vs. British/European/Westerner; enemy/attacker (within); we vs. they; unity. In order to answer the research question, the coding guideline provides the framework for the qualitative content analysis. It needs to be noted that the example column is hypothetical and only utilized for clarification. The results of the content analysis are transferred into a next analytical step. They are compared with the previously proposed connection to contextualize the extent of Said's Orientalism with Islamophobia (see section 2.1.3).

Summarizing the above, chapter three gives an insight into the basic methodological steps. The most feasible research design for this thesis is a content analysis with scaled structuring. In contrast to other sorts of content analysis, it allows the analysis of a phenomenon's intensity. Consequently, with the help of scaled structuring the research question can be answered sufficiently. The procedure of this research design is outlined in figure one. If one follows the proposed steps, the results will be valid and reliable. Besides figure one, figure two proposes a coding guideline to classify the articles. In order to further ensure comprehensible results, the appendix provides a thorough overview of the 51 articles. The source of the analysis is the British broadsheet newspaper *Daily Telegraph*. This particular newspaper is assumed to have an impact on its mostly élite readership. Through the analysis of the reporting about the first free democratic election in Tunisia and the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo*, information and possible implications towards the theoretical insights of chapter two are observed. The way of representation is critically assessed in the following. Here, semantics play a crucial role. It needs to be noted that some analytical steps are made subjectively. Whenever subjective interpretations occur, it is clearly indicated. Furthermore, it needs to be taken into consideration that on the basis of two case examples and one newspaper no universally valid statements can be made. Consequently, the interpretation of the findings is within limits.

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 an over- and subordination relationship - One area is considered to be 'better' - more democratic/stable than the other
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 arguments 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	

Figure 2: Coding Guideline
Source: Own research

4. Analysis

The following chapter aims at analyzing the reporting about the two different case examples by means of their categorization. At first, the general election in Tunisia is in the focus. This section examines whether the positively connoted event is represented in a negative way. Thereafter, the reporting about the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo* is in the focus. Here, the author aims at providing an insight into possible patterns of representation. Both examples are considered under the viewpoint whether they are utilized as 'door openers' for other, more general debates. With this being stated, the analysis can test the connection of Orientalism and Islamophobia. This analytical step provides the basis for the final answering of the research question. However, before one examines the findings of the article's categorization, the composition of the sample is presented. The overall sample contains N=51 articles. The distribution for the sample is as follows: Seven articles for the election in Tunisia and 44 for the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo*[16]. This uneven distribution is owed in particular to the data collection method on LexisNexis, which only provided some of the *Daily Telegraph*'s articles. Another reason for the low take-up rate could be the absent interest in phenomena abroad (see section 2.1.1). The first free election in Tunisia is an event that 'happened elsewhere' than Europe. In contrast, the terrorist attack in France can be located within Europe, which might explain the higher take-up rate. However, these are only estimations.

4.1 The First Free Democratic Election in Tunisia

The following section seeks to give insights into the dynamics that lie behind the reporting about the election in Tunisia. Due to the small amount of reports that represent Islam in a positive manner (Hafez, 2000: 5), it is expected that the event is represented in a negatively biased way. In order to examine this assumption, the articles' categorizations as well as supportive quotations are stated, while the findings are connected to the key theoretical insights of chapter two. The figure below illustrates the distribution of the categories. Three out of seven articles make a geographical contrast. They position Tunisia in the Arab world (Articles 3, 6 & 7) and one refers to Libya as the neighbouring state (Article 3). Those articles were assigned to the first category (see appendix one). The fourth article however goes further than geographical localization. Category six is also represented three times. These articles simply report about the parties the Tunisians could elect. One extremely dominant topic within every article is the Islamist party *Ennahda* and the general rise of Islamist parties.

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[16] It needs to be added that for Tunisia 14 articles resulted. In three articles Tunisia was only mentioned in a subordinate clause. These articles did not report about the election, but resulted owing to the search term 'Tunisia'. Additionally, three articles were almost identical to other three articles. That is because sometimes more current information is added. Those small corrections left the majority of the text untouched. Here, the more current article was taken into the sample. A comparable procedure was performed for the *Charlie Hebdo* sample. The result of the search in the LexisNexis was 79 articles. 14 articles were updated versions of previous articles. The same exclusion rule like above was conducted. Moreover, letters to the editor were generally excluded, because this study aims at analyzing the reporting itself and not the reactions on it. A further reason for exclusion was the lack of 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

Figure 3: Distribution of Articles in the Tunisia Sample
Source: Own research

Referring to *Ennahda* the articles balance pro and contra 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 by *Ennahda* (Article 7, 24.10.2011). It becomes obvious that such worries are a serious matter, which is strengthened through the term 'dictatorship'. At first, the previously mentioned sceptical view of Islam may be strengthened (Bielefeldt, 2013: 369). However, the journalist quotes Mohammed Ammar as a counterpart who is satisfied when *Ennahda* wins the election (ibid.). Both voices are left uncommented. Nevertheless, one can assume that the *Daily Telegraph* does not position itself, by giving a voice to opponents as well as sympathizers. This assumption is confirmed in another article where violent protests after the election are described (Article 2, 28.10.2011). At first, 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 [...]" (ibid.). Here, both positions are included and again left uncommented. This is contradictory to the previously mentioned expectations of the article's content. With the help of pro and contra arguments, the journalists present a balanced view. Thus, Hafez's (2000) claim of non-balanced information is not accurate here. Moreover, the article often quotes individuals, in order to strengthen the statements. They range from politicians and analysts to individuals from the civil society. One can refer back to section 2.1 and Said's (1991) statement that the Orientals do not get the opportunity to represent themselves. The given articles falsify Said's argument. Various Muslims with different attitudes are quoted. Furthermore, it is unexpected that their importance is not weighed up against each other. Politicians as well as 'normal' individuals find voices.

Content-wise, the article assigned to category two mentions the possible impact the Islamist party may have on the constitution and thereby on the West. Besides, it refers to Egypt and Libya as countries in which Islamist parties are also on the rise. Thus, a geographical distinction between the West and countries located out of the West is made, followed by an association with Islam and Islamism. One needs to pay special attention to the terminology. Tunisia, Libya and Egypt cannot all be assigned to the geographical East. Nevertheless, they belong to the Orient, created by the colonial rulers. When one translates 'Orient' into 'East', it includes the Middle East, Far East and North Africa. However, this unclear terminology is

handled with care. In order to strengthen the apparent concern about the Islamist parties, the article gives an example of Libya's Islamist party that possibly introduces a "sharia government", leaving this term undefined (Article 4, 26.10.2015)[17]. Clearly, the author makes use of the ambiguity by going even further and stating that this form of government would be "the antithesis of the West's concept of personal liberty" (ibid.). Even though these statements are made in connection to the political development in Libya, the article utilizes it to make a concluding statement that "[t]here was always a danger that dark forces would lie behind the Arab awakening" (ibid.). As a result, a possible 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 in which the Arab Spring was present.

Referring to section 2.2, it becomes obvious that one of the 'typical' topics is taken up. The representation of a threatening Arab Spring may be utilized "to convey a sense of 'Their' negativity", leading to the conclusion that "'They are Muslims' and 'They have weapons'" (Richardson, 2004: 75). This is found to be ambiguous, because the Arab Spring is under other circumstances understood to be a positive development. One can allude to the paragraph in section 2.2 that presented possible developments of the media. It can be assumed that from today's perspective the Arab Spring would be seen as an opportunity. If that is the case, the statements of Richardson (2004) will not be correct. In short, the utilized quotations are generally refutable. Nevertheless, the given article serves as an example of a closed representation that was already discussed in section 2.2. One can derive from the previous posed quote that the rise of the Islamist parties possibly has long-term consequences for the rest of the world, meaning politics that are assumed to be an antithesis of the West. Such circumstances are seen to have an impact on the country and Arab world itself as well as the West that is threatened by "dark forces" (Article 4, 26.10.2015). This argumentation cannot be generalized to every article in the sample. For example the Arab Spring is also mentioned without negative association (see article 7, 24.10.2011). Nevertheless, all seven articles refer to the election and the win of *Ennahda*. Even though only one article clearly understands the win as threatening, the others assess it from different angles. Here, it is important not to exercise Orientalism by reading too much into article four. With regard to that, no over- and subordination is detectable.

According to Esposito (2001) the relationship between the West and Islam is challenging (Kalin/Esposito, 2001: 157). This can be transferred to Arab-Islamic countries. The article "Tunisians enjoy the fruit of the Arab Spring", for example, refers to Tunisia's reputation of the "Arab world's most progressive state" and the society's fear to lose this status with *Ennahda* in the lead (Article 7, 24.10.2011). Consequently, it seems to be desirable to be modern in terms of legislation. This can be further interpreted to the assumption that it is desirable to be 'as modern as the West' in order to ensure future cooperation. It is noted that these assumptions are not theoretically proven. However, it opens an interesting view on the interstate relations through some kind of a challenge between Arab-Islamic states. This is paradoxical, because on the one hand these countries pose a possible threat to the West.

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[17] Here, it is understood to mean a government with Islamic law, because "Muslims and non-Muslims have come to confuse and use the terms Sharia and Islamic law interchangeably" (Esposito/Mogahed, 2007: 52). Moreover, "Sharia is commonly depicted as a rigid and oppressive legal system" (ibid.).

On the other hand, interstate relations are strived for. Taken together, it can be said that the dominant tone in the reporting of Tunisia's election is unexpectedly neutral. Only one article was categorized as a report that utilizes the distinction of Islam and West to attach more than a geographical difference to these areas. However, it also needs to be mentioned that the articles do not only give an 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 only utilized as a stimulation to discuss *Ennahda*. Therefore, the sample rather assesses the outcome of the election and possible consequences for the society and other countries than the election itself.

This finding relates to section 2.2, where the media's dependency on 'selling stories' was presented. According to Hafez (2000) fundamentalism, violence and extremism "sell better than news about regular political events or social developments" (Hafez, 2000: 9). It cannot clearly be stated whether there were any provisions of the reporting about the elections. However, it gives insight into possible dynamics of the reporting. Overall, the articles do not represent the election as a threat, which is contradictory to the prior stated expectation. One can refer back to the previously posed hypothesis that assumes the reporting of both events to be negatively biased. This trend cannot be found here. However, that does not induce that the articles report about the case example in a positive way. It is more likely that 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 a democracy as an ideal (emphasis added by the author). Such a perspective can be considered as eurocentric. Besides, it is a form of postcolonialism (see 2.1.1) [18].

Even though describing the Arab Spring as a "dark force" seems to be judgemental, the overall discussion of the Islamist party does not end in a clear position taking. As a result, Richardson's (2004) claim that broadsheet newspapers "believe 'Muslim government' and free election of 'Muslim political parties' to be disadvantageous to the 'democracy' of Muslim countries" (Richardson, 2004: 89) is not accurate. 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 the media coverage are still visible. Generally, it is assumed that the readership builds an own attitude towards the election and the Islamist party. In what way the information provided in the articles intervene in the decision making process of for example politicians, cannot clearly be stated. In conclusion it can be said that even though the *Daily Telegraph* generally reported about the occurrences, it did not reflect on the positive impact it might have on the country and more specifically on the society.

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[18] These interpretations are results of subjective thought processes and will not receive further attentions. However, the factors that lie behind the decision of (non-) take up provide an interesting approach for further research.

4.2 The Terrorist Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*

In stark contrast to the first democratic election in Tunisia stands the terrorist attack on the French satire magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. The sample for the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo* contained N=44 articles. As one can derive from figure four the distribution of the categorized articles is wider than in section 4.1. In order to get a more detailed insight, the different categories and their assigned articles are observed in the course of the next paragraphs. By trying to get to the bottom of the consecutive topics, the author seeks to develop similar aspects as in section 4.1. The aim is to examine whether the event is utilized for other discussions. On the basis of the neutral reporting about the election in Tunisia, it is of interest if the negatively connoted event is also represented in a balanced way, which would also confirm the assumption that the role of the media has changed.

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

Figure 4: Distribution of Articles in the Charlie Hebdo Sample
Source: Own research

Generally, the majority of the articles discusses the identities of the offenders and clarifies the happenings step by step. Article eight was assigned to the first category. It generally reports about the life of one of the victims who was killed in the attack. Within this description, France is positioned in Europe for geographical reasons. However, in chapter two it was stated that distinctions often go beyond geography. This becomes apparent in the five articles assigned to category two. The articles report about terror organizations like al-Qaeda that are positioned in Eastern countries such as Yemen, Syria and Iraq (Article 9; Article 29 & Article 45). These particular articles build upon previous knowledge the reader has about al-Qaeda. No article includes a definition of al-Qaeda. Therefore, it is assumed that the reporting of the *Daily Telegraph* is based on previous occurrences that can be aligned with al-Qaeda. Furthermore, it is expected that its mainly élite readership can relate to this topic. Besides, it becomes obvious that reporting about a terror organization, which is assumably associated with violent attacks, such as 9/11, evokes a perception of terrorism and fundamentalism. This finding goes in line with the statement that domestic reports are limited to specific topics (see section 2.2). By quoting a Muslim institution, article 50 goes in line with Richardson (2004) and his claim that Islam and the West as well as Muslim and Westerner are perceived as two differing cultural camps (Richardson, 2004: 114). Al-Azhar is a prestigious centre of learning and commented 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, 14.01.2015; emphasis added by the author). 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, a paradox unfolds itself, because the journalist gives a voice to a Muslim institution, which however goes in line with his/her own argumentation. This finding provides an insight into the different processes that may influence the article's content. Moreover, it is a comparable ambiguity like Marranci (2004) and El-Gallal (2014) establish, concerning the inclusion of Islam into Europe (see section 2.1.2).

Within the articles, which were assigned to category three, phrases like "Western way of life" and "war of civilisations" appear (Article 10, 08.01.2015). Generally, the attack is utilized as a door opener for the general Islam vs. West debate. The common tone is that Islam and Islamists challenge the Western countries and societies by attacking their values, for example, freedom of expression. Consequently, a utilization of the event for a broader discussion is detected. This is strengthened through the usage of terms like "jihadists" and "extremists", which are also undefined (Article 10, 08.01.2015). The utilization of these terms, again, is build upon previous knowledge. According to that, the terminology is utilized in an unreflective manner until the word itself provokes a certain feeling. With Said (1997) such a representation can result in the transformation of the word Islam, which under other circumstances refers to a religion, into "a form of attack" (Said, 1997: xv). This process occurs, due to the journalist's responsibility of how the readership perceives such words, which proves the importance of a valid translation of culture. Content-wise, it can be stated that the four articles are appropriate 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 "moral victory" that is guaranteed (Article 26, 10.01.2015) as well as the "war of civilisation" in which France became a victim[19] (Article 10, 08.01.2015). These articles are examples of the postcolonial discourse that identifies the Western understanding of the world as racialized (Albrecht 2011: 7). Consequently, Albrecht's line of argumentation is detectable within four articles (see section 2.1.1).

However, as already stated above, one needs to consider that the debate is rather about Islam *in* the West (Esposito, 2011: 73; emphasis in original). Today, millions of Muslims live in the West and more specifically in Europe. These Muslims are, as previously mentioned, often seen as the Other. It is recognized that generally defining Muslims and Islam as the Other would also be a form of Orientalism. There are various Others, depending on the context. However, based on chapter two, the Other is understood to be Muslims or Islam within the given context. Allen (2007) even goes further by stating that the Muslim Other can be considered as an enemy (Allen, 2007: 152), adding a sharp tone to this debate. Therefore, it is of further interest whether this is also true for the *Daily Telegraph*'s reporting. Even though the thirteen articles were each assigned to category four, they differ from each other. There are two dominant topics within those articles. Firstly, the Other within is derived from the origin and language of the individuals. Examples are the description of the terrorists' French skills: "accentless French" (Article 11, 08.01.2015) and "speaks in French and stuttering Arabic" (Article 35, 12.01.2015). It seems contradictory that those violent individuals live in France, speak French even better than Arabic, but belong to a terrorist organization.

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[19] It is assumed that the journalist refers to Samuel P. Huntington's clash of civilizations and rewrites it into the war of civilizations.

Moreover, the origins of the terrorists and other Muslim individuals point out that they are the Other within: "Franco-Algerian" (Article 11, 08.01.2015), "native-born jihadists" (Article 18, 09.01.2015) and "French-Islamists" (Article 17, 09.01.2015). West and East or West and Islam are combined in such descriptions. However, they are not utilized in the context of peaceful coexistence, but to show that those individuals can be dangerous and that Islam is visible in Europe (El-Gallal, 2014: 103).

In comparison to the first, the second dominant topic are individuals that travelled to Eastern countries, such as Iraq and Syria, got radicalized there and return back to Europe. This development is portrayed as Europe's fear. Once again, terrorism is in the core of the reporting. Exemplary passages are: "Muslim extremists who travelled to Syria and Iraq [...] to fight would return home to plot carnage" (Article 11, 08.01.2015) 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, 09.01.2015). Words like 'home' and 'return' indicate that these individuals are resident in Europe. Here, Said's dichotomy is softened, because theoretically one can be both, living in the West, while having roots in the Middle East or North Africa. However, following the articles' arguments, the domestic circumstances are in complete contrast to the West. This discussion is utilized for generalizations across Europe. In articles 11, 18, 22, 24 and 25 the topic is dragged into Britain's national politics and the general public. The intensity of the discussion rises until article 22 claims that "al-Qaeda is planning a Paris-style terrorist atrocity against Britain [...]" (Article 22, 09.01.2015). In order to support this concrete threat, the article mentions "600 British jihadists" who "were either in Syria or had returned" (ibid.). These individuals do not only threaten Europe by their presence, but they are accused of "recruiting Muslims for jihad" around Britain (Article 25, 09.01.2015).

Such a representation may explain the anti-terrorism raids in mosques and other institutions as well as the development of the perception that Islam is often misunderstood (Belt, 2002: 77; cited in El-Gallal, 2014: 15). Once again, it is assumed that the journalists play a decisive role in those perceptions. The thirteen articles can therefore be considered as reinforcement of this development. One might assume that these representations are only reduced to particular groups such as extremists and Islamists. However, article 27 implies that Islam is the driving force of this terrorist attack. Moreover, the article pleads to stop the Islamisation of Europe. This statement is justified by examples of how Muslims "want to create a sort of state within our state" (Article 27, 10.01.2015). Additionally, Muslims, according to this article, want to change *our* laws and replace them with *their* laws (emphasis added by the author). This finding relates to section 2.2, in which it was stated that Muslims are represented as the inferior Other that threatens the Western values. The article concludes by saying that "there is a price for living in a free society, and all citizens must pay it" (ibid.). There are no further explanations what is meant by 'price'. It can only be assumed that the journalist asks Muslims to adapt to the given jurisdiction. If that is not in accordance to *their* own values, they cannot live with *us* (emphasis added by the author)[20]. This goes in line with the predominant representation "of the premodern horror of life in Muslim society" (Donnan/Stokes, 2002: 2). Consequently, it is not surprising that "[i]n the minds of many Westerners, Islam is

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[20] This statement is hyperbolical and rests upon a subjective interpretation. Nevertheless, without clear definitions, such perspectives may result.

synonymous with the Middle East; Muslim men with violence; and Muslim women with oppression" (El-Gallal, 2014: 109). Such discoveries question the development of the media towards a more differentiated view of Islam.

However, it is contradictory that five articles do not distinguish between nationality and religion. For example article 28 reminds the readership that it would be wrong to blame Muslims for the attack in France (Article 28, 10.01.2015). 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 rather keep together due to shared values than due to nationality (Article 16, 09.01.2015). Terms like 'We', 'Unity' and 'European solidarity' include Muslims in these articles. It is obvious that terrorism cannot simply be dismissed. However, Muslim organizations and individuals are important voices in the fight against it (Article 34, 12.01.2015). Thus, five articles of the sample serve as an antithesis of Said's Orient/Occident dichotomy. The most striking argument is given in article 39, which states the existing possibility "to be both Western and Muslim" (Article 39, 12.01.2015). These five articles support the assumption of a media landscape that is capable of quickly changing attitudes.

The articles that were assigned to the sixth category 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). In order to assign them to one particular category, the author of this thesis would have to subjectively interpret the arguments. Such a procedure may bias the validity. Nevertheless, it is noted that the sixth category includes the most articles. This can be an indicator that the categories are not sufficient. However, they are based on the theoretical findings. Moreover, a revision was undertaken after the first reading of the data. Hence, it needs to be assumed whether the case examples and the choice of the newspaper are not sufficient. For further research more newspapers could be included into the sample. An additional guarantee of validity would be achieved through adding a control variable, meaning an event that is of neutral character. All these adjustments yet require more time and a wider framework. In contrast to the positively connoted event, the terrorist attack is depicted in various ways. Here, the discussion of the event is also utilized for another debate. The happenings in France are transferred into the own country and are utilized for a discussion of more general topics like the position and role of Muslims in the British society. Consequently, the previously posed expectation is met. Moreover, ambiguities regarding the position taking of the media emerged, which serves as an additional prove of the assumptions, made in the second part of section 2.2.

4.3 The Extent of Islamophobia
The previous sections deal with a review and revision of Edward Said's Orientalism. This section however faces "unfounded hostility towards Islam" (Runnymede Trust, 1997: 4). The combination of Orientalism and Islamophobia represent a new perspective[21]. Consequently, it is expected that articles, which report in an 'orientalist tone' also discriminate Muslims on the

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[21] It needs to be mentioned that this analytical step rests upon subjective decisions. However, it will provide an insight into the reporting of the *Daily Telegraph* from another angle.

grounds of Islamophobia. This point is made through the assessment of the articles' argumentations and whether they predicate on Islam. The examination of the proposed combination in section 2.1.3 assists to make this point.

The journalists who report about the first free election in Tunisia can be considered as 'orientalist journalists'. They report about occurrences in Tunisia, which is a state in North Africa. Moreover, other countries as well as the Arab Spring are mentioned. In terms of the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo* the journalists mostly report about occurrences in France. Nevertheless, the reporting broaches the issue of Islam itself as well as conflicts in Eastern countries. Even though it is not as obvious as in the first case example, the journalists who report about the *Charlie Hebdo* attack are also considered to be 'orientalist journalists'. By publishing their articles in the *Daily Telegraph*, the topic becomes public knowledge. This representation is, following section 2.1.3, based on the assumption that European newspapers leave little or no room for Muslims to represent themselves. Looking at the case examples this assumption is not accurate. The articles about the election in Tunisia quote various individuals, mostly Muslims, from different political camps as well as from the Tunisian society. This shows an ambiguity, because on the one hand this representation clears up the perception of Muslims to be 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 represent themselves.

The reporting about the other case example is less evident. In the center of the articles are 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, 08.01.2015), and "If you attack the Caliphate and the Islamic State, you will be attacked" (Article 35, 12.01.2015). This finding relates to Saied (2007) who claims 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" (Saied et al. 2007). It is assumed that the perception of Muslims and Islam as barbaric, mentioned in chapter two, is strengthened, by quoting such individuals. Moreover, politicians, policemen and -women as well as analysts or other individuals from Europe are quoted far more often. This leads to the assumption that Muslims get the opportunity to represent themselves whenever the quote goes in line with the intended message. Here, a clear tendency towards 'orientalist journalists' is recognized. In what way such descriptions provide arguments for Islamophobia is not as obvious[22]. Neither in the reporting about the election, nor in the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, a clear tendency is present. One article however shows a clear picture. The fourth article was assigned to category two and states the Arab Spring to be a possible danger. Moreover, a sharia government is understood as an antithesis to the West (Article 4, 26.10.2015). Readers may take these representations as arguments for Islamophobia, because the arguments strongly rely on Islam as an intermediate element. However, this is an extreme example and the overall impression of the sample does

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[22] The next analytical steps need to be linked to the categories. Articles that were assigned to categories three and four are assumed to provide arguments for Islamophobia. This assumption is based on the category's definitions. Category five is understood to prove the assumption that 'orientalist journalists' provide arguments for Islamophobia wrong. That is due to the fact that when an article reports about unity, Muslims or Islam are not treated differently. Thus, hostility towards Islam is not expected. Categories one, two and six are left out, because they neither place an ideological meaning on Islam, nor understand the society as united.

not indicate on islamophobic attitudes. Thus, the *Daily Telegraph* does not provide arguments for Islamophobia by means of the representation of the first free democratic election in Tunisia.

As already mentioned in section 4.2, the sample of the articles about the *Charlie Hebdo* attack is more diverse. The articles assigned to categories three and four highly outweigh the articles present in the fifth category. The most striking example is given in article 33. 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 (Article 33, 10.01.2015)[23]. It is important to note that the journalist 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/Mogahed, 2007: 27). This is a strong sign for a reporting that strengthens hostility towards Islam. However, it also needs to be noted that the remaining articles in the sample do not show such a clear tendency. Therefore, the articles that indicate on 'orientalist journalists' who provide arguments for Islamophobia cannot be generalized to the whole sample. Consequently, the connection between Orientalism and Islamophobia needs to be revised: 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. By publishing such articles, the topic is introduced to the public. The readership utilizes this information for the formation of opinion and is, in some cases, equipped with arguments for a discrimination of Muslims and Islam, based on unfounded hostility.

In conclusion it can be said that the analysis above aims at demonstrating the evaluation of the 51 articles, which were evaluated for this thesis. By the analysis of the articles about the first free election in Tunisia, an ambiguity unfolds. The individual articles include different views and arguments of the Tunisian society. On the contrary, the reporting rather describes the rise of Islamist parties in Tunisia and other countries. A clear attitude cannot be detected. However, it is assumed that a normally positively connoted event is utilized for discussions that only in part relate to the event itself. Nevertheless, the assumed representation of the inferior Muslim Other does not prove true. In contrast, the reporting about the terrorist attack on the French satire magazine *Charlie Hebdo* indicates such representations of Muslims and Islam as the inferior Other as well as the Other within. Besides, the expected utilization of the event for more general discussions proves true for both events. The findings of the first two sections are then applied on the previously proposed connection between Orientalism and Islamophobia. This analytical framework gives insight into the journalists' ways of purposeful usage of citations. Those representations yet do not provide arguments for Islamophobia in every case.

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[23] It needs to be noted that Amedy Coulibaly was not responsible for the *Charlie Hebdo* attack. Nevertheless, he was in close contact to the other offenders and simultaneously planned additional attacks. Therefore, the articles about the *Charlie Hebdo* attack also reported about Coulibaly.

5. Conclusion

After introducing general debates about divisions of the world into West and East as well as West and Islam, Edward Said's seminal book Orientalism was viewed from several components. Its main focus is on the British and French colonialism that dominated and subordinated the local society and created the so-called Orient through the writings of Orientalists who attempted to study it. By representing the Orientals as irrational, barbaric and violent, the Orientalists, mostly scholars, provided arguments for the oppression. Both, the colonialism and the Orientalists' works, created an unresolvable dichotomy between 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 since Orientalism was published and immigration as well as multiculturalism brought a more diversified world into being. As a result, different opinions on the new cultural and ethnical landscape emerge. One example is the coinage of the term Islamophobia. A combination of Orientalism and Islamophobia represents a new perspective in which the need to critically reflect a channel of opinion formation emerges. Thus, the role of the media in a possible discrimination against Muslims and Islam received attention. On the basis of the literature utilized for this thesis, comparable results to the Orientalism and Islamophobia sections were found. Yet, media coverage is fluid and capable of quickly changing attitudes. These three major components created a theoretical basis for the sections that followed.

A pre-step for the review of the theoretical findings was the methodological discussion. The first free democratic election in Tunisia offers a positively connoted character. In contrast, the terrorist attack on the French satire magazine *Charlie Hebdo* is considered to be a negatively connoted event. It is assumed that the event highly shapes the reporting of it. Here, a weakness of the previously posed hypothesis emerges, because it does not consider this fact. Moreover, it is assumed that the event even defines the outcome of the analysis. Consequently, the theory of Orientalism may rather be more useful in testing the current postcolonialism discourse than specific events. As a result, the hypothesis and the expectation of a most similar set of cases need to be falsified. It is important to note that neither the positively, nor the negatively connoted event do (not) clearly contrast between Westerner and Muslim. The findings are more diverse. However, on the basis of chapter two, other results were expected for the first democratic election in Tunisia. Recapitulatory, the positively connoted event is neutrally described through quotations of politicians and individuals from the civil society, which is contradictory to Hafez's (2000) claim that non-balanced information is in the core of newspaper articles. It is noted that the media landscape might have changed throughout the years. Yet, the more present findings of El-Gallal (2014) also speak for a one-sided coverage of Muslims and Islam. Surprisingly, this one-sided representation was not detected in the first part of the analysis, because different arguments from various individuals are represented in a balanced way, without a weighting. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the event is utilized to discuss another topic: The rise of Islamist parties. This result is assumed to be newly generated knowledge.

Moreover, one article concludes that the developments in the East pose a possible threat, which is strengthened with the help of undifferentiated utilization of specific terms.

Consequently, wrong perceptions result. This fact goes in line with the findings of Esposito and Mogahed (2007). Furthermore, such a representation can be inter alia the factor, causing Bielefeldt's (2013) claim that the common view of Islam is hostile. Even though the reporting complies with some of the theoretical findings, Edward Said's proposed over- and subordination is not detectable. Arguing with Said (1991), a representation that does not understand the East to be inferior is not Orientalism. Here, the author disagrees with Said. Muslims and Islam can be treated and represented as monolithic and dangerous without colonialization in place. Therefore, the statements of Albrecht (2011) 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 is traced to the temporal developments since Orientalism.

The contrasting negatively connoted event showed a more diverse distribution. Four articles were assigned to category three that highly relates to Said's Orientalism. Hence, these articles verify his statements by means of the reporting about the terrorist attack. This is complemented by the tied up category 'Other within', in which the Eastern or Muslim Other is located within the West. Due to the high representation of articles in this category, the author agrees with Esposito (2011) who claims that the debate should be about Islam in the West. Moreover, the previously detected trend of utilizing the event for another discussion is also present in this sample. On the basis of the terrorists' backgrounds, debates about returnees from Syria or Iraq, possible dangers for Britain as well as an Islamisation of Europe are opened. Those articles are considered to provide arguments for Islamophobia, because they treat Muslims and Islam differently from other people and faiths. This finding contrasts sharply with five articles that were assigned to category five. These understand the world as united through sharing the same values, independent of the nation and religion, which is considered to be additional knowledge to the findings in chapter two. Taken together, the results need to be critically assessed. Possibly, the reporting of both events depended on further occurrences that refer to Muslims and Islam. In the case of Tunisia, the general positive character of the Arab Spring might have biased the reporting. Under other circumstances, the representation could have been different. The same applies for the *Charlie Hebdo* example. Since the rise of the terror organization Islamic State (IS), the print media seems to be dominated by this topic. Therefore, the generally negative perception of this topic might have influenced the coverage as a whole. Consequently, it needs to be assumed that additional events, or stated otherwise third variables, carry weight in the newspaper coverage of Muslims and Islam.

Finally, on the basis of these findings the research question can be answered. The reporting of the British newspaper *Daily Telegraph* establishes another West/East dichotomy than Said thought of. 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. El-Gallal (2014) detected an additional development, meaning increasing nationalism on the side of the Europeans. By means of this important fact, the extent is considered to be broad. However, this does not necessarily indicate that those articles provide arguments for

Islamophobia. Even though the articles often discriminate Muslims by means of unequal representation, the criticism of Allen (2007) who states that one needs to differentiate between anti-religious and anti-Islamic opinions is appropriate. Many of these representations do not solely rest upon Islam as a religion, but on religion in general. This finding also goes in line with general religious intolerance that is, according to El-Gallal (2014) on the rise. Hence, the connection between Islamophobia and Orientalism is rather low. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that journalists occupy a position that intervenes in the formation of opinion. Consequently, this position needs to be utilized for a representation of a more differentiated image of Islam. Based on the findings of the analysis, it is suggested that Orientalism and Islamophobia need to be viewed from another angle. The concept of Orientalism should develop further than the Orient/Occident dichotomy. Colonialization of the Orient is not present anymore. The world has developed into a close network, which cannot easily be understood, resulting in the emerging necessity of more differentiated literature in the scholarship. 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. The author agrees with both of these findings. However, such research projects seem to be exceptions. Hence, many publications do not only need to include the current development of the word structure, but methodological aspects such as the valid balancing of discourse and counter-discourse emerge to be worth of consideration. It is noted that Said's Orientalism as well as other sources, utilized for chapter two, have not recently been publicized. Nevertheless, even the more recent literature seems to be caught up in postcolonial structures. As a result, it is suggested that the discourse develops towards a distinction between closed and open societies. It cannot be stated clearly to what category the current West would be assigned. However, it becomes clear that the West would not be associated exclusively with an open society. Thus, it remains to be seen whether Muslims will have the opportunity to get away from their 'label'. In order to contrast the people who understand Islam as a threatening religion as well as terrorists who utilize Islam to legitimize their terrorist attacks from the reality, I would like to end this thesis by quoting a sura:

"If they incline to peace, you should incline to it and trust in God. He is the Hearer and the Knower" (Quran 8:61, translated by Jones, 1999).

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Appendix

Appendix 1: 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	- Short article about riots after the election
002	Protests flare in Tsunami as Islamist party wins first democratic election	28.10.2011	15.06.2015	6	- Presentation of protests with quotes of the leader of the Islamist party as counter arguments - Supports this statement by referring to analysts
003	We'll keep liberal laws, say Tunisia's Islamists	27.10.2011	15.06.2015	1	- Article refers to Libya as the neighbour state - Mentions differences between Tunisia's and Libya's Islamists
004	Resurgent Islamism	26.10.2011	15.06.2015	2	- Article mentions the possible impact of the Islamist party - Claims that Islamism is on the rise - Libya might introduce a 'sharia government', - Arab "awakening" is presented to be a possible danger
005	Tunisia starts coalition talks	26.10.2011	15.06.2015	6	- Article reports about possible coalition partners for Islamist party - Relationship between parties is expected to be consensual
006	Tunisian Islamists to gain huge victory in first elections of the Arab Spring	25.10.2011	15.06.2015	1	- Tunisia is located in the Arab world - Article reports about Islamist party and possible future scenarios

007	Tunisians enjoy the fruit of the Arab Spring	24.10.2011	15.06.2015	1	- Tunisia is located in the Arab world and referred to as the "Arab world's most progressive state" - Reflects on positive and negative voices towards the Islamist party
008	Cabu	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	1	- Positions France in Europe - Mentions the war in Algeria - Mainly about the life of the journalist Jean Cabu who was killed in the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*
009	A terrible price for freedom of speech	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	2	- States the terrorists' connection to al-Qaeda Yemen and simultaneously equates them with Islam/Islamists - Mentions colonial past of France - Reflects on Anti-Muslim attitudes - Does not take an unequivocal stand
010	I salute the Charlie Hebdo martyrs for their bravery	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	3	- Refers to the "Western way of life" and the "jihadists" loathing of that - Mentions the "war of civilizations" - Wants the "extremists" to accept the "liberal democracy" of the West

011	War on Freedom	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	4	- Assigns the terrorists to Algeria and France: "Franco-Algerian" - Refers to the European intelligence service's fear that extremists who travelled to eastern countries like Syria and Iraq would return and "plot carnage" - Mentions the terrorist threat level in Britain to be on the second-highest level
012	Magazine resolute in ridiculing extremists	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	3	- 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" → Quotes politicians
013	Le Pen aims for surge in support as she condemns 'murderous ideology'	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	6	- Short article about Front Nationale and how politician Marie Le Pen reacted towards the attack - Article does not take a stand on the statements
014	Attackers 'delinquents who were radicalised'	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	4	- Reports about the identities and lives of the terrorists - Refers to the Middle East and the war in Iraq as well as the Muslims who suffered from the war
015	Cartoons that lit the fuse of Islamist hatred	08.01.2015	16.06.2015	6	- Mentions al-Qaeda and that they put the editor of *Charlie Hebdo* on the wanted list → no clear location of al-Qaeda

016	We must have the freedom to cause offence	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	5	- Divides world into open and closed society - Frequent use of words like 'we', 'ours', 'enemy' → shared values decide about the categorization - Terrorists do not share these values, e.g. freedom of speech
017	Paris network that links gunmen to Isil	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	4	- Explains terrorists' backgrounds and their connection to other terrorists/organizations - Mentions "French Islamists", "Tunisian-Frenchman", "Frenchman of Algeria"
018	Again it appears security services have taken their eye off the ball	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	4	- 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" - Discusses the failure of French and British police to early recognize possible terrorists
019	18-year-old named by police who gave himself up remains in custody	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	6	- Short article about the third suspect - No reference to the origin of suspect
020	Killers go to ground in forest larger than Paris	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	6	- Reports about the three suspects and the search for them

021	'You want to kill me?' said policeman. 'OK chief …'	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	2	- Reports about the murder of the policeman who was a Muslim - Quotes a friend who claims that "they just saw the uniform and killed him", unimpressed by his religion, but his nationality - Mentions solidarity of the French people
022	Al-Qaeda plotting UK attack	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	4	- Threat is clearly located in Britain - Fear is justified with reference to 600 British jihadists who fought in Syria - Those "Islamic extremists" want "to harm the West"
023	Magazine print run up from 60,000 to a million	09.01.2014	17.06.2015	6	- Reports about next *Charlie Hebdo* publication - Quotes statements from a *Charlie Hebdo* columnist
024	The lessons of Paris must not be forgotten	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	4	- Situation in France is transferred to Britain - Criticizes the failure of French authorities - Mentions the British government's new attempt to "tackle the problem of returnees from overseas conflicts" - Comments on further adjustments, such as the "promotion of Western values"
025	Suspect linked to Finsbury Park Mosque	09.01.2015	17.06.2015	4	- Positions terrorism and recruitment of "Muslims for jihad" in Europe - Mentions a connection of the suspects to a mosque in Britain

026	We must remain reasonable, free and strong	10.01.2015	18.06.2015	3	- Reports about the terrorists' will to destabilize the West - Attacks need to be understood - Position of the West is ensured, because its moral victory is guaranteed"
027	Terrorism is working - we are not all living in a free society	10.01.2015	18.06.2015	4	- Distinguishes between the West and Muslim countries - Recognizes that millions of Muslims live in the West - "They" want to "Islamise the entire society" - States that there is a "price for living in a free society"
028	Orwellian words of wisdom	10.01.2015	18.06.2015	5	- Reminds the readers not to blame Muslims for the attack, by quoting George Orwell
029	Attack may be latest inspired by al-Qaeda propagandist	10.01.2015	18.06.2015	2	- Short article about connection between suspect and an al-Qaeda propagandist
030	Terror mentor's wife on benefits in Leicester	10.01.2015	18.06.2015	4	- Reports about the living conditions of the family of one of the suspect's mentors - Claims they receive benefits from the British state - Not only other within, but other that profits from being within - Possible financing of terrorists
031	Attacker's roots in jihadist group that met in a Paris park	10.01.2015	18.06.2015	6	- Reports about connection of the two suspects with a "closely-knit network of Islamist extremists" - Does not clearly refer to any distinction

032	Twin sieges bring three days of horror to a grisly end	10.01.2015	19.06.2015	6	- Detailed report about the hunt for the two Charlie Hebdo suspects - Also reports about a third terrorist - Does not mention the origins of the terrorists
033	PARIS 9/1: France's Terror Nightmare	10.01.2015	19.06.2015	4	- Short summary of the two coordinated sieges from the past day - Terrorists belong to al-Qaeda - Quotes David Cameron who claims to protect 'our' values - European solidarity with France creates a We-feeling
034	The Islamists want war, but it would be fatal if we fell for it	12.01.2015	19.06.2015	5	- Mentions words like 'we' and 'unity', including Muslims - Claims Muslim organizations and individuals to be an extremely important voice in the fight against terrorism
035	Supermarket killer's video of homage to Isil before his attack	12.01.2015	19.06.2015	4	- Reports about a video one of the terrorists recorded before the siege of a Jewish supermarket - In the video the terrorist speaks French better than Arabic - He is linked to ISIL and has close links to mosques in France
036	After a minute of silence, the chants started 'We are not afraid', they roared	12.01.2015	19.06.2015	6	- Considers the terrorist to be "home-grown Islamist terrorists" → strong argument for 'Other within' - Also gives arguments for unity that includes Muslims and Islam → position is not clear

037	Random shooting of jogger was killer's first act of terror	12.01.2015	19.06.2015	6	- Quotes the brother of one of the victims who claims that the terrorists were just terrorists, not Muslims - Not the religion is to blame for the attack → Leaves the quote uncommented
038	Liberty, equality, fraternity: France defies the terrorists	12.01.2015	19.06.2015	5	- Reports about the solidarity march in Paris - Many nationalities and religions were present → solidarity independent from the nation and religion - However solidarity by countries like Russia, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia is questioned
039	The lasting message of 'Nous sommes Charlie'	12.01.2015	19.06.2015	5	- States that it is possible to be both Muslim and Western - Reports about the mutual support and joint fight against terrorism
040	We often discussed al-Qaeda assaults, gunman's widow told police	12.01.2015	19.06.2015	6	- Reports about the wife of the supermarket attacker and her attitude towards Islam - Neither Islam nor the woman is attached to West/East
041	Muslims must shed the narrative of grievance	13.01.2015	19.06.2015	3	- Attacks due to insults to faith are considered to be "limited to Islamists" - Claims that position of Muslim community has changed from a pre-eminence to economic, political and military weakness

042	Why tougher terror measures inevitably fall by the wayside	13.01.2015	19.06.2015	6	- Discusses the legal acts that have been enacted after past terror attacks in Britain - Often not effective and "undermine the very freedoms we seek to defend"
043	Mohammed cartoons in UK Hebdo edition	13.01.2015	20.06.2015	6	- Reports about possible threats of next *Charlie Hebdo* publication - Magazine will also be sold in Britain → According to the UK distribution partners, the fear is unfounded
044	French streets flooded with 15,000 soldiers and police to guard against further assaults	13.01.2015	20.06.2015	6	- Expresses concerns about France's terror alert that "remained at its maximum level" - Many soldiers guard Jewish schools and Jewish as well as Muslim places of warship
045	Pope condemns 'deviant religion' for the attacks	13.01.2015	20.06.2015	2	- Positions Syria and Iraq in the Middle East, with association to Islam - Quotes the Pope who "blamed the spread of fundamentalist terrorism" to be the causing factor "of the violence tearing apart the Middle East"
046	Isil jihadist hackers hit at the heart of US military	13.01.2015	20.06.2015	4	- Cyber attack by ISIL on the US Central Command - Attack was used for propaganda of ISIL - Not geographically or culturally Other within, but technologically

047	This is a critical moment for the destinies of Britain and Europe	14.01.2015	20.06.2015	6	- Discussed the consequences of the 'Je suis Charlie' solidarity and possible influence on the political landscape in Europe and Britain - Unity vs. Diversity
048	'Vigilantes will thrive without a snoop'	14.01.2015	20.06.2015	4	- Discussion of political attitudes within Britain and possible future scenarios linked to laws → Disagreement in the political landscape - Refers to Iraq and Syria as reasons for terrorists in Britain - Mentions preachers of hate from the Middle East who preach in Britain
049	Hunt for terror cell spreads as suspects held in Bulgaria	14.01.2015	20.06.2015	6	- States threat to clearly come from inside as well as outside of the West → Other within - Not every Muslim is categorized as Other → Unity
050	Charlie Hebdo issue 'to make world laugh, not mourn'	14.01.2015	20.06.2015	2	- Creation process of new *Charlie Hebdo* issue is outlined - Quotes cartoonist to explain the caricatures - Quotes Muslim institution who claims that the cartoons hinder "the integration of Muslims into European and Western society"
051	Families united in grief as Paris and Jerusalem bury their dead	14.01.2015	20.06.2015	6	- Describes the funerals of the three police officers and four Jewish victims - Culprits are not further touched on

Source: Own research

Declaration of Academic Integrity

I hereby confirm that the present thesis "Orientalism and Islamophobia as Continuous Sources of Discrimination?" is solely my own work and that if any text passages or diagrams from books, papers, the internet or other sources or in any other way used, all references - including those found in electronic media - have been acknowledged and fully cited.

Place, Date   Signature

Münster, 16.07.2015   Maxie Wolf