To what extent does the Clash of Civilizations prevail in the media discourse of cartoon crises after 9/11? Using a Mimetic approach.

1. Introduction

Since the publication of Huntington's article "The Clash of Civilizations?" (1993) in Foreign Affairs, it has attracted a high amount of media attention and been discussed by various scholars (Inglehart and Norris 2002, 2003; Karim and Eid 2012; Berend 2002). According to Huntington (1993a, 1993b, 1996a, 1996b, 2000) world politics is entering into a new phase in the post-Cold War era predicting, that future issues on the global stage of politics will be the source of cultural conflicts and not primarily be economic or ideological. It is necessary to distinguish between the deployment of the paradigm as a theory in the scientific literature and as a media discourse in the mass media. Issues in the media coverage have been documented by researchers, academics and journalists themselves. The coverage of news is dominated by high levels of inaccuracies and sensationalism (McCombs & Shawn, 1993). Especially after 9/11 the issue has become more significant in respect to terrorism and cartoon crises. A decisive change is detectable in the perception on the threat of terrorism in the world population, it changed maybe even more than the actual reality (Pippa, 2003). Journalists do not only possess an agenda-setting role, but become a part of the process to define the social meaning of an event. The fine lines of journalistic standards between truth and objectivity are imbalanced.

Key media outlets have increasingly referred to the thesis after the 9/11 terrorist attack and made the conflicts between the West and the Islam, stereotyped as the West's radical other, a primary subject of it (Abrahamian, 2003; Ehteshami, 2007; Seib, 2004; Altheide 2007). The conflict potential between the two cultures is multidimensional, being most sensible about religious and cultural differences, leaving a fraught, estranged relationship full of distrust and ambiguity for the future (Funk and Said 2004). The distinguished value preferences manifest itself inter alia in western emphasized traditions of freedom of speech, press freedom and the use of satire. Especially in the public discourse on democracies, satire has an important function, as it reveals the values of a society and highlights its ills. For Western societies, as agents of the freedom of speech, satire is more than merely a rhetorical tool, it is a way of holding politicians responsible for their actions and a peaceful answer to violence and threats (Keane, 2008). As this interferes with the fundamentalist believe of the Islam, forbidding the expression of what they deem offensive of their culture, it puts a further constraint on the Western-Islamic relationship. The limits of freedom of expression and how to treat the Islam in the public sphere of democracy (Sturge, 2006), confesses itself most visible in the Charlie Hebdo attack noting the current climax of this conflict development.

While the thesis enjoys a relatively uncontested standing in the media, becoming the dominant source in explaining the September 11 attacks acknowledged by leading newspapers and journals such as the Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal, it is well criticized in the scientific literature. Scholars argue that Huntington overgeneralizes to a large extent his claims about a political world order, which is neither reflecting reality nor is full grasping the picture of present and future conflicts (Halper and Clarke, 2007). A culture of 1.2 billion Muslims have been urged into the "paradigm of an apocalyptic confrontation between two giant, static civilizations" (p.118). Scholars criticize the theory from an anthropological view on grounds of his imprecise conceptualization of civilizations (Said, 2001; Karim & Eid, 2012). Even the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Tony Blair offered a modification in 2007,

stating that we are not facing a clash between civilization but a clash about civilizations and a battle about modernity. Although the first cartoon controversy appeared in 1989, known as the Salman Rushdie Affair, its global importance has experienced an exponential growth after 9/11, even raising the question if a cartoon could trigger a third World War. It is surprising what an effect can be achieved with simple cartoons that seem on the first glance harmless, how they are able to generate turmoil's in many countries and develop an intense sensitivity of Muslims about the representation of their religion in the Western press.

This paper is therefore motivated by the increasing talk of an inevitable Clash of Civilizations between the West and the Islam. More specifically this paper deals with the research question *"To what extent does the Clash of Civilizations thesis prevail in the media discourse of cartoon crises after 9/11?"* This analysis aims at providing a clear picture on how cartoon crises and their subsequent aftermath have been reported in the media. A media analysis is the quintessence of understanding the public opinion formation of our society. The media developed into the most important immediate influence on opinions and is therefore the key to intercultural understanding. It is the media that is able to challenge prevailing attitudes and stereotypes regarding the "others" around the globe (Howard, Idriss & Amanat, 2006). The most crucial example for this is the "Clash of Civilizations". It is a theory highly discussed in both, the scientific literature and the media. Individuals are not naturally holding intellectual beliefs, instead they rather have emotional reactions to divisions propagated in the media. Previous research papers reveal that there is a knowledge gap and lack of common certainty on Huntington's CoC in respect to modern societal events. Researchers like Abrahamian (2003) have analyzed the role of the CoC-paradigm in the media before, coming to the conclusion that it has been utilized extensively by every sort of mainstream media after 9/11. Whether or not the theory has become political reality in the post-Cold War period, the CoC-paradigm does matter as an idea in the media influencing public opinions (Norris & Inglehart, 2002). This paper examines the prevailing of the thesis in a media discourse of recent cartoon crises after 9/11, while previous papers focused only on 9/11. It is expected to detect a change in the deployment of the theory and to find a more critical application of the theory in the media. This means a shift away from the reinforcing of stereotypes between cultures towards a greater sense of solidarity in the fight against the common enemy, global terrorism.

In order to accost this complex issue the research question is split into three sub-questions for the sake of a thoroughly analysis. First it needs to be addressed if a paradigm shift in the discourse on terrorism after 9/11 appeared, second the matter if the deployment of the thesis in a media discourse differs in respect to political affiliations of the specific newspaper is processed. The last sub-question asks which rival thesis have come to the fore. For the deconstruction of the main research question a media discourse analysis of six different newspapers of the United States and Europe will be combined with a mimetic approach famously associated with Rene Girard. He elaborates in his theory that mimesis is the most determining factor of human behavior and approaches how people become rivals through the aspiration of the same desires and this rivalry in turn has the potential to conduct into violence (Gallese, 2009; Garrels, 2005; McCormick 2006). Mimicry gives approaches of explanation for the societal importance of art and satire which is a genre of literature, so as sometimes performing or graphic arts, as a cartoon. An analysis of the research question approaching the mimesis is interesting because the role of the media in respect to cartoon crises needs to be fleshed out more detailed, especially its effects on our society. Mimetic behavior is a part of our daily lives and it makes therefore perfectly sense to approach a research question that deals

with events that have grown to one of the most crucial issues in international politics with this theory. With the result of the analysis we shall be able to make statements about the CoC theory as an imitative idea in a cartoon crisis media discourse. Explicit corollaries will be developed about the shifting power balances among civilizations. Furthermore it is aimed to discuss if the classification of a civilization-based world order can be confirmed in a cartoon crisis discourse. It is anticipated to show that a civilization based thinking is too rigid and not reality reflecting. The patterns of cohesion, conflict and integration/disintegration in a post-Cold war period are elaborated on more detailed for the sake of the research question. Rene Girard's mimesis is relevant for the answering of this research question, as it is able to explain how the CoC-paradigm works in a cartoon crisis media discourse. To what amount the Universalist pretensions of the West increase its conflict potential with the Islam and their unique value traditions is an aim of the thesis as well. The focus of these topics is however made in respect to the Theo van Gogh murder, the Danish cartoon controversy and the Charlie Hebdo attack.

Within the theoretical framework the answer to this research question and its related matters possesses an important practical relevance for EU policies. The CoC theory is discussed in the media with growing intensity after 9/11 and an analysis as to what extent the theory is prevailing in a progressively rapid changing environment is of high value. Demands for global peace is growing but the differences between the worlds populations seem to become steadily irreconcilable. Western policies do not seem to avoid incidents as Charlie Hebdo and be able to reconcile freedom of expression with mutual respect for the Muslim world. Even before the attack on the French magazine a steady rise of xenophobic and anti-Islam sentiments have been observed among the European member states. Furthermore political parties that are located on the far-right on the political landscape, such as the French Front National, experienced an increased influence and voter-turnout in elections. After the attacks a high demand among the population has been drawn towards more efficient counterterrorism policies as well as modified security policies that have to be addressed by the European Parliament. Attempts of pursuing global peace can have counterproductive consequences when these attempts are founded on an illusory understanding of the world. The deployment of media as a tool to form public opinion is has an agenda setting power heavily influencing global politics (Green-Pedersen & Stubager, 2010). Within this new context it is nearby to assume that the EU is facing a new challenge. This challenge is not only concerned with the appropriate responses to terrorist attacks and violent revolts but also to combat growing Islamophobia among the population in Europe. It is expected to observe that the Clash of Civilizations exhibits limitations with regard to the Charlie Hebdo incident due to the creation of a greater sense of solidarity, extending over the borders of the different civilizations. Highlighting that Huntington's classification of the world into civilizations indeed is miss leading. Proofing that we went beyond the pure Clash of Civilizations has a very significant implication for EU policies to prevent further xenophobic feelings that could turn into an intensification of the conflict hindering cross-border interactions. The future of successful EU policies on fostering cross-border dialogue is depending on representative media outlets as they form public opinions.

2. Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of analyzing the proposed research question the chosen theoretical framework will outline the main elements of the Huntington thesis and discuss them critically in regard to their shortcomings and potential limitations. Furthermore approaching Rene Girard's mimetic theory, it aims at giving insight beyond the traditional knowledge contexts, which delivers a valuable explanatory dimension on the Huntington paradigm in a cartoon crisis media discourse. This framework merges pre-existing insights on the Huntington thesis, with the ability of mimetic theory to predict the outcomes of mimetic rivalry that is dominating human behavior since the existence of humankind. The approaching of mimesis will be analyzed towards its role in public media and how people form their opinions. More appropriate conclusions can be derived from this theoretical insight as it makes a change in media coverage about cartoon crises detectable. Rene Girard's mimetic theory has the potential to elaborate the vicious circle of violence and how the hatred between the Islam and the West has taken its roots. The various applications of the theory will allow for a thoroughly analysis from multiple angles. The context to examine the problem and to tackle the research gaps that appeared with the Charlie Hebdo incident is provided and should help to explore the proposed issue of the research intention. Contrary to the popularization and glorification of the paradigm in the mass media a framework is delivered, that explains the disparities between the critical responses to the paradigm and its popularization and almost termless application in the mass media. The media news coverage after 9/11 on terrorism has converged and assimilated towards the use of the CoC rhetoric, as an imitative idea in newspapers around the globe.

The clash of civilizations has become a single explanation for harassment feelings and terrorist attacks in the 21st century against the West. Therefore this framework shall give direction and impetus for re-evaluation of whether a paradigm shift in newspaper outlets has occurred after 9/11 in the context of cartoon controversies. The following theoretical framework is aimed at connecting the knowledge on Huntington and Mimetic theory in order to appraise the media discourse more critically. The complete theoretical framework consists out of five different sections whereas the last one is a conclusion part about the most influential insights the framework has delivered. The goal is to depict the changing conditions of cartoon crises after 9/11. This is done in the first section by lining out the most essential assumptions of the theory and its origin in Bernard Lewis's work of the year 1990 and the relation to Fukuyama's work about the End of History. A second section deals with a selected range of scientific literature that criticizes the Clash of Civilizations and thereof Huntington for the declarations he made. The criticism for this framework is subdivided into three different dimensions, a conceptual, an empirical and a moral dimension. In the third and fourth section the approach of mimetic theory is introduced. Most famously associated with the theory is Rene Girard but the scientific literature by Garrels (2009) and Gallese (2009) are predominantly used in this research paper. Despite its relation with Religion this theoretical part explains Mimesis in light of terrorism and cartoon crises. Here the focus is on observing the effects of mimesis on country interactions instead of only the behavior by individuals.

2.1 The Clash of Civilizations paradigm

The following section gives an overview of the main claims of the Clash of Civilizations paradigm and discusses them with references to influential authors of the respective field. In addition the theories origin and history are investigated for a proper understanding.

There has not been an article in the past decades that divided the intellectual community more than Samuel P. Huntington's paradigm of "The Clash of Civilizations?" (1993a), triggering an ongoing debate. The essence of his article and best-selling book "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order" (1996a) such as his following articles published in Foreign Affairs (1993b, 1996b, 2000) is the assumption that the fundamental source of conflict in the post- Cold War era will be of a cultural nature and not primarily economic or ideological. Although Huntington is the person most famously associated with the theory, he was not the first one that referred to the clash of civilizations. Bernard Lewis was the first author using this notion in his article "The roots of Muslim Rage" (1990), in which he focusses primarily on the clash between the Islam and the West. He characterizes this clash with the help of three different stages of successive defeat, where the first stage denotes the gradual loss of domination of the Islam, especially in regard to the growing power and influence of the West on the global political landscape. The second stage describes an era, where the growing influence of foreign political ideas undermine the perceptions of the Islam because they are basically associated with Western values. The third and final stage delineates the loss of dominance and power at the lowest stage, the stage of their own households, due to the emancipation of women. These different stages of defeat led to an inevitable outbreak of rage and rivalry (Kashnefi, 2013). Huntington expanded this theory to large scale conflicts and although he is relying his arguments as well to a large extent on the clash between the Islam and West, he divides the world into eight major civilizations that have clash potential and therefore refers to 28 different country dyads. A civilization, is defined as "the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes human from other species" (Huntington, 1993, p. 23). It is "a cultural entity with distinct cultures at different levels of heterogeneity" (Huntington, 1993a, p.24). Boundaries between the civilizations are overlapping and sometimes include sub-civilizations, hence they cannot be characterized as rigid. The differences between the civilizations are seen as more substantial than different ideologies and less easy to overcome as it goes down to the essence of who you are. Seven or eight major civilizations, namely the Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and depending on the future development the African civilization will dominate the level-playing field of the new political stage (Abrahamian, 2003).

The increasing amount of interactions across the different civilizations has led to "civilizational consciousness" (Huntington, 1993a, 1996a), which is the awareness of differences between them. Fault lines are replacing political and ideological boundaries or as Huntington puts it "the velvet curtain of culture replaced the iron curtain of ideology" (1993a, p.31). As the basis for cooperation and coalitions between countries the paradigm holds the Kin-Country syndrome as the main explanatory factor. If a country becomes involved in a war with people or nations of a different civilizational belonging, they will self-evidently rely on the support of countries that pertain to the same civilization. This was observable in the discourse of 9/11 when George W. Bush proclaimed the global war on terror (GWOT) and called upon other Western nations to support the United States (Bush, 2001). Conflicts within one civilization are less likely to escalate in violence within the same civilization than across them. It conducts in the presumption that world politics will primarily be the relation between the West and the Rest seeking to break with the Western hegemony of power. The West is currently at its peak of

power and the maintenance of the Western hegemony of power will lead to a clash between the other civilizations. Within this new world order Huntington foresees a dual, rather conflicting role for the West. On the one side the Western civilization acts as a growth booster at its peak of power, inspiring other nations to follow their lead and to assimilate, whereas it simultaneously generates the wish among non-Westerners to shape the world according to their own rules. This makes the West a target for violence motivated by civilizational consciousness (Huntington 1993, 1996 a).

Huntington wrote his article on the CoC as a response to his former student Francis Fukuyama who published the article "The End of History?" in 1989. Both aim to explain the new world order, making post-Cold war predictions. The Clash of Civilizations and the End of History are quite contradicting concerning their most fundamental presumptions. They agree that the collapse of the Soviet Union was a victory of freedom, a triumph of democracy and as a proof for the superiority of capitalism over socialism. This victory has been mostly attributed to the Western civilization that managed to end the struggle of dominance of the superpowers defining the conflict with its result of restructuring the political, economic and military alliances across the global stage of international relations. However contrary to Huntington, Fukuyama assumes that the world's history is coming to an end, every country gradually developing towards liberal democracy. According to him all the countercultures that circumvented a large-scale liberal democracy are defeated by now, henceforth no significant conflicts will emerge in the future. This contradicts the basic assumption of Huntington that major conflicts will appear between the eight world's largest civilizations predicting a less peaceful future for the global population.

2.2 Criticism

Huntington faced a profound amount of criticism throughout the years for his argumentations and claims in the Clash of Civilizations on several dimension. These critiques can be categorized into three different dimension, a conceptual, empirical and moral one. It is important to note that this criticism has been raised in the scientific literature and experienced less attention in the media. With its publication in 1993 his theory has even been largely rejected by the academic world as an exaggerating oversimplification, not even touching the reality of post-Cold War developments nor the essence of civilizations. This changed with the 9/11 terrorist attack, seen as a transitory moment in American history. It has shaped and is still shaping our view on the world in many areas, influencing policies around the globe, but also reflecting on the CoC-theory differently. It is regarded as the main empirical evidence for Huntington's theory. It is this moment that made the theory popularized in the media (Dunn, 2006).

The conceptual critique deals first with the weak classification of the world population into civilizations and the assumption that international politics is dominated by their cultural interests. Abrahamian (2003) claims that it is fundamentally misleading since politics is still made by governments which do not pursue cultural interests but national ones, coming closer to a "clash of interests" than a clash of civilizations. The categorization of civilizations is too general, as around one billion people are living in diverse Islamic nations with huge differences among them. The so called "Islamic civilization" contains Muslims that range on scales from moderate to radical; traditional to modern and conservative to liberal. The same holds true for the identification of a single Western Christianity that ignores cross-national differences.

Billions of people around the world are urged into civilizations constraining their individuality and reinforcing prejudices. The issue of oversimplification is acknowledged in line with unaddressed questions that are delivered by Huntington's conceptualizations. Who is to be included in one civilization and who is not remains vague and superficial, as it fails to grasp the complexity of human identities and relationships. A modification of the conceptual issue is offered in the "Clash of Ignorance" embedding inter-group relations and the observation, that contrary to Huntington, the different civilizations do not have to be inherently opposed to each other and cultural differences are unbridgeable (Inglehart & Norris 2002; 2003; Karim & Eid, 2002). For these weaknesses in his theory and rather controversial statements Huntington has been accused of being xenophobic and fascist, taking advantage of people's fears about the Muslim world after 9/11 (The Harvard Crimson, 2004). Furthermore critiques claim that he fails to predict the various degrees of flexibilities in the boundaries of civilizations, such as the possibility of civilizational conversion is fully missing. Neumayer and Plümper (2009) even go a step further and criticize not only the conceptualization of civilizations, but also the lacking definition for the term "clash". Clash means a variety of things to Huntington depending on the civilization dyad that he analyzes. According to the assumption that the future will be dominated by eight different civilizations it makes 28 different dyads that are not characterized by the same „clash". The dyad between the West and Japan is primarily described in economic terms whereas he refers to terrorism mostly in the relation to the Islamic civilization (Huntington, 1996b). This makes the deployment of the Clash of Civilizations random and means something whole different in Osama bin Laden's references compared to those of Western politicians although all are referencing the same theory.

One reason why the theory has become conventional wisdom in the media lies in the shortcomings of the conceptual framework. Most of the theories predictions are not empirically testable and useable as an umbrella term for almost every violent conflict in the world. In his book Huntington provides a network graphic with three degrees of conflict intensities (1996a, p. 245) to classify different pairs of civilizations with a varying level of conflict potential. The book was initially published to justify his theory with more extensive research and data, but gave more grounds for substantive empirical critique. Not only he characterized the 28 dyads in terms of different clashes but he does not even provide information for some dyads without elaborating if this means that they do not possess a conflict potential. The only civilization for which full information is provided for are dyads related to the West. Further almost every dyad that is related to the Islam is provided with information on their clash potential. This raises the question if his empirical evidence is systematically biased towards his final predictions, that non-Western civilizations become self-determining and Western nations attempt to maintain their political, economic and military dominance. The image of the clash between the "West against the Rest" such as the "West against the Islam" benefits from this lack of information (Nemayer & Plümper, 2009; Russet et al. 2000). Motivated by all these critiques Huntington tried to defend his claims in his article "Try Again: A Reply to Russett, Oneal & Cox" but he does not offer an explanation why information for specific country dyads are not provided and is only partially able to reject critiques (Huntington, 2000). Another empirical critique rejects his thesis on the ground that disputes between the West and the Rest were no more common than between or even within most other dyads. Empirical support for this accusation is delivered by the recent violent outbreak of the dispute about the peninsula Crimea between the Ukraine and Russia.

According to Huntington if civilization is what counts, then the likelihood of violence between members of one civilization should be low (1993a). In his article he rejects a range of critiques on the grounds that they overlock the fact that his thesis will unfold its full effect with the passing of time. His paradigm is concerned with an "interpretation of the evolution of global politics after the Cold War" (Huntington, 2000, p. 609), thus does the outbreak of the Crimean crisis display that we went beyond the clash of civilizations? In accordance with the weak conceptualization, civilizations can only be seen as useful tools to predict alliance patterns, but make a marginal contribution in understanding political institutions and their commercial interactions (Russet et al. 2000). Fault-lines constituting the different civilizations are not characterized by their attitudes concerning the values of democracy but those that are concerned with the issues of gender equality and sexual liberalization. This "sexual clash of civilizations" as Inglehart and Norris label it (2002; 2003, p.65) contradicts the assumption that "ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights and the separation of state and church have little support outside the West" (Huntington 1996b). To a large extent the idea of democracy is widely accepted among the members of the Islamic civilization but what is not accepted are their cultural norms of gender equality and sexual liberalization. This criticizes the paradigm not for the claim that culture matters as a potential clash point, but it is not democracy that displays the emerging gap (Inglehart & Norris, 2003).

The moral dimension of critique goes along with the other two dimensions and excoriates Huntington for overgeneralizing the world into a "black and white" or "good and evil" scheme. Inglehart and Norris (2002) reject him for this stigmatization of the world population into outdated dichotomous categorizations. This is not an appropriate analysis context for the post-Cold War world that is marked by increased interaction and communication among the civilizations in the discourse of globalization. Huntington grounds his claim that the weapon of terrorism is usually rooted in the Islam in the presumption that it is a "religion of the sword" (1996a, p.263). He is reinforcing cleavages without empirically observing that there exists an alternative approach to explain an upward trend of terrorism against the West. The increased military involvement of the West in the Islamic civilization makes them more prone to become potential targets. This goes in line with the claim that the GWOT fostered the formation of the terror militia ISIS that took the responsibility for the Charlie Hebdo shooting (Neumayer & Plümper, 2009). The paradigm offers a fragmented and harmful picture of the world, biased with stereotypical presumption about the religion and culture of the Islam (Said, 2003). It offers only a moderate explanatory system for the post-Cold War era that falls "nothing short of a call to arms" (Qureshi & Sells, 2003, p.2). Therefore we cannot rule out the opportunity that the empirically week conceptualization of the clash of civilizations has led to an intensification of conflicts as it creates prejudices instead of cleaning the air with sound scientific observations (Repphun, 2011).

Our history has been a history of wars and there is a strong tendency that this will not change in the near future. Religion has always played a major role in this respect but with the experiences of the past it is clear that Religion has never been able to bring the long desired peace, rather it contributed to the appearance of violence and generated major conflicts. Huntington therefore predicts that cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold war era. After the fall of communism many institutions have been challenged to redefine their tasks in the absence of the old threats, thus the US military as an example saw the need to cut down military expenditures. With the fall of the Berlin Wall Socialist parties suffered under a remarkable drop in membership and the Maastricht Treaty has

been formulated and laid the foundation for the subsequent European Union. All these changes are making it obvious that the previous Cold War era is over and past violent conflicts overcome, but the new era world politics is entering brings new conflicts, new challenges and new forms of violence. Huntington has very precise predictions for this era and has forecast many violent clashes, he offers an explanation model for future issues, but what his paradigm fails to predict is how this violence and hatred for each other is generated. He states that culture is the main source of conflict and limits culture to religion. That is the point where Girard's mimetic theory and his article "The violence and the Sacred" (1977) offers an analytical tool to explain the origins of rivalries between the different civilizations. Furthermore mimetic theory has the ability to explain how theories become popularized through imitation.

2.3 Mimetic theory and Religion

The theory of mimesis investigates human imitative behavior and provides an explanatory model in understanding the historical relationship between culture and religion. It explores the complexity of the relationship between violence, religion and modern society, such as it asserts that human beings are all mimetic creatures (Garrels, 2005; Gallese, 2009). Girard refers to mimetic principles as repetitive patterns of social relations which underlie a mechanism that defines all human relationships. These principles are not to be understood or recognized directly by the participants, they are part of the human sub-consciousness. According to which human beings are blind to the influence of the mediator in supplying them with desires, but also how the mediator shapes their opinions and views. A requirement to detect this influence of mimesis in our daily activities, is critical self-consciousness but for the majority of people the determine factor that motivate our desires becomes never obvious. Plato was among the first philosophers to describe the phenomenon of human behavior, but it was only in the beginning of the 1970s that empirical researchers have drawn their attention to it. A mimetic desire is generally understood as intrinsically leading to a negative behavior which is not in line with what Rene Girard (1965; 1977) anticipated in his initial explanation of the theory. He defines mimetic behavior in its work as the opening out of oneself, the ultimate sources of openness and capacity to enter into relationships with others. Mimesis can be everything but it can also built a framework for, social competition, rivalry and a high level of violence (Garrels, 2005). Girard furthermore claims that the culture of human identity is the basis of religion that ritualized itself in social violence referred to as the scapegoating mechanism (1977). He is convinced that "the origin of religion is rooted in violence" ritualized in violent religious practices such as inquisitions, crusades and self-mutilation.

Human history is characterized by the wish to desire what their fellow human beings desire, specified as acquisitive mimesis. Despite the inherent desire to demand what others wish for, it constitutes in addition the attention of others on oneself, to become the target by the desire of others. Demanded is not the value the desire itself has, but the extrinsic value it obtains when someone else desires it, is what matters. The Other is labelled as the mediator and the final result of this process is to become exactly as the mediator. This makes the conclusion plausible that the Self and the Other is undeniable connected with each other because the openness makes it a part of oneself. We are imitating what we see in others. This is not without consequence for the diversity of the social community, human beings are increasingly converging and become more identical to each other. However in the end, the more human's pursuit the same desire and are targeted by others, they rivals for social recognition. Boundaries are getting blurred and

violence is erected. The solution to this mimetic contagion that is able to inherent violence, is the scapegoat. The full amount of hatred that unloads among the social community is catalyzed on one individual or group of individuals. Restoring the social order is only achieved with the killing of the scapegoat, but first he has to be publicly framed for the unrest and violence. It is second-ranked and not important whether the scapegoat is de facto responsible or blamable, but it matters that the community is convinced of its guilt. The scapegoating mechanism works like an act of salvation or self-purification of that violence deemed in the community. Thus the scapegoat is at the same time responsible for the social unrest and the regained peace, he becomes the sacred (Gallese, 2009).

2.4 Mimesis in the light of Terrorism and Cartoon Crises

Mimetic behavior is not only applicable to individual desires and relationships but also to country interactions. Terrorism is presented as the ultimate result of competing interests between different countries, especially when it relates to acquisitive mimesis. This sort of behavior is noticeable when the desire to imitate a leading country is prevented which can be exemplified with an incapacity to perform similarly well as the mediator country (d'Artigues & Vignolo, 2003). Competition among countries in relation to mimetic theory is said to be a desire to imitate others, in order to obtain the same thing and to achieve this by means of violence if so required. The picture of terrorism and where it comes from can be somewhat misleading. Thinking of the reasons for terrorism in a rational way, one could argue that it is the result of differences between countries. In fact it is more the desire of convergence that makes terrorism an increasingly present phenomenon in our cultures. The relations and interactions between the West and the Islam builds very much on mimetic rivalry that reveals itself most dominantly in the 9/11 attacks. In this discourse the patterns of terrorism reveal a high degree of mimetic contagion. The terrorist attacks are consequently responded by a proclaimed GWOT by the Bush administration which is in its nature a mimetic response to terrorism. Delivering a mimetic response might have been in the interest of the terrorists but has also lead towards a vicious circle of violence. Empirical evidence for this increasing violence is Guantanamo Bay or as McCormick designates it a "mimetic overreaction" (2006, p.155). Prisoners have been abused, their human rights ignored and a counter-productive violence exaggerated. Torturing the imprisoned due to the hatred resulting from the attacks does not only reinforce violence but is also a crime against humanity undermining fundamental democratic values (McCormick, 2006). Mimesis reveals why the scapegoating mechanism after 9/11 did not lead to a "healing of violent outburst" described in his book that due to the 21st century technology the balancing mechanism of sacrifice rituals is lost. Violence can flow freely without restraints and nowadays violence reproduces itself and leads to an apocalyptical cycle of mimetic violence. Scandals such as the 9/11 or the Charlie Hebdo attacks elicits a mimetic crisis in which everyone turns against everyone. The crisis that is produced, is so strong and deep, that the world order as such is affected.

The issue of cartoons and the use of satire is growing into one of the hottest issues of international politics. Images travel across the world through many linguist borders easier than spoken or written words, reaching a much broader audience (Hansen, 2002). They are created by our imagination which are primarily the product of imitation because they are only a copy of reality, making mimesis6 a present concept in the cartoon controversy. The publication of

the Muhammad-cartoons in the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten and the Charlie Hebdo magazine are imitations of the Prophet himself, exaggerating the reality in their function of satire, mocking the religious beliefs of millions of Muslims. Charlie Hebdo is even called a tragedy of sacred (Ross, 2015). The method of the sacred is a method for the creation of social cohesion justifying the use of violence against other and according to Ross "the sacred is any belief that creates identity within a group over and against outsiders" (2015). In line with the Charlie Hebdo attack and foregone violent reactions to Muhammad cartoons and a representations of the Islam they deem as inappropriate many Christians are accusing the Islam of being fundamentally violent. This creates a sacred identity reinforcing the picture of "us" against "them" adding to the amount of sacred violence. Additional applications of mimetic theory are become especially obvious in the Charlie Hebdo case, as not only the magazine is mimetic in itself imitating religious and political leaders in their cartoons but also the reaction to the tragedy have been mimetic in their nature. The magazines contributors from cartoonists to editors and writers have become heroic symbols of the freedom of speech, with millions of people imitating them using the social media hashtag JesuisCharlie.

The relationship between violence and religions can be exhibited more detailed with mimetic theory. The Muslim world underwent many stages of development, they experienced retarding economically, politically and educationally. Especially in comparison with the West, mimetic rivalry has been kindled, desiring their power and prosperity the West possessed. Terrorist attacks are motivated by this perceived injustice, but mimetic rivalry is a much stronger factor. Girard explains how violence evolved into an essential component of modern society from the beginning of our history.

2.5 What has the theoretical framework delivered?

This theoretical framework lines out the most important assumptions of the CoC with the quintessence being that the fundamental source of conflict in the post-Cold War era will be of a cultural nature between seven or eight different civilizations. The increasing interactions between the different civilizations has led to civilizational consciousness. Furthermore fault lines are replacing political and ideological boundaries and predicts that conflicts within one civilization are less likely to result into violent conflicts. Critiques about Huntington's theory can be primarily categorized in three different dimension, a conceptual, empirical and moral dimension. He emphasizes that the fundamental change after the Cold War is that people can no longer changer their sides and switch loyalties, the conflict between civilizations goes down to the sensitive identity question of people. The identity of people is inherent and predominate their civilizational belonging. The CoC thesis does not explain the relation between violence and religion such as it gives no explanation for the popularization of the thesis in the media as a main explanatory source for terrorism. It is mimetic theory that answers these questions and offers a frame to interpret the dimensions the prevalence of the Clash of Civilizations thesis. Mimetic theory explains how conflicts and scandal brings the need to find a substitute for the unattainable desires that dominate human relations. The mechanism for restoring order is to blame the scapegoat, although 21st century technology and the mass media prevents this equilibrium. Apocalyptic violence seeks an end in sacrifice but never ends it. According to Girard mimetic desire is common to all cultures, the responses among them are however different.

This framework is aimed at organizing first ideas and at offering an explanatory model for the patterns of global terrorism that reveal itself in the post-Cold War era. It links mimetic contagion to the concept of terrorism that comes from an imitative behavior in human relationships and explains the role of imitation in the satire and cartoons. First assumptions for answering the research questions are clarified and arranged in a scientific debate. This framework can be valued as a starting point for discussions bodies of evidence that are later included in the main analysis. Furthermore these theoretical insights give the necessary impetus for the development of expectations for the sub-questions of the research question. These first expectations will be investigated more intensely in the analysis part of this paper. For the first sub-question expectations are stated as following:

> **E1**: A paradigm shift in the discourse on terrorism occurred as a result of the 9/11 traumata, increasing the public awareness for the issue of terrorism.

> **E2**: The paradigm shift has benefitted the deployment of the Clash of Civilizations in a media discourse.

The theoretical framework highlights the fundamental changes the 9/11 attack brought to the political landscape on various dimensions. The attack influenced the public view on the Islam and reinforced prejudices. The already intense and complicated relationship between the Islam and the West is shaped by this attack. As the first expectation for this sub-question assumes that a paradigm shift occurred the second expectation (**E2)** presumes that the Clash of Civilizations benefitted from this development in its media deployment. The second sub-question of the main research question deals with the possible influence of the political affiliations of a newspaper outlet on the deployment of the CoC-theory in a cartoon crisis media discourse. The newspaper outlets and their political classification on a right/left wing scale are listed in **Table 1** of the Annex. Based on the theoretical insights of the theory the following assumption is expected.

> **E3:** The Clash of Civilizations theory depends on the political affiliations of the newspaper outlets and is deployed more frequently in articles of conservative/right newspapers.

Right/conservative papers should in conclusion be more open for the Clash of civilizations and generally deploy the use explicitly or implicitly more extensively. Therefore it is expected that the CoC theory is on the contrary less frequently deployed in left wing newspapers. According to the theoretical assumptions the Süddeutsche Zeitung, the New York Times and the Guardian should be less enthusiastic about the CoC. Whether this first expectation forth second sub-question holds to be true will be discussed in the analysis section of this paper. The third and last sub-question deals with the aspect of which rival thesis have come to the fore. The expected result of the observations for this question is assumed as follows:

> **E4:** The main source of conflicts in the post-Cold War period is not predominantly depending upon cultural cleavages and the factor of different identities.

This expectation is rooted in the diverse criticism of the Clash of Civilizations in the current scientific literature that has also been presented in this chapter. The presumption of Huntington's post-Cold war order in terms of civilizations, characterized by cultural differences, is highly contested.

3. Research Methods

The following section is a framework or guide used to plan and analyze the research question and the corresponding three sub-questions. The aim is to offer a systematic plan of what will be the qualitative research method and how the data will be analyzed. The insights of the chosen literature depict the scientific relevance of investigating the CoC in a cartoon crisis media discourse with the use of a mimetic approach. The approach that will be used to analyze the research findings is a mimetic one, predominantly associated with Girard. In short the most integral connection between these two theories is first the usefulness of Mimesis to explain how the Clash of Civilizations is popularized in the media, such as its influence on the public opinion formation. Furthermore it is the issue of cartoon crises that has a direct relation with the imitative behavior that is a part of mimetic theory. A special relation and point of interest is the Charlie Hebdo attack. The following phenomenon of the JesuisCharlie hashtag in the social media and press has brought a new dimension towards the c6artoon issue und redefined pre-existing relationships. In this respect it will be analyzed, with the findings of the data collection, how mimesis can explain the developments after the attack and the influence on the prevalence of Huntington's theory.

3.1 Research Design

The Research Design section is dealing with the approach that is used for the Analysis of the Research Question, explaining the most important reasons for the selection of Mimesis. According to Garrels (2005) the current applications of mimesis are lacking two essential points, first the elementary role of how competition, rivalry and violence is generated and the complex relationship between violence, religion and the contemporary society. The second important application is the historical role of religious and cultural beliefs. Girard offers an explanatory model for empirical researchers how imitation is a foundation to these human phenomena and societal events. Thus, which roles does mimesis play in the clash of civilizations and its media discourse on cartoon crises? The tensions between the Islam and the West are not merely coming from its differences but of its similarities. In the course of globalizations the impact of the west on the Islamic culture has grown and it is self-explanatory that this has not been seen positively by the religious leaders (Girard, 2001). Despite the gradual decline of differences and the possibility to become more alike each other, both civilizations have the aim of seeking a high degree of global impact. What intensified this complicated relationship is the publishing of cartoons visualizing the Islamic prophet Muhammad in a satirical way. This cartoon issue attracted growing public attention, with the Danish cartoon crisis in 2005 and 2006, making headlines all over the world. It is an important part of the Western culture to raise voices critically against everything, including religion. As a characteristic of freedom of speech and a sign of a very open and free society, not only the Islamic Prophet became the target of satire or cartoons but also Christianity or popular political role models as Obama or Merkel. It is the essence of a liberal democracy. The Universalist approach the West has taken and trying to expand, meaning that their values should be universally applied to all other cultures, has created further issues. This is accepted within the West, but this sort of freedom that is exercised has never been a part of the Islamic tradition. To put it in different words, the West is a very open civilization whereas the Islam is a more closed one perceiving the mocking of the Prophet as blasphemous raising controversies on how

to display the Islam in the sphere of democracy with its essence being the freedom of expression.This is where the Clash of Civilizations is getting important, it has been utilized to explain the conflicts between the West and the Islam and became an imitating idea in the discourse of mass media platforms. For this purpose the main component of this research will be a newspaper analysis combined with a mimetic approach. The following sections will therefore deal with how the data or more precisely the newspapers and articles are selected and how the respective data will be analyzed.

3.1 Data Collection

This newspaper analysis deals with six different western newspaper outlets that have been selected to observe more closely if it is applicable to state that the Clash of Civilizations as a thesis is prevailing in the cartoon crisis media discourse. As representatives of the West respectively two newspapers are selected for the United States, Germany and the United Kingdom. In order to represent the diversity of newspapers that exist in Europe and due to their heterogeneity two countries and hence four newspapers have been selected, whereas in the United States only two have been. This is useful because the European population has no common language and the way daily events are covered in newspapers is much more fragmented compared to the United States. The newspapers in each country are not selected at random, but on an ideological right-left scale. For each country one right/conservative and one left wing newspaper is selected. This will have the advantage to see if there is a different deployment of the Clash of Civilizations with regard to ideology and political belonging. For the intention of a newspaper analysis only daily newspapers are selected. Despite the category of ideological belonging, the method of purposive sampling that is applied for the newspaper selection aims for typical cases. Elsewise this means that the most popular newspaper in each category and for each country will be selected according to their average daily circulation, to make sure that the published articles are not written for a specific audience. The six newspapers are represented in Table 1 of the Annex and can all be classified as national press. For Germany the Süddeutsche Zeitung (left-wing) and the Frankfurter Allgemeine (liberal-conservative) have been selected. The Süddeutsche Zeitung has a daily circulation of 559.287 supra-regional newspaper possessing a high influence on the opinion formation of the German population and has a distinctive cultural section. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on the other hand (Daily circulation of 477.407) is the German newspaper with the widest circulation abroad, delivering the newspaper to 148 countries every day. The two most significant newspaper outlets for the United States is first the New York Times (906.100 daily circulation) a conservative-right outlet has won more Pulizer Prizes than any other news organization and is ranked 39th in world circulation. The Washington Post (474.767 daily circulation) on the contrary, a left-wing newspaper is as well a significant information resource for the United States. The newspaper outlets that have been selected for the United Kingdom is first of all the Guardian (189.000) as a representative for a mainstream left-wing paper. It has the smallest daily circulation of the selected newspapers but is a member of a larger media group with international and online offshores. It has grown since its foundation from a regional-local newspaper towards a national paper, as such having a huge influence on the opinions of the British population. The last newspaper, the daily telegraph has a daily circulation of 523.048 and distributed in the United Kingdom and internationally. The newspaper is said to have close personal links between its editorial team and the conservative leadership of the Conservative party. The paper is characterized by a generally right-wing stand and influence over conservative activists.

These papers are considered as elite newspaper and among the largest media outlets in terms of circulation. The newspapers own in addition to their printed version an extensive online representation where most of the articles that have been published are available online, with the aim to reach an even larger audience. Newspapers have the reputation to improve the knowledge of their readers, making them aware of what is going on around them. Another advantage comes with the dual representation of newspapers in an online and printed version. Generally this is said to enhance the age range of the audience, as the printed version addresses an older readership and the online counterparts on the opposite younger people. Especially the effects of this dual representation is controversially discussed. It is observed that whereas print newspapers enhance the awareness and knowledge of people, its online version allows for a higher individual control of topics. This has the potential to cut down on the diversity of topics in newspapers as users choose a narrower topic range (Schönbach, De Waal, & Lauf, 2005). Furthermore it has to be retained that newspapers with a large readership, online and printed version, are designed to attract the interest of the mainstream society. Therefore the news coverage is different from those in small independent newspapers.

The Time period from which the data is collected is from 2004 till 2015, this specific time frame marks the appearance of the first case in 2004, the Theo van Gogh murder whereas the Charlie Hebdo case is the most recent event and marks therefore the end of the timespan in 2015. The Danish cartoon crisis reached its peak in 2006 and falls therefore in the time span between the mentioned cases. Although the first cartoon controversy, the Salman Rushdie affair appeared in 1989 the time frame starts 15 years later. This is due to the fact that first after 9/11 in 2001 the importance and intenseness of these issues has increased. Furthermore the Huntington Paradigm has been published in 1993 and recuperated after the attacks an enormous amount of attention in the mass media. The post 9/11 relations in the world are of a high importance and dealt primarily with the imaging of the Muslim population as a culture threatening others. This created an imagined identity in the media (Birkenstein; Froula & Randell, 2010). This fits seamlessly in the assumptions about the West/Islam conflict of Huntington. For the purpose of the analysis of the RQ this time frame includes the three most relevant cases after 9/11. Not to falsify the complete picture, there have been other cases related to the matter of a cartoon controversy but the selected one are the most representative ones. For each of the six newspapers four articles for each event will be analyzed, amounting to a total of 72 newspaper articles. These articles are selected randomly for each event, but they have to be shown as a result from the specific search engine from the newspaper outlets online representation. In **table 5** of the annex a detailed list of the selected articles can be found. The content of the newspaper article has to cover the respective event, thus article that only mentions the event as an example and are shown as a result of the article search for the event are not included. The length of the article varies but every article has at least 350 words. This is the most feasible data collection method for the proposed purpose and fits well into the theoretical framework. The case selection depends on the three most cartoon incidents after 9/11, the reference point for the transition national cartoon crises towards global ones. It is thereof important to select newspaper outlets that are considered as popular. Since the RQ question does not ask for the prevalence of the CoC in terms of a specific audience, but for the large mainstream audience. This is the only way to analyze if the theory has been handled as an imitative idea in a cartoon crisis media discourse. That the theory is largely criticized in the scientific literature is already observed and mentioned in detail in the theoretical framework.

3.2 Method of Data Analysis

In order to draw conclusion from the collected data a coding scheme is constructed with the relevant concepts derived from the theoretical framework of Huntington's Clash of Civilizations. The process of coding can be said to transform raw data into a standardized from that suits a valid analysis. The following table shows the coding scheme that is derived from the main assumptions of Huntington's CoC paradigm. Afterwards it will be explained how each individual concepts fits into the constructed framework.

Code	Explanation
Theo van Gogh, Charlie Hebdo & Danish cartoon crisis	The three events that are the subject of this research analysis
Culture	It is an integral part of the CoC as it refers to the predicted nature of future conflicts by Huntington
Values	They are a major clashing point in the relationship between the Islam and the West
Freedom of speech/Freedom of expression	This code is more specific than the forgone as it refers to the most discussed value in a cartoon crisis media discourse
Ideology	According to Huntington this is a declining conflict factor in the post-Cold War era
Economic	As ideology this code is a declining dominating factor for future conflicts and represents one of the major CoC assumptions
Clash	This code displays the famous CoC-rhetoric that this research aims to investigate in a cartoon crisis media discourse
War	It is an important prediction for the forecast relationship between the West and the Rest of the world
Power	According to the theory power is the reason for why the West will clash with other civilizations
Hatred	It is a part of the CoC rhetoric used in the media
Outrage	This code represents the CoC rhetoric and its presence hints towards the complicated relationship of the West and the Islam
Terrorism	It is the major issue addressed in relation to cartoon crises, as all the sampled events are related to terroristic activities
Civilization	It refers to the categorization of the world populations according to cultural groupings
Islam	This civilization is according to the paradigm the main subject of conflict with the West
West	Contrary it is stated that the West is the other civilization subjected to a high amount of future conflicts

| Violence | Huntington describes the Clash of civilizations not only as an cultural issue but also as an violent outburst |
| Political | Politics is as economic and ideology a declining factor for the characterization of future conflicts |

The data will be coded according to their manifest meaning. The first concept that will be coded for in each article is the event itself more specifically Theo van Gogh, Jyllands-Posten or Cartoon Controversy and Charlie Hebdo. One of the main assumption of the CoC paradigm is that future conflicts will be primarily of a cultural nature instead of ideological, economic or political, therefore it will be coded for the concepts of culture, ideology, economic and political. Furthermore the words values and Freedom of expression/ freedom of speech relate to the concept of culture. It is assumed by Huntington that a main clash point between the different civilizations are their different value preferences. Whereas the freedom of speech is an important part of the Western culture as a tool to enforce democracy it is seen as blasphemous in the Islamic culture when this freedom does not respect their religious traditions. Coding for the mentioned concepts will then show to what extent the events under study are framed within the conflict of values, in respect to the issue of cartoon crises the concept of freedom of expression is the most relevant one.

The last two main concepts are the strongest indicators for the use of the CoC and denote the general rhetoric of the theory. The first one is the main concept of clash for which the articles will be coded for, a clash denotes more than a mere conflict between different civilizations, it has a stronger denotation and is associated with Huntington's theory as he proclaims the violent clashes between the world's eight major civilizations. Related to this point are the concepts of power, war, hatred, outrage, violence and terrorism. They all indicate some sort of violent clash that go beyond a normal conflict. A violent clash comes close to a war as it is the case with the global war on terror after the 9/11 attack. The concept of power underlines the struggle for recognition and influence between the civilizations, according to Huntington the influence of the West or the so called Westernization increased the wish of the Islam to possess the same power as it continues to loose influence over their population. The concept of Civilizations constitutes the claim that these "clashes" will only appear within certain civilizations and in order to detect the prevalence of the CoC theory this concept is essential. To further define this concept it will be coded for the words "Islam" and "West" as they are the two civilizations that inherit the highest clash potential. Thus the total amount of words that will be coded for are 16.

3.3 Conclusion

The purpose of this research design is to give an explanation of the exact research methods that are used for the analysis of the research question and the data collection from which conclusions will derived of. The chosen methods are derived from the theoretical framework in order to support the aim of a thoroughly analysis. The approach featured in this design is a mimetic one. This is appropriate as it is closely related to the topic of the Research Question. Mimesis is generally associated with an imitative behavior, determining human relationships and country interactions. It is analyzed whether the Clash of Civilizations is an imitative ide in the media and particularly in respect to a cartoon crisis discourse. This issue has shown to inherit an

imitative behavior, usually featuring some sort of imitation e.g. of the Prophet Mohammad. The observed issues are the three mot discussed global cartoon controversies after 9/11, the Theo van Gogh murder, the Danish cartoon crisis and the Charlie Hebdo attack. This makes offers a time span for the research of 2004 till 2015. A total amount of 72 newspaper articles have been selected in six different newspaper outlets of the United Kingdom, The United States and Germany. These articles are analyzed in relation to the CoC's prevalence. For this sake a coding scheme of 16 different codes, reflecting the assumptions of the Huntington paradigm, has been constructed.

4. Analysis

The following section of this paper is aimed at giving a thorough analysis and discussion of the stated issue. The results of the newspaper discourse analysis will be presented and outlined together with the insights that have been delivered by the theoretical framework about the Clash of Civilizations and the mimetic theory. In the Research Design section the procedure and rules for the data collection and analysis part have been constructed, thus the basis for the analysis is comprehensible. The main expectations for each-sub-question have been introduced in the theoretical framework. This analysis offers furthermore in depth examples from relevant newspaper articles to examine to what extent the anticipated expectations proof to be true. The purpose of the analysis is to give an answer to the proposed research question "To what extent is the Clash of Civilizations thesis prevailing in the media discourse of cartoon crises after 9/11?" This will be done gradually by answering the three sub-questions first.

4.1 The paradigm shift on terrorism

For the sake of finding an answer to our main research question the first step is to evaluate the sub-question "Has a paradigm shift occurred in the discourse on terrorism after 9/11?" In general a paradigm shift on a topic often occurs in moments of traumata and it is unquestionable that the 9/11 terrorist attack has been such a moment and changed not only the USA but the global political landscape (Abrahamian, 2003). Moments of traumata have been experienced in the global history before, with for example the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the corresponding end of the Cold War. These events destabilized the balance of the international political power system. The attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon is seen as the most profound traumatic events after the End of the Cold War. The attack hit a political community with an already imbalanced power system that had to cope with the changing environment circumstances of globalization, bringing the world closer together and revealing new patterns of competition among states. The most obvious consequences have been the massive amount of mass destruction on the ground in the US, but more significant consequences are those that are still today influencing political agendas and the policies around the world, the effects on the public psyche. A new dimension of fear and security issues have been reached with the attack around the world, the untouchable, most powerful nation has been targeted at the heart of their nationality, showing their vulnerability. If this could happen in the US, it could happen everywhere. Therefore the US administration underwent huge efforts for the maintenance of their supremacy and predominance in economic and military terms. The GWOT was proclaimed to defeat global terrorism, with the support of their alliance partners all over the world. In the course of the anti-terror measurements the world policies shifted towards weapon control of mass destruction to prevent that those would fall into wring hands. Furthermore a great ambition of the anti-terror coalition was to spread democracy to the greater or broader Middle East as a political and security safeguard. These measures reinforced a picture of the Muslim world as the enemy further complicating the already tense relationship. This was the perfect era for new diverse theoretical perspectives such as the Clash of Civilizations (Ehteshami, 2007).

In the aftermath of 9/11 a number of terrorist attacks have been conducted and in this discourse the issue of cartoon crises appeared. As already mentioned the first Cartoon crises is the Salman Rushdie case appearing before the reference point of 9/11. The events that are selected for this analysis have attracted a much broader global interest and the newspaper articles that have been selected are reporting that after 9/11 "terrorism is on the rise" (The New York Times, 2004) with an almost fivefold increase in terrorist activities, in spite of American anti-terrorist measurements. Therefore it is safe to say that the sensitivity for terrorism has increased. The

first case of 2004 where the Dutch film director Theo van Gogh has been murdered by a young Muslim, due to a movie he produced that represented a critical view towards the Islamic religion. This attack was framed clearly as a terrorist attack, especially when compared to a similar murder of the politician Pim Fortuyn two years earlier, which is a case that has been framed with a political motive and as an exception. **Table 2** of the annex shows the results of the complete coding scheme for the Theo Van Gogh case. The table shows the concepts on the x-axis and on the y-axis the corresponding figures for each of the newspaper article dealing with the Theo van Gogh murder. It is observable that in the 24 selected articles for this case the only newspaper outlet that has not mentioned the attack in combination with terrorism, is the Daily telegraph. Although not every article of each newspaper outlet mentions terrorism, this does not mean that the cultural conflict is not a present issue in all of the articles. In fact only eight out of 20 newspaper articles use the term directly. This murder has challenged the open culture of the Netherlands. This is supported by the reporting of the event in the New York Times (2004) "the murder changed our way of thinking of who we are". A change is detectable, a country like the Netherlands, that has an open society and is proud on their multiculturalist approach never thought that such an incident could happen in their country and are challenged by this turning point. According to the Clash of Civilizations theory this is inevitable because cultural conflicts can change who you are, it goes down to the roots the identity of a society, whereas ideological conflicts as experienced in the Cold War are characterized by easy switching loyalties (Huntington, 1996).

The Süddeutsche Zeitung (2004) focusses more on the clash of values accusing the attack as a terrorist attack and an insult on the roots of democracy but does categorize the world's population as Huntington does in cultural entities. In comparison the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung is more specific in their references to the CoC, intentionally or not. In Article 2 and Article 4 they are speaking of the Clash of Civilizations and the clash between the free word and fanaticism explaining it as a fight over power and domination on the political landscape. They deploy the rhetoric of the Huntington theory in terms of frequency not extensively, but it is clear that the conflict is framed in cultural terms (FAZ, 2004). The New York Times makes extensively use of the concept culture in a direct way more frequently than the other newspaper outlets and issues the murder as a clash of values. Furthermore the Washington Post and the Guardian are making frequent use of the concepts of culture, values, freedom of expression and the Islam, whereas the Guardian sticks out in regard of the frequency of the last concept. The daily telegraph does not mention the word terrorism but is even stronger in the rhetoric they use, as they introduce the murder as the "key battleground between the barbaric elements of radical Islam and modern western civilization" (2006). The way in which the articles are covered are very similar in the Daily Telegraph, defending Western values as democracy and freedom of expression stating that not even the most tolerant population of the world is able to tolerate Islamists and their attacks on the Western society. They are even taking the van Gogh incident as a reasonable cause to resign from their liberal identity "even the most liberal society is illiberal when it is a question of survival" (The daily telegraph, 2004). Furthermore it is claimed that homophobic comments by Islamic clerics are not treated as critical as when the west is giving critical statements about the Islam. The tensions and increasing bias towards the other culture is growing and becoming more noticeable. In general it can be summed up that the coverage of the Theo van Gogh murder in the selected European and American newspaper outlets has a lot of similarities and intersections with the Clash of Civilizations theory. There is a growing tension noticeable between the West and the Islam, promising that the conflict has not reached its peak, but instead is intensifying.

The Danish cartoon crisis is in comparison to the Theo van Gogh murder not directly framed in terms of terrorism, which is mainly due to the lack of a single attack. Instead a number of violent turmoil's as a reaction to twelve cartoons displaying the Prophet Mohammad, which appeared

in the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten. There are only three articles out of the sampled total that are mentioning terrorism directly. Cultural differences are the dominating factor in the newspaper articles and the rhetoric of the West against the Islam is used to a significant extent. Only the Daily Telegraph makes no extensive use of the West against the Islam rhetoric and deploys less of the CoC characteristics. The coverage of the event is more neutral except for one quoted statement of the German newspaper Die Welt stating that the key freedom of a free society is the right to blasphemy (Daily Telegraph, 2010). What is most striking is that the articles of the German newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung make an extensive use of the concepts of the Islam and the West with a peak of ten times in the first sampled article. This newspaper selects a different tone than others, as they are irritated by the sensitivity of the Islam about their culture and religion. They even see the reactions only as a plan for anti-western propaganda by the Islamic leader to increase the negative sentiments for the western culture in their population (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2006). As an explanation for this reactions are the events that appeared in the 21st century tensioning the relationship between the West and the Islam. That a change in the public awareness of terrorism is perceptible is displayed by the Article "Capture the Flag" of the New York Times in 2005 stating that the long tradition of tolerance towards others is diminishing in Denmark. Attacks like 9/11 are not without consequences and the Western population is becoming increasingly xenophobic. It is surprisingly that those countries that have formerly been known as the most tolerant countries towards others, in the European Union, becoming reluctant to the Islam overgeneralizing the whole population of Muslims as the enemy. This fits into the conceptions of the theoretical framework claiming that increasing interactions between civilizations lead towards a civilizational consciousness (Huntington, 1993a, 1996a) influencing their relationship negatively, as it makes them aware of their differences. The issue of cartoons that are published in a Danish newspaper resulting into violent escalations around the world is only possible due to globalization that allows pictures to travel freely across country borders. The creation of new world issues that could lead towards the formidable World War III, are at the heart of differences between cultural identities (Huntington, 1996).

The attack on the French satiric newspaper in January 2015 is the latest terrorist attack that shocked the Western population, the French population does consider it as their own small 9/11. It is not the most recent attack, as a series of attacks by the Islamic State hit France on the 13th November 2015, but it is the latest cartoon controversy. It is clearly a matter of cultural differences and diverging preferences of values, which is noticeable in the frequency of the concepts of culture, values and freedom of expression. The Süddeutsche Zeitung (2015) does not mention culture as a concept directly as most of the other articles do, but deploys a frequent use of related concepts most obviously that of freedom of expression. As a matter of fact only 4 out of 24 selected articles do not refer to the concept of freedom of expression. This underlies the importance of this selected code. Despite three of the eight German articles, there is a direct preference of framing the conflicts in cultural terms and not in ideological or economic ones. Speaking directly of a clash, are only the German newspapers, but it is not the clash of civilizations they are refereeing to, it is the clash against terrorism. They leave no doubt that Charlie Hebdo is a terrorist attack but the clash of civilizations is more discriminative against people from other cultures. As according to Huntington a civilization is the highest cultural identity of a population, the clash against terrorism does not inherently imply that it is the clash against a specific civilization. It does not equate terrorism with the Islamic culture. Furthermore it is apparent that that the conflict is not a political one either, as the concept has been used only twice in the total amount of selected newspaper outlets.

The frequency of the concept war in relation to Charlie Hebdo is stagnating especially when compared to the coverage of the other two events. No one is questioning that the attack insults the framework of democracy but as the Süddeutsche Zeitung (2015) reports one should not

make the mistake to think that the attack has something to do with the Islam. The majority of Muslims is showing solidarity with the French population and feel like their religion has been accused for a cause their religion does not support (The Guardian, 2015). Furthermore the attention in the newspaper outlets has been increased towards the awareness of cultural prejudices and that hatred cannot be answered with the same hatred or violence. Even stronger than in the Danish cartoon crisis, the articles highlight that freedom of speech comes with a high responsibility and the need for sensitivity and respect for other cultures. Compared to the years before the issue of terrorism is not framed as a one sided issue triggered by the Islam but as the result of a dysfunctional relationship that the West and the Islam is partially to blame for. This does not mean that the attack on Charlie Hebdo is in any way justifiable but the view on the event in the newspapers is more self-reflecting and rational analyzing the root of the problem.

Mimesis is according to Girard the basis for high levels of violence and has the potential to unload in its worst form into terrorism (d'Artigues & Vignolo, 2003), it is necessary to add the insight that mimetic theory is delivering to the result of the newspaper analysis for a comprehensive answer and explanation of the first sub-question. It supports the assumption that a paradigm shift on terrorism is detectable, but not only on the grounds that 9/11 as a shocking event triggered the change. The dynamic of religion and violence, such as the relationship between the Islam and the West is more complicated than the growing tensions after 9/11. What distinguishes the average individual in the Islamic population of its radical counterpart, is that those on the radical side are fighting for adherence of their traditions and values (Garrels, 2005). They are fighting the effects of globalization and modernity on their society. This is supported by the articles of the Süddeutsche Zeitung on the Danish cartoon controversy assuming that the attacks are used as anti-Western propaganda to justify their violent measures. The openness of individuals of their own religion that are increasingly converging towards modern values that coined by Western traditions. While this integration process into the Other community is enhancing, the Islam is losing control and domination. It is a fight for social recognition, but not the desire to become exactly like the mediator itself (Gallese, 2009), motivates the attacks against the West and their cultural identity. It is the desire to possess the same influence the West has on the World and especially on their own population that motivates the growing hatred and violence among radical Islamists. Through this process mimetic contagion is produced in the world's population spreading rapidly, with the only solution of the so called scapegoat mechanism to restore order and avoid further social unrest. The GWOT after 9/11 is the persecution of Osama bin Laden is the perfect representation of such an attempt to restore the order (Gallese, 2009). The balancing mechanism that should occur with the death of the scapegoat, in the case of the GWOT after 9/11 Osama bin Laden, has lost its effect in the modern world of globalization. The vicious circle of violence is inevitable without this mechanism as one mimetic response follows the other as a backlash (McCormick, 2006). Due to this loss of balance a paradigm shift on terrorism has become possible.

The scapegoat mechanism allows for social cohesion of specific groups as they set aside foregone conflicts and league against the common enemy. This is how the "us against them" rhetoric developed and how conflicts are intensifying between the West and the Islam. The mocking of Islamic values with the imitation of the Prophet in the Jyllands-Posten does not contribute towards a relationship that is less tight, but furthers the social cohesion of specific groups and therefore segregates the different civilizations even more, making their differences appear more visible. If the balancing mechanism would still work in a modern society the death of the sacred would have the result that the callused fronts release. This is not the case in the reality, instead the forecast predictions of the Clash of Civilizations seem to become more realistic. The data analysis shows that the use of the West and the Islam as concepts are the most frequent ones and pulls like a central theme through the coverage of the cartoon issues.

The idea of the CoC paradigm is present as a mimetic idea in the news coverage, as analyzed, despite some exceptions the tone of the articles is very similar and indirectly as directly taking up Huntington claims. The newspaper articles, as the main source of information in the population with its less neutral reporting is an important source in the opinion formation of populations. Individuals are imitating the opinions of newspaper articles, transferring them into their daily lives (Abrahamian, 2003). It is one mimetic response that follows the other, the murder of Theo van Gogh produces anger in countries that have adapted a multicultural approach and thus do violent riots in Islamic countries as a reaction to Mohammad cartoons. Critical and sometimes adversary positions of other countries are imitated, becoming less Islam friendly. This is represented by a number of articles about the Theo van Gogh murder and the Danish cartoon controversy stating that they are experiencing the loss of tolerance for the Islam in their population but also around the rest of the world.

The development of the terrorism issue and the fraught relationship between the Islam and the western embossed population is not surprising, and neither is the attack on the Charlie Hebdo magazine. The unresolved issues between the two parties, the civilizational consciousness of their differences, such as the lack of mutual understanding does not indicate an end of the conflict or the safety, that no more terror attacks will appear in the future. The critical newspaper with its tendency to exaggerate, coming close, or even crossing the border of insulting people was a high target for individuals that have less respect for cultural traditions as satire. The editorial team of Charlie Hebdo has been accused of being blasphemous, disrespecting and been a thorn in the eyes of radical Islamist's for many years. They have been involved in the cartoon controversy almost from its beginning and republished the cartoons of the Jyllands-Posten magazine. A development that was more astonishing and less expectable were the various and surprising reactions after the attack. Despite strengthened anti-terror measurements and triggered discussions about new, more effective policies for the suppression of terrorism France was overwhelmed by huge solidarity demonstrations. The hashtag JesuisCharlie travelled around the world and through cultural barriers, including the Muslim world. Contrary to the claim of Huntington (1996) that in the post-Cold War era it is not possible to switch loyalties it seems that the attack made exactly this possible. Muslims, sharing the same religion as the attackers showed their compassion with the victims and clearly and confined themselves from their motivations behind the attack. They did not deny their own cultural identity but illustrated that terrorism is not only an issue that concerns the West.

It was the Clash of Civilizations, that has gained a lot of popularity after 9/11 and been discussed in relation to following events, but its attention after the Charlie Hebdo event in the newspapers declined. The focus of attention was clearly on the JesuisCharlie hashtag that has been published in the internet by millions of peoples from almost everywhere around the world, not excluding individuals with a Muslim background. It is surprising what a diverse symbolic meaning and social function this simple hashtag represents. Despite the most obvious function of a solidarity demonstration with the victims and the French population, it is a peaceful mimetic response to the attack. The cartoonists of Charlie Hebdo have become heroic symbols of freedom of speech, press freedom and the right to satire without limitations. Showing the same courage and fight unconditional for their believes, even when the own live is under a threat, is not something that lies in the capacities of every citizen. Might it be the lack of courage or opportunity the reposting unites humans with diverse backgrounds fighting for the same cause, delivering them the chance to be a part of a bigger movement. It confirms the claim that mimesis does not inherently lead to something negative as it is the ultimate necessity to enter into relationships with our fellow human beings, meaning the opening up of oneself towards others (Girard, 1977; Garrels, 2005). Without a doubt there have been exceptions across every nationality, thinking within the borders of traditional prejudices, not showing support for a multicultural identity or being able to separate terrorists from their fellow citizens with a

Muslim background. After 9/11 the scapegoat mechanism had no healing effect for the society or evened out the imbalances. Instead a contrary effect entered with thousands of innocent people losing their lives in the GWOT and many conjectures that the formation of the Islamic State fostered by the mimetic reaction of the West. Fourteen years later in the year of the Charlie Hebdo effect a healing effect has appeared. This presumption can be supported by the founded results for the Charlie Hebdo incident. The attention is on the code of terrorism, only 5 out of 24 articles do not mention terrorism in this respect. Instead the notion of solidarity and the right of the West to defend their values is dominating the media coverage. The healing has probably not been the persecution of the attackers in Paris, but a new mimetic response. The creation of a sense of belonging, tolerance and solidarity for people with different cultural backgrounds. This development builds on a shaky ground and needs to be solidified for an effective fight for the containment of terrorism, as the past has shown that the West cannot handle this task alone, without strong coalition partners.

4.2 The deployment of the Clash of Civilizations

In order to answer the first sub-question it will be concluded whether the two constructed expectations expose to be true and reflect the findings of the analysis. For the first Expectation **(E1)** claiming that 9/11 has triggered a paradigm shift on terrorism, it can be summarized that the sensitivity after the attack for security and terrorism issues has increased in the population. The topic has been represented in the media with a never ending interest and a high amount of scholarly publications. Quite recently after the attack there was a greater sense of hostility towards foreigners detectable in the West, this hostility turned mostly towards people and countries with a Muslim background. The shock that the USA, the most powerful nation in the world has been attacked at its cultural heart resulted into huge waves of consternation in the US population but also around the rest of the world and unfolded the vulnerability every country. This consternation is still present today but the dynamic has changed, anti-terror measurements are a vital point on every political agenda. Terrorism has been fraught more aggressively than ever before. It is anticipated that the GWOT as a mimetic reaction to the attack are the reasons why a cartoon or the products of a single man like Theo van Gogh could produce a circles of violence with such a global interest. The public awareness of terrorism has increased after 9/11 and to the same extent, has the political and press interest increased. The anxiety towards terrorism has spread throughout the world and been kindled by the press and been taken up as an imitative idea. Therefore the first expectation can be confirmed in line with the theoretical framework and the analysis. As a paradigm shift on terrorism can be confirmed, the claim that this paradigm shift has benefitted the deployment of the Clash of Civilizations theory in a media discourse can be answered.

The Clash of Civilizations theory has benefitted from the increasing amount of terrorist activities and its related paradigm shift. The growing hostility and prejudices in open societies towards the Islam and its population is in line with the CoC claims. It confirms that cultural differences can change who you are and that people are born into one side of the conflict and cannot switch their loyalties easily. The past years since 9/11, especially in respect to cartoon controversies, have shown that we have a clash of values and a categorizations of the world's population into rigid cultural entities. This clash of values unfolds especially in the case of Charlie Hebdo, it is not dominated by the talk of civilizations as the majority of articles does not mention the code civilization. Only 3 out of 4 articles of the Guardian show a different tendency. This has been taken up by the media extensively and manifested in the mind of the world's population. The Theo van Gogh murder shows growing tensions that are even stronger represented in the Danish cartoon controversy. Newspaper articles have a strong public

formation and agenda-setting role. The fraught relationship between the West and the Islam is intensified by a huge deployment of the CoC. It is an imitative idea in the media and been taken up by newspapers such as politicians. A fraught relationship with tolerant European countries becoming more reluctant towards foreigners is partial supported by the overgeneralizations of cultural prejudices by the CoC and it's distributed by the media. The situation changes to some extent in the Charlie Hebdo case, it is a conflict of different value preferences and cultural interests but the coverage of the event is less judgmental and accusatory against the whole Islamic population. It seems to be more focused on the issue of terrorism itself than on harassment feelings and almost detached from the average Muslim, aiming to avoid stereotyped thinking.

Huntington himself has often been accused of being xenophobic and that his conjectures in the CoC are guided by his personal reservations. In the face of the increasingly complicated relationship between the Islam and the West after 9/11 the theory has been geared towards the media and fitted the critical perceptions that dominated the population. It was picked up by many newspaper articles as a mimetic idea, although the theory played in some articles only an implicit role. According to these insights the second expectation **(E2)** turns out to entail the truth as well. It is clear that the detected paradigm shift has benefitted the deployment and use of the theory. As outlined before, mimetic theory is able to explain the reasons and the effects of the 9/11 and the paradigm shift more detailed.

4.3 The influence of political affiliations

The Clash of Civilizations predicts that politics is becoming less important in future conflicts and dominated by cultural conflicts (Huntington, 1996). Politics involves diversity and conflict but it is also the search for common conflict resolutions. The goal of politics is most of the times easily definable but the means by which to achieve this goal or to solve a conflict is diverging. It is an activity by which differing interests within a common unity are conciliated and it is an inevitable part of our daily lives. Aristotle already detected the importance of politics in its doctrine and asserted that "the man is a political animal" (Mulgan, 1974). The primary aspect of the issue of terrorism is clearly cultural but a political dimension cannot be denied and thus the second sub-questions is aimed at analyzing the influence of the political affiliations of a newspaper outlet towards the prevalence of the Clash of Civilizations theory in the cartoon controversy media discourse. It is expected that Huntington's model of patterns for the next conflicts of a post-Cold War world is deployed by right wing newspaper outlets more frequently. There does not exist a global universal application of the right/left-wing categorization but there are general associations with either side of the political spectrum. The categorization is predominantly made for political parties but depending on the style on the political proximity detectable in the newspaper articles the outlets can be attributed to one side. An orientation that is leaned more towards the conservative/ right of the political spectrum is generally associated with a profile supporting capitalist policies and compared to the left side less supportive of social policies as minimum wage and have stricter opinions about immigration policies. This is also detectable in the theoretical framework as the criticism of other scholars claimed that Huntington stigmatized the world population in rigid and outdated categories. These categorizations fit generally more into the political right wing ideology. Samuel P. Huntington himself can be classified in domestic matters as a classic liberal but on foreign policy his assumptions are clearly motivated by a conservative viewpoint. Although he opposed the Iraq invasion he was not a sympathizer of neoconservative policies as enforced by the Bush administration (The New York Times, 2008). For his famous assumptions in the CoC

Huntington has been called a fascist and accused of xenophobia. People associated with the right/conservative political camp have shown in the past more support for his theories, this is expected to be seen in the newspaper articles as well. Thus in accordance with **Tabl.1** presented in the Annex an inherent different should be detectable.

Table 2-4 present the results of the media discourse analysis and show that there are no significant differences. It becomes obvious that in the case of the Van Gogh murder the results are not diverging from each other, that much as expected. With the exception of the concept of the Islam that has been used extensively across all newspaper outlets, but the Frankfurter Allgemeine and the New York times deployed in a slightly stronger way. It does not matter to which side of the political spectrum the newspaper belongs, as they all deploy a moderate use of the Huntington's rhetoric. As for example the Süddeutsche Zeitung, which is a center-left wing paper and theoretically more opposed to the theory, states that the murder shocked a country that was proud on its multicultural society and highlights the irreconcilable differences between civilizations (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2004). Usually it is the political right that is confronted with claims of xenophobia, but the statements made in respect to the Theo van Gogh murder are not that opposed to each other. Even the critical voices of Mr. Van Gogh's work are almost absent. In comparison the German newspaper FAZ speaks officially from the Clash of Civilizations but as the other newspaper commiserates "that multiculturalism seems not to work". It is asked if Theo van Gogh is the last victim in the fight against the decision between western values or the laws of the Islamic jungle (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 2004). The only difference detectable is that right or conservative newspaper outlets have a firmer tendency to deploy the CoC in a manifest way, whereas the references to the CoC is less direct in left wing papers. The New York Times brings it to the point "the Dutch had the world's most tolerant, open-minded society, with sexual equality and same-sex marriage, as well as liberal policies on soft drugs and prostitution" but is a house divided against itself. The division is so intense because it clashes with a fast-growing Muslim populations that kept that society at arm's length despising its freedoms (New York Times, 2004). Although Huntington's assumptions in its theory seem to be more appropriate a conservative political orientation its use in the news coverage on the Theo van Gogh murder is quite uniform. This underlines that the tolerance of the western population for other nationalities is put to the touch.

Analyzing the event of the Danish Cartoon Controversy with attention on political affiliation of the newspaper outlets, displayed in **Table 3**, gives on average only a slightly higher preference of right/conservative papers to use the CoC-rhetoric. The most frequent use of the theoretical concepts is made by the New York Times. Although this difference is not tremendous it is a sign for a more powerful use of the theory. This becomes even clearer when more attention is drawn towards the individual passages in the articles. Thus, for example the Süddeutsche Zeitung offers in their articles a picture of a western society that is annoyed by the pattern, showing that on moderate critique against the Islam follows an outburst of fury by radical-Islam forces (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2006). In The New York Times the same picture is verifiable just a sign stronger, highlighting that freedom of speech is an important part of our culture and not even "this clash between the two cultures" (New York Times, 2007) can change that. In the guardian a left-wing newspaper, the Clash of Civilizations plays a role as well. They frame future issues such as forgone ones only as conflicts between the West and the Islam which goes hand in hand with Huntington's predictions (1996a; b). Scholars have criticized the CoC in terms of its shortcomings in the conceptual framework, focusing the clash of civilizations only in terms of conflicts between the West and the Islam. This is seen as one reason for why the theory has become conventional wisdom and used in every newspaper independent of their political orientation. It supports the claim that the whole theory is systematically biased towards a clash between the West and the Islam, making its circulation in the newspaper more easily

and uniformly applicable for right and left wing newspapers (Neumayer and Plümper, 2009; Russet et. Al., 2000).

The Charlie Hebdo newspaper analysis shows no clear pattern for differences in the deployment of the theory between right and left wing newspapers. This is in line with the results for the articles of the other two events, but differs in the respect that the Clash of Civilizations is not taken as the most important reference point in this terrorist attack. This would underline the assumption that the traditional differences in the society such as those between the conventional political fronts is blurred, at least when it comes to foreign political matters. The shock of the attack was deep seated and this does not only apply for France, Europe or the West in general. Muslim people showed their support and solidarity as well. Charlie Hebdo triggered a debate about fundamental values and each newspaper supports these values. The Guardian is the only newspaper that speaks extensively of different civilizations but on the other side they highlight as most of the other articles the need to balance freedom and responsibility (The Guardian, 2015). Despite the mentioning of the clash of civilizations two times in either one article of the German newspaper outlets the attention is shifted and social cohesion across different political affiliations noticeable. A critical reflection of all relevant parties has taken the place of the CoC rhetoric in the newspaper articles doubting the necessity and success of the GWOT (Washington Post, 2015).

The expectation **(E3)** for this sub-question, introduced in the theoretical framework, cannot be supported. The use of the Clash of Civilizations in the analyzed newspaper articles is done on a uniform basis across the political orientations of the newspapers. This does support the theoretical assumption of the application of mimetic theory. The theory was a mimetic idea in newspaper outlets to explain the phenomenon of terrorism and become especially after 9/11 conventional wisdom that does not depend on a political orientation. The paradigm shift on terrorism has influenced the matter to a large extent. Criticism against the Islamic culture and the defending of fundamental democratic values have has become a matter of all newspaper outlets. Although the general theory of Huntington with its claims is amongst scholars attributable towards the conservative spectrum, the deployment in the media is not (Abrahamian, 2003). The Clash of Civilizations is the most discussed article in the media since its publication (Altheide, 2007). In the Theo van Gogh events and the Danish cartoon controversy its applications has been stronger and more frequent then in Charlie Hebdo but followed a general pattern across all newspaper outlets. The influence of different political affiliations of newspaper does not play a role in the prevalence of the Clash of Civilizations in a cartoon crisis discourse.

4.4 A rival thesis?

The last sub-question that is necessary to be addressed in order to answer the main question deals with the evaluation of which rival thesis have come to the fore. The first two sub-questions are dealing generally with the deployment and use of the Clash of Civilizations. The results have shown that the popularity of the theory in the media has decreased in the discourse of the Charlie Hebdo attack. Whereas the Theo van Gogh murder and the Danish cartoon controversy have been framed extensively in terms of a civilizational clash and in the light of these events the interest in the theory has been growing. Newspaper outlets are using a language that is clearly influenced by this publication without the necessity to specifically mention the theory by its name (Abrahamian, 2003). The speculations about the coming conflict between the West and the Islam as Huntington forecasts it seemed to have found its proof after 9/11 and the Clash of Civilizations a highly present topic in the media. This can be attributed towards the increase in civilizational conflicts after the Cold War, a defining factor for this is without a doubt the

phenomenon of globalization that has lead towards the civilizational consciousness that Huntington defined as a feature of his theory. Especially the spread of American culture to new areas is taken as an increasing factor for rivalries between civilizations (Funk & Said, 2004). Regardless of its media representation there is a lot of doubt on whether the claim that the identity of a person is the primary driver of human behavior and in its consequences an activator of conflicts is true.

The evaluation of the first two sub-questions of the analysis shows a detectable tendency on a cartoon crisis media discourse. Over the years the correlation between identity and civilizational conflicts eased. The Theo van Gogh murder and the Danish cartoon crisis are highlighting differences between the Islam and the West. Especially those that concentrate on the diverging cultural traditions and values. An important part of the Huntington thesis that has been picked up in the media language is the "us against them" rhetoric such as the labelling of the Islam as the radical other of the West (Huntington, 1996; Hossein-zadeh, 2006). Whether cultural cleavages cause conflicts between states or whether these conflicts exacerbates cultural cleavages is highly contested. The solidarity demonstrations with the victims of the Charlie Hebdo attack show how people view themselves is the main influence factor by who they consider as the other. The civilizational lines Huntington created have already started to blur with the passing of time. As Ingelhart and Norris (2005) already evaluated that religious tradition have an enduring imprint on our contemporary values, it is a wide cultural diversity we humans share on this planet and the distinctions of which individual falls in which categorization is no longer determined by birth, but the person himself.

The daily telegraph (2015), instead of blaming only Muslims for the Charlie Hebdo attack and future conflicts it tried to increase the awareness of their readers of the fact that we are all self-determined creatures. Although the attacks make it more difficult to engage with Muslims it's our responsibility, to do so. We are living in a multicultural society, including Muslims people that are not to be blamed for the attacks (Times, 2015). Even former President Georg W. Bush mentioned that Huntington's statement is a huge oversimplification. It is true that cultural differences have taken on a new role of importance but it is less a struggle over democracy but on the lack of global applicability of self-expression values. Culture has a lasting impact on how societies develop. But culture is not inherently equitable with destiny (Inglehart and Norris, 2005). On the 10^{Th} of January 2015 the daily telegraph reported that France, with the help of other countries has come to terms with the three-day long terror in Paris with millions of people, showing their respect for France and their victims. The most popular hashtag, #JesuisCharlie references predominantly the satirical magazine but to the same extent every victim of the tragedy. No matter their cultural belonging. This underlines together with the forgone analysis that civilizational fault lines, forecast by Huntington und cultural cleavages between the West and the Islam, are not the predominant flashpoint of cartoon crises after 9/11.

Mimesis is both, negative and positive. It is the ultimate necessity to open up oneself towards others for entering into relationships and the driving source in human behavior with its potential to elude into violence and hatred. Charlie Hebdo exemplifies both of the directions Mimetic behavior is able to take. While after 9/11 one "mimetic overreaction" followed after the other (e.g Guantanamo Bay) it seemed liked two strictly separated and antagonized identities or civilizations, the Western and the Muslim, emerged. This endorsed the assumptions made by Huntington, but Charlie Hebdo proofs that the post-Cold War conflicts are not entirely to be categorized as a clash between civilizations. According to Ross (2015) the tragedy of Charlie Hebdo is a tragedy of the sacred. The sacred is any belief that creates an identity within a group

against outsiders. In the past it has almost seemed that the incidents have increased the tensions between the Islam and the West but it fact, if we want to work with Huntington's rhetoric of civilizations, a civilization is not that exclusive after all and it's belonging is neither pre-defined by birth nor displays the most sensitive part of your identity that is inherently rigid towards changes. According to the majority of newspaper articles used for this analysis the unity rally in Paris with people being united of each of the different civilizations Huntington forecasted violent escalations for, shows a new sacred. It is not the Western civilizations against the Islam or the Rest against the West as the CoC-theory predicts it is everyone against fanaticism and terrorism. Which side people choose is not prescribed by birth or depending on their religious believe.

4.5 Insights of the Analysis

The analysis Chapter has delivered a range of new insights, such as unexpected findings that are not in line with preceding predictions. The analysis of the first sub-question concludes that terrorism is on the rise after 9/11 and its sensitivity within the public sphere increased. As a result of a population, in particular the Western population, that is afraid of new terrorist attacks a paradigm shift occurred. This is not a new insight, as it is noted by various scholars that 9/11 changed the world and triggered thereof a paradigm shift on terrorism. The tradition of tolerance in countries like the Netherlands or Denmark are put to the touch. A logic consequence would be to assume that an attack like Charlie Hebdo increase this trend and worsen the situation. Instead the analysis delivered the unexpected insight that newspaper articles are less discriminating towards the Islam and deploys less prejudices. In comparison the focus lies in the other two selected events on solidarity and negatively occupied concepts as war, violence and hatred declined. It is striking to see the changes of the issue in question over the years after the global transitioning moment 9/11 in a media discourse. The appearance of the events and conflicts in itself are not surprising and neither is the popularity of the CoC in the media. What on the other hand does have a surprising inflection is the reaction after Charlie Hebdo. The new feeling of unitedness and solidarity does not fit within Huntington's presumptions. It has thereof benefited of previous conflicts in terms of its spread but experiences a decrease with the JesuisCharlie hashtag.

The Clash of Civilizations has become a popular theme on political foreign issues. This does not mean that it displays reality, instead it developed to a mere political rhetoric that is picked up extensively in the media. The strong rhetoric of a clash between the West and the Islam is very appealing to a large audience after 9/11, but due to the political orientation of Huntington and the made assumptions makes it assumable that the prevalence of the theory depends upon political affiliations. Generally the theory is believed to find more support amongst people belonging to the conservative/right political spectrum. However, this cannot be confirmed with the collected data and carried out analysis. There is no significant difference between the deployment of the CoC-rhetoric for articles published in a right or left wing newspaper. The theory is discussed in the media uniformly with no differences on the average. This supports on the contrary the claim that the theory is a mimetic idea in the media and explains why it has become conventional wisdom. Amongst scholars the CoC is classified in the right/conservative camp but in the media it appeals to a large audience. This underpins the famous criticism that the theory is systematically biased towards a clash between the West and the Islam. Moreover his lack of precision and explanation of concepts make the circulations in the media on a large

basis easy and universal. The last part of the analysis exhibits that the correlation between civilizations and identity eased. The Theo van Gogh murder and the Danish cartoon crisis highlights differences on cultural matters and cleavages in the world population. A game changer are the solidarity demonstrations with France and its victims after the Charlie Hebdo attack. Civilizational lines as proposed by Huntington are blurred and not as rigid as he claimed them to be. The cultural identity of a person is fluid and changes over time. The history of cartoon crises illustrates this perfectly such as it offer valuable clues of the two sides of Mimesis. The negative and positive characteristics of mimetic behavior. It is the opening up of oneself to enter into relationships but it can also be a vicious circle of violence.

5. Conclusion

The Clash of Civilizations is a theory aimed at forecasting the future of international relations in a post-Cold War period focusing predominantly on the conflict potential between eight different civilizations depending on the development of the African continent (Huntington, 1996). It has been discussed controversially in the existing scientific literature and dominated especially after the 9/11 terror attack in the mass media (Inglehart & Norris, 2005; Russet et al., 2000). The terror attack has not only increased the interest in Huntington's theory, but is also seen as a turning point in the issue of cartoon crises. The first cartoon crises that appeared is the so called Salman Rushdie affair, but the issue of how to treat other cultures within the spheres of democratic freedoms and values intensified after 9/11. The most noticeable events after this turning point are the Theo van Gogh murder, the Danish cartoon controversy and as the most recent event the attack on the French satire magazine Charlie Hebdo. The main assumption of this theory is that culture and religion will dominate future conflicts instead of economic or political matters as shown in earlier phases. An increase in interactions across the categorized civilizations is supposed to have led towards a civilizational consciousness intensifying conflicts. The theory emphasized that after the Cold War people are no longer able to switch their loyalties easily as they are said to be pre-destined by birth (Huntington, 1993a, 1993b, 1996a, 1996b & 2000). As the theoretical framework section of this paper delivered, these assumptions are highly contested in the scientific world while it reached a wide media coverage. Explanatory gaps in the theory of the Clash of Civilizations are filled with the insights of mimetic theory, making the relation between violence and religion clearer such as giving explanations of how the theory has been popularized in current media discourses. Human relations and interactions and interactions are predominantly influenced by human behavior (Garrels, 2005).

The mimetic approach records that differences between the Islam and the West are not coming primarily of their differences, but their similarities (Gallese, 2009). The main responsible factor for the similarities between the two cultures is the phenomenon of globalization making them more alike and converging to one another. This is not in the interest of Islamic religious leaders, as they fear the loss of influence on their population with an increasingly strong impact of values that are a part of the so called Westernization (Abrahamian, 2003). It is an on ongoing competition for global influence with the latest cartoon crises showing as a product of different values preferences. It is most obviously a conflict between liberal democratic freedoms and religious Islamic traditions.

For the sake of analyzing the research question "to what extent is the Clash of Civilizations thesis prevailing in the current media discourse on cartoon crises after 9/11?" a total of 72 newspaper articles from six different outlets have been selected. These newspaper outlets are representative outlets of the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States that have been tested with a coding scheme that has been developed in line with the theoretical framework. The analysis features three sub-questions for the sake of giving a detailed answer to the proposed main question. The first sub-question asks whether a paradigm shift on terrorism occurred after the 9/11 terror attack. The analysis yielded the results that a paradigm shift is most likely to appear in moments of traumata and systematic shocks, such for example the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The terror attack in the USA has clearly been such a moment of traumata and restructured the political world order (Abrahamian, 2003). The public awareness on terrorist activities have increased and in line with the cartoon controversies gained a global reach. The media discourse on the Theo van Gogh murder and the Danish cartoon controversy

have attributed additionally towards the spread of the CoC-theory. This does however not proof to be true in relation with the Charlie Hebdo attack as the media coverage attention shifted towards the phenomenon of the JesuisCharlie hashtag. The social function and symbolic meaning of the hashtag moved towards the attention center in the media. This reflects perfectly the diverse influence of mimetic behavior on human relationships (Gallese, 2009), as the reposting of the hashtag united humans all over the world with diverse backgrounds. It shows the positive effects that are also a possible result of mimetic behavior. Whereas in foregone cartoon crises the negative side has proven to support the formation of almost unbridgeable prejudices between different cultures.

The Clash of Civilizations has benefitted of the increasing amount of terrorist activities. Liberal societies like the Netherlands with a high degree of tolerance for different cultures, are influenced with prejudices and growing hostility by the media. This growing hostility seems to confirm the CoC-claim, that culture is an inherent part of human beings and cannot be changed, but instead it is only the result of anxieties within the population. The different civilizational value preferences and traditions manifest itself in violent conflicts. Therefore the first sub-question concludes that a paradigm shift on terrorism has occurred and that the issue has intensified in the media, especially in a cartoon crisis discourse. The new insight delivered by the collected data illustrates that the CoC-theory continues to show its limitations with respect to the Charlie Hebdo attack. The respective media coverage proofs to be less judgmental and accusatory of the Islamic population itself.

The second sub-question deals with whether the deployment of the thesis differs in respect to political affiliations of the specific newspaper outlets under study. Huntington himself is classified on domestic matters as a classic liberal but on foreign policy his assumptions are motivated by a more conservative viewpoint (The New York Times, 2008). Traditional supporters of the CoC-theory are associated with the right/conservative political spectrum. This makes the supposition more likely, that the media deployment depends on the political affiliations of the newspaper outlets (Altheide, 2007). The data however does not allow for a conclusion of significant differences between left and right wing newspapers. The theory has been uniformly applied with no differences on the average. Among the scholarly literature the CoC theory can be classified in the conservative spectrum but its deployment in newspaper outlets is not. This does support the assumption that the theory has been taken up in the media as an imitative idea. Moreover it underlines the criticism made by Neumayer & Plümper (2009), that the theory is systematically biased towards a clash between the West and the Islam. This makes a universal adaptation in the media possible as it is appealing to the fears of a world population with a destabilized order after 9/11.

The last sub-questions deals with the evaluation of which rival thesis have come to the fore. Newspaper outlets referenced in the past years the language of the CoC quite extensively in relation to cartoon controversies. Most importantly the "us against them" rhetoric, such as the labeling of the Islam as the West's radical other found a wide applications and remained in the minds of the Western population. The categorization of the world population into fault lines, made by Huntington have started to blur (Berend, 2002). In particular the Charlie Hebdo attack has raised questions about the cultural subdivisions that are pre-determined by birth. The human ability of every individual to self-determine their destiny has been emphasized. Not only contrary to Huntington's viewpoint but also to other scholars the culture is not a rigid concept (Inglehart & Norris, 2005). Mimetic behavior has the potential to take positive and negative developments exemplified both in the media discourses on cartoon crises after 9/11. Thereof

the analysis has delivered an extensive answer to the main research question "to what extent is the CoC thesis prevailing in the media discourse on cartoon crises after 9/11?" After 9/11 one mimetic overreaction followed the other and a vicious circle of violence between the West and the Islam appeared. The Clash of Civilization was definitely the prevailing theory after the attack with a high importance in the media on cartoon controversies. As already analyzed the theory is one of the most debated one with a high reach around the world. The main reason for this is the presence of the theory in the main stream media using its rhetoric and language to explain almost every event that is related to violent conflicts between the Islam and the West. The theory by Huntington is debated extensively and commands a present role in every cartoon controversy that has been analyzed in this research paper. But within the term of the Charlie Hebdo attack it has lost its central role in the media as an imitative idea as the focus shifted towards the social media phenomenon of the hashtag JesuisCharlie and the impressive solidarity exhibition with the victims of the attack.

Scientifically this research has a high value as it is aimed at filling existing knowledge gaps within the current literature. It should give a starting point for further evaluation of the presented issue since the conflict between the freedom of speech and religious respect is intensifying and dominating future relations between the Islam and the rest of the world. Understanding the issue more appropriately will help to develop new counterterrorism measures. This thesis has delivered new insights on the use of the CoC in respect to cartoon crises. It has shown the changing attitudes of the Western population and the new sense of solidarity. Especially with the latest developments and new threats by the Islamic State it is important understand the influences of the media. The latest series of attacks in Paris on the 13th of November 2015 show that we are not facing a clash of civilizations. Terrorism is a threat that is an overlapping issue that not only the Western civilization has to face. The thesis underlines that the stigmatizations propagated in the media are not appropriate for the challenge we face today. We shall not focus on cultural differences in the world population but face terroristic threats as an entity. Furthermore it will be useful for the evaluation of how the clash of civilizations has become popular through the influence of mass media tools, while prominently been criticized by the academic community for its lack of applicability and appropriateness. In doing so the social relevance underlying this study is to deliver a more accurate picture of the conflict potential between the West and the Islam and simultaneously to clean the political air of growing xenophobic sentiments. This will have a practical relevance for the EU in developing new policies without reinforcing mimetic rivalry ending up in a vicious circle of violence. Learni6ng from the past and the actions underwent in the GWOT this research reveals a very specific implication for the future direction of EU policies. The focus on differences in the EU population and who belongs to which civilization is irrelevant. If civilizations have existed with their rigid categorizations of Huntington, they do not exist anymore. The threat of terrorism has created new categories and is no longer only fight the West faces. The developments show that the EU needs a centralized security system to fight the terrorist threat from within the EU borders. This has the practical implication to limit the level playing field for terrorism to a minimum.

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7. Annex

Table 1: Selected Newspapers from Germany, the US and the UK

Country	Newspaper	Daily circulation	Orientation
Germany	Süddeutsche Zeitung	559.287	Center-left-wing
	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	477.407	Liberal-conservative
United States	The New York Times	906,100	Conservative-right
	The Washington Post	474,767	Left-wing
United Kingdom	The Guardian	189,000	Mainstream left-wing
	The daily telegraph	523,048	Right-wing, conservative

Table 2: Media analysis results for the case Theo van Gogh

Newspaper / Article	Theo van Gogh	Values	Freedom of speech / Freedom of expression	Ideology	Economic	Clash	War	Power	Hatred	Outrage	Terrorism	Civilization	Islam	West	Violence	Political
Süddeutsche Zeitung Artikel 1	10	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	8	0	1
Artikel 2	18	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	2	2
Artikel 3	10	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	3
Artikel 4	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	3	0	0
Frankfurter Allgemeine Artikel 1	13	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	3
Artikel 2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	8	1	2
Artikel 3	13	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	0	1
Artikel 4	5	0	1	4	0	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	5	10	1	2
The New York Times Artikel 1	9	2	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	6	2	1
Artikel 2	16	6	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	3	0	2
Artikel 3	8	4	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	2	0
Artikel 4	7	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	7	1	2
Washington Post Artikel 1	9	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	3	3	0
Artikel 2	3	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Artikel 3	5	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0
Artikel 4	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	6	0	1
The Guardian Artikel 1	7	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	2
Artikel 2	7	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
Artikel 3	8	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	1
Artikel 4	2	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	7	2	0
The Daily Telegraph Artikel 1	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	1	0
Artikel 2	2	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Artikel 3	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	2	2	0
Artikel 4	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	1

Table 3: Media analysis results for Jyllands Posten

Jyllands-Posten English Code / German code	Jyllands-Post Culture / Jyllands-Post Kultur	Values / Werte	Freedom of Speech/Freedom of expression / Meinungsfreiheit/Pressefreiheit	Ideology / Ideologie	Economic / Wirtschaft	Clash / Kampf	War / Krieg	Power / Macht/Einfluss	Hatred / Hass	Outrage / Entrüstung	Terrorism / Terrorismus	Civilization / Kultur/Gesellschaft	Islam / Islam	West / Westen	Violence / Gewalt	Political / Politisch
Artikel1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	3	4
Artikel2	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	6	1	0
Artikel3	2	4	2	7	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	4	6	2	2
Artikel4	2	1	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0
Frankfurter Allgemeine																
Artikel1	13	1	5	5	0	3	3	1	0	0	2	1	0	3	3	0
Artikel2	19	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	2
Artikel3	3	0	0	4	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	4	4	3	2	2
Artikel4	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
The New York Times																
Artikel1	2	1	5	4	1	3	3	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	0
Artikel2	3	3	4	4	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Artikel3	2	1	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	2
Artikel4	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Washington Post																
Artikel1	2	1	1	3	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	4	0	0
Artikel2	2	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	2	1
Artikel3	2	6	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	1	2	1
Artikel4	3	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	3	2	0	0
The Guardian																
Artikel1	3	1	1	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
Artikel2	3	1	0	4	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1
Artikel3	3	6	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1
Artikel4	2	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
The Daily Telegraph																
Artikel1	3	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
Artikel2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Artikel3	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Artikel4	2	2	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0

Table 4: Results of the Media anylysis for the Charlie Hebdro terrror attack

Charlie Hebdo (English Code / German code)	Culture (Charlie Hebdo Kultur)	Values (Werte)	Freedom of Speech/Freedom of expression (Meinungsfreiheit/Pressefreiheit)	Ideology (Ideologie)	Economic Clash (Wirtschaft Kampf)	War (Krieg)	Power (Macht/Einfluss)	Hatred (Hass)	Outrage (Entrüstung)	Terrorism (Terrorismus)	Civilization (Kultur/Gesellschaft)	Islam (Islam)	West (Westen)	Violence (Gewalt)	Political (Politisch)
Süddeutsche Zeitung															
Artikel 1	8	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	2	0	0	0
Artikel 2	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0
Artikel 3	5	0	3	2	1	0	1	0	0	14	1	4	0	0	0
Artikel 4	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	8	0	0	0
Frankfurter Allgemeine															
Artikel 1	9	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	5	3	2	0
Artikel 2	7	4	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Artikel 3	4	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	4	2	1	0
Artikel 4	3	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	1	1	0
The Daily Telegraf															
Artikel 1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1
Artikel 2	2	3	0	4	1	0	0	1	0	6	2	2	0	3	0
Artikel 3	4	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	6	2	2	1	2	1
Artikel 4	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	0	1	0
The Guardian															
Artikel 1	5	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	3
Artikel 2	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	5	0	4	2	1	0
Artikel 3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	0	3	0
Artikel 4	4	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	3	1	0	1
The Washington Post															
Artikel 1	5	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	7	4	0	3
Artikel 2	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	4	0	0	1
Artikel 3	5	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0
Artikel 4	3	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The New York Times															
Artikel 1	7	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Artikel 2	4	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0
Artikel 3	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	10	0	0	0
Artikel 4	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5: List of selected articles

Number	Event	Newspaper Outlet	Title
1	Theo van Gogh	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Mutmaßlicher van-Gogh-Mörder verzichtet auf Verteidigung
2	Theo van Gogh	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Regisseur Van Gogh in Amsterdam erschossen
3	Theo van Gogh	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Ein Land in Angst - Die Hinrichtung des Filmemachers
4	Theo van Gogh	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Prozessiert! Demonstriert! Aber bekennt euch endlich!
5	Theo van Gogh	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Theo van Gogh: Holland erschreckt über sich selbst
6	Theo van Gogh	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Theo van Gogh Regierung: Mord hatte islamistischen Hintergrund
7	Theo van Gogh	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Theo van Gogh Am Schlachtermesser klebte das Bekennerschreiben
8	Theo van Gogh	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Theo van Gogh Die Niederlande nach dem Mord
9	Theo van Gogh	The New York Times	Provocateur's Death Haunts the Dutch
10	Theo van Gogh	The New York Times	Dutch Filmmaker, an Islam Critic, Is Killed
11	Theo van Gogh	The New York Times	Tolerant Dutch Wrestle With Tolerating Intolerance
12	Theo van Gogh	The New York Times	Bumping Into Boundaries in a Land of Tolerance
13	Theo van Gogh	The Washington Post	Controversial Dutch Filmmaker Is Slain - Van Gogh Angered Muslims With Criticism
14	Theo van Gogh	The Washington Post	Bitter Ironies: Murder in Amsterdam, the Death of Theo van Gogh
15	Theo van Gogh	The Washington Post	Extremist Admits To the Slaying of Dutch Filmmaker
16	Theo van Gogh	The Washington Post	Europe's Native-Born Enemy
17	Theo van Gogh	The Guardian	The murder that shattered Holland's liberal dream
18	Theo van Gogh	The Guardian	Controversial Dutch film director shot dead in street
19	Theo van Gogh	The Guardian	I feel terribly guilty'
20	Theo van Gogh	The Guardian	Attacks leave Dutch reeling
21	Theo van Gogh	The daily telegraph	Theo van Gogh and the limits of tolerance
22	Theo van Gogh	The daily telegraph	Free speech silenced
23	Theo van Gogh	The daily telegraph	South Park creators warned by Islamic website
24	Theo van Gogh	The daily telegraph	Blasphemy law revival upsets the Dutch elite
25	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Das Muster bleibt gleich
26	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Mohammed mit Hundekörper
27	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Fackeln mit der Freiheit?
28	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Wütende Muslime schwören "heiligen Krieg"

29	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	„Jyllands-Posten" Meinungsfreiheit unter Polizeischutz
30	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Mohammed-Karikaturen: Die Morddrohung kommt aus Mekka
31	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Karikaturenstreit eskaliert Dänische Botschaft in Jakarta attackiert
32	Danish Cartoon Crisis	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Karikaturenstreit 26 Tote bei Ausschreitungen wegen Karikaturen
33	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The New York Times	Outrage at Cartoons Still Tests the Danes
34	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The New York Times	More Than 1,000 Protest Cartoon Depiction of Prophet
35	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The New York Times	Embassies in Syria Are Burned in Furor Over Prophet Cartoon
36	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The New York Times	Capture the Flag
37	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Washington Post	Cartoons of Prophet Met With Outrage
38	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Washington Post	40,000 in Karachi Protest Cartoons of Muhammad
39	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Washington Post	Pakistani Police Halt Cartoon Protesters Near Governor's House
41	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Washington Post	Danish Premier Faults Iran, Syria Governments Using Cartoon Controversy as 'Distraction' From Their Own Crises, He Says
41	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Guardian	Cartoon controversy spreads throughout Muslim world
42	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Guardian	Child's tale led to clash of cultures
43	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Guardian	Those cartoons - one year on
45	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The Guardian	More European papers defy Muslim protests
46	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The daily telegraph	Outrage and defiance over 'shocking' cartoons
47	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The daily telegraph	Newspapers challenge Muslims over cartoons of Mohammed
48	Danish Cartoon Crisis	The daily telegraph	New Muslim cartoon protests grow
49	Charlie Hebdo	Süddeutsche Zeitung	"Charlie Hebdo" und die Kunst, böse zu sein
50	Charlie Hebdo	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Reaktionen zu Angriff auf "Charlie Hebdo" - "Die Journalisten sind die Märtyrer der Freiheit"
51	Charlie Hebdo	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Frankreich nach dem Anschlag auf "Charlie Hebdo" Wehe, wenn der Schmerz nachlässt
52	Charlie Hebdo	Süddeutsche Zeitung	"Wir haben uns sehr stark gefühlt. Bis Mittwoch."
53	Charlie Hebdo	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Terror in Paris Anschlag auf die Freiheit
54	Charlie Hebdo	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Anschlag auf „Charlie Hebdo" Die Schüsse der Terroristen galten einem Prinzip

55	Charlie Hebdo	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Tariq Ramadan bezieht Stellung Hass auf „Charlie"
56	Charlie Hebdo	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	„Charlie Hebdo"-Anschlag Das ist die Stunde einer schonungslosen Wahrheit
57	Charlie Hebdo	The New York Times	Charlie Hebdo and the Assault on French Identity
58	Charlie Hebdo	The New York Times	French Teachers, on the Front Lines-Charlie Hebdo Attack Puts Schools Under Scrutiny
59	Charlie Hebdo	The New York Times	An Inclusive French Republic Paris Attacks Lay Bare Longtime Muslim Exclusion
60	Charlie Hebdo	The New York Times	Wrong Responses to Charlie Hebdo
61	Charlie Hebdo	The Washington Post	Charlie Hebdo stands solidly for free expression. The West must do no less.
62	Charlie Hebdo	The Washington Post	Charlie Hebdo suspect said to surrender; two others at large after Paris terror attack
63	Charlie Hebdo	The Washington Post	France's tough task in reacting to the horrific attack on Charlie Hebdo
64	Charlie Hebdo	The Washington Post	Six months on, we are not all Charlie
65	Charlie Hebdo	The Guardian	Charlie Hebdo cartoons: press strives to balance freedom and responsibility
66	Charlie Hebdo	The Guardian	Freedom of speech a tool to maintain domination of Muslims, rally told
67	Charlie Hebdo	The Guardian	Gunmen attack Paris magazine Charlie Hebdo's offices killing at least twelve
68	Charlie Hebdo	The Guardian	Charlie Hebdo: Now is the time to uphold freedoms and not give in to fear
69	Charlie Hebdo	The daily telegraph	Paris Charlie Hebdo attack: it could happen in the UK
70	Charlie Hebdo	The daily telegraph	As we all proclaim 'Je Suis Charlie' - what about the victims Twitter forgot
71	Charlie Hebdo	The daily telegraph	Charlie Hebdo Paris shootings: Heroism and hatred
72	Charlie Hebdo	The daily telegraph	As we all proclaim 'Je Suis Charlie' - what about the victims Twitter forgot?