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Pride and Prejudice: The Proliferation of Nationalism and Islamophobia in the context of the European Refugee Crisis

Introduction

False pride and persistent prejudices, as in Jane Austen's novel, determine social barriers – may they be imaginative or real – between people of different origin. Whereas in the novel such barriers are overcome, in socio-political reality, pride and prejudice sometimes persist and often lead to proliferation of nationalism and segregation. In Western societies today, prejudices against migrants, refugees and minorities are stimulated by new waves of nationalist populism that oppose further immigration and circulate anti-Muslim and anti-Islam prejudices (Park 2015). Political extremes and a general dissent about the role of Islam in European societies developed particularly in the European Union, in the context of the flaws of the Dublin III regulation and the fair allocation of refugees – mainly Muslims coming from Syria – among member states. The alleged 'refugee crisis' is yet another event in which Islamophobia is widely manifested, particularly in the mainstream media representation of the event (Giroux/Evans 2016, 231; SETA 2016). Anti-Muslim and anti-Islam narratives have circulated for decades in Western media (Ciftci 2012). Such narratives have become more dominant since the end of the Cold War and the popularization of the so-called Huntington thesis in which a clash between Western and Islamic civilization, that is, a fundamental incompatibility between Western and Islamic values, is supposed to exist, amongst other civilizational clashes, including alleged clashes between Islamic civilization and Hindu and Buddhist civilizations. Islamophobic media discourses have further increased since the 9/11 attacks in 2001 (and a range of Islamist terrorist attacks in Europe since 2001) and the so-called 'War on Terror' (Barbero 2012; Perry 2014).

Islamophobic media discourses, marked by hostile public attitudes towards Muslims and Islam, have various implications. Such discourses ignore differentiations between moderate, radical or fundamentalist Islam, or even terror-

ism (Dolezal et al. 2010). They stimulate stereotyping and victimization of Muslims in Western societies (Perry, 2014). They present Muslims as a homogeneous outgroup that cannot be fully integrated in Western society and thereby maintain a strict separation between ‘them’ and ‘us’ (Gardell 2014). By marking such divisions, and degrading ‘them’ as inferior in ‘civilization’ while taking pride in ‘us’, Islamophobic media discourses emphasize the role of nationhood and citizenship as sources of collective pride. These are the concepts that select the outgroups in national populations. In this article, we seek to detect how Islamophobic media reporting on the alleged European ‘refugee crisis’ of 2015 can be explained according to modes of nationhood and citizenship. Our research question has two central lines of argument:

Islamophobic media discourses fuel the marginalisation of Muslims and Islam by circulating stereotypes, prejudices, anxieties and racialization with ‘charged’ formulations and rhetoric;

Country-specific modes of nationhood and citizenship are expected to generate a national prevalence of Islamophobic pride and prejudice patterns that reveal a national variety of different Islamophobic media discourses.

Three patterns of Islamophobia in media discourses

It has been widely observed that mainstream (both the moderate ‘liberal-conservative’ and sensationalist ‘tabloid’) media discourses in Western societies are marked by Islamophobic tendencies and that such tendencies have become more influential in recent years. As Ekman (2015, 1987) notes, ‘Islamophobic actors have pushed the boundaries of publicly accepted speech on Muslims and immigration’, in the sense that they have normalized extreme standpoints on migration and on Islam. Muslims are often portrayed in mainstream media in a degrading fashion, to the point that, given their alleged traditions, religious outlooks, values, interests, loyalties, etc. are hardly capable of integration in Western societies (Sayyid/Vakil 2010). Islamophobic assumptions expressed in and circulated by mainstream media reinforce the acceptance of stereotypes and prejudices, within the context of Islamophobic agitations (Ossewaarde 2014). Islamic stereotypes are corroborated by newspaper rhetoric, since the media act as an catalyst and multiplier of anti-Muslim sentiments (Allievi 2012). Hence, widespread acceptance and intensity of extreme and negative media representations of Muslims and Islam mirror Islamophobia. This makes a structural evaluation of the image on Muslims and Islam created by mainstream media essential.

In Islamophobia scholarship, three media patterns of Islamophobia are distinguished. A first pattern is found in the continuation of what Edward Said called 'orientalism', in the sense that mainstream Western media enforce the neo-colonialist prejudice that Muslims are backwards, irrational and inferior (Barbero 2012). When an orientalist pattern is enforced in media discourses, Muslims and Islam are stereotyped as having violent or criminal inclinations and are typically being accused of spreading hostility towards women (Cheng 2015; Elchardus/Spruyt 2014). While orientalism typically situates the otherness to the geographical 'Orient', contemporary Islamophobic discourses invoke the prejudice that Muslims pose an inner-threat to Western societies (Ekman 2015, 1989). In this pattern of Islamophobia Islam is associated with Islamist radicalism and terrorism; hence Islam stereotyped in this manner automatically leads to a sense of insecurity within Western societies, with the greatest insecurity threat in Western societies coming from violent Muslims (Meer/Modood 2015). Such insecurity is furthermore generated by the orientalist prejudice regarding the Muslim family. That is, due to alleged high birth-rates (as compared with the birth-rates of the Western-style nuclear family in late capitalism) and immigration (including family reunification), Muslims are stereotyped as a demographic hazard to Western societies, with supposedly large numbers of terrorists within Western societies thereby being produced (Ekman 2015).

A second pattern of Islamophobia that is discussed in Islamophobia scholarship revolves around anxieties. In this second pattern, security concerns function as a pretext for articulating cultural, social or political fears. Cultural anxieties describe the fear of cultural deterioration in accordance with the perception of multiculturalism leading to the 'Islamisation' of the West' (Ekman 2015). In other words, it is not the 'unknown' of Muslims that is feared, but the perceived 'otherness' of Muslims that induces suspicion and fear (Lathion 2015). Bauman (2015) describes social anxieties in terms of anxieties about social standing and social disintegration. Resentments and hostilities against refugees, migrants and asylum seekers, in his view, result from anxieties about downward social mobility and social segregation. Social anxieties include the fear of the emergence of parallel societies and Muslim self-segregation in no-go zones (especially for women and homosexuals) and ghettos (Phillips 2006). Political anxieties describe the fear that Islam is in its practical implication a totalitarian political ideology that indoctrinates minds and infiltrates states by Islamic law and sharia customs (Arjomand 2004; Ciftci 2012).

A third pattern of Islamophobia that various Islamophobia scholars identify concerns racialization (Kofman 2005; Garner and Selod 2015). Racialization of Muslims denotes an exercise of cultural hegemony of a dominant group (rep-

resented by the mainstream media) that is marked by a sense of pride in its own (alleged) civilizational superiority and supremacy. This hegemonic power instigates Muslims as a debased and homogeneous group; Muslim identity is reduced to a set of group characteristics that are provided by the hegemonic power (Taras, 2013). In patterns of racialization found in media discourses, Muslims are invested with specific racial characteristics that set them apart from other groups, leaving little room for the complexities and diversities surrounding Muslim identity and community. The media derives such essentialist characteristics from both physical appearance and cultural and religious traits, found in some of the markers of Islam, including the wearing of a hijab, having a Muslim name, speaking with an accent, wearing a Muslim dress, etc. As a racialized outgroup, mainstream media treats Muslims as if their ascribed characteristics, including alleged misogyny, homophobia, Christophobia, anti-Semitism, poor work ethic, lack of middle class-ness, lack of secularist outlook, etc. were natural and innate to all Muslims. When mainstream media enacts patterns of racialization, it discriminates Muslims on the grounds of such ascribed outgroup characteristics.

As nation-states are the key actors in building national identities and social integration (Suvarierol 2012), and are the key actors in managing the alleged European 'refugee crisis' of 2015, the media apparatus that communicates the three patterns of Islamophobia must be understood in the context of particular models of nationhood and citizenship. In this article, we seek to find out how media manifestations of the three patterns of Islamophobia in the reporting of the European 'refugee crisis' correspond with models of 'civic nationalism' and 'ethnic nationalism' (Brubaker 1992). These models signify two contrasting modes of national belonging and, accordingly, exclude Muslims from nationhood in different ways (Zick et al. 2011). Civic nationalism means that law, political creed and citizenship define national belonging. Ethnic nationalism, by contrast, means that national belonging depends on common origin, ethnic identity, language, culture and religion, which is to say national belonging is inherited. In principle, civic nationalism is the more accommodating for migrants. Ethnic nationalism implies that citizenship is more than a legal concept and the sense of national belonging implies emotional identification – typically identification with a set of core values or a *Leitkultur* (Cesarani/Fulbrook 1996). Patterns of Islamophobia, it is hypothesized, reflect modes of nationhood and citizenship. That is, it is expected that in nations marked by civic-based modes of nationhood and citizenship, national media typically manifest the insecurity pattern of Islamophobia, while in nations marked by the ethnic model national media typically manifest anxiety pattern of Islamophobia.

Methods

In our quest for explaining patterns of Islamophobia in the media coverage of the alleged European ‘refugee crisis’ of 2015 according to modes of nationhood and citizenship, we selected articles from Austrian, German, Swiss and American newspapers. We selected Austrian, German and Swiss newspaper articles for two reasons. First, Austria, Germany and Switzerland were part of the Central European ‘heartland’ of the media debate of the alleged European ‘refugee crisis’ of 2015. Germany was the key actor in managing the European ‘refugee crisis’, while Austria experienced the chaotic consequences as hundreds of thousands of refugees chaotically passed through the country. Not being a member of the EU, Switzerland was left ‘untouched’ by the European ‘refugee crisis’ and the EU relocation scheme for asylum applications, yet the ‘refugee crisis’ and the annual intake of refugees from the Middle East topped the list of public concerns in 2015. One of its public referendums entailed the ban of the construction of minarets in Switzerland. Second, nationhood and citizenship of these three Central European neighbouring countries, marked by national similarities, are informed by the model of ethnic nationalism (Brubaker 1992; Dolezal et al. 2010; Brubaker 1992; Vink/de Groot 2010).

We selected articles from US newspapers mainly to include a media landscape from a Western yet non-European nation, that is, a Western society and typical ‘immigrant society’ in which the alleged ‘refugee crisis’ was not as prevalent and immediate as in the Central European nations. Moreover, in the US nationhood and citizenship is informed by the model of civic nationalism. The US public debate, particularly in the context of Donald Trump’s presidential campaign during the timespan of the European ‘refugee crisis’, is marked by striking Islamophobic expressions – the most notorious one is without doubt Trump’s plan to ban Muslims. A state we decided not to include in our country selection is France, even though there are good reasons for including France. We fully recognize that France is a very relevant state for studying the Islamophobic public debates. It is a nation-state that is marked by the civic model and hence forms a European contrast with German nationhood and citizenship. Together with Germany, France is a traditional key actor in EU politics. And it has a major record of colonial migration (e.g. from Algeria) and a large Muslim population (7.5% of the French population is Muslim). Yet, during the European ‘refugee crisis’, France was not part of the ‘heartland’ of the alleged ‘refugee crisis’ – and did not show leadership in managing the crisis. It was not a leading actor in Europe. Germany, that is the Merkel government marked by its slogan *Wir Schaffen Das*, was the key actor in a manifestation of what Ulrich

Beck has called ‘German Europe’ – a political condition in which EU issues are decided in the Bundestag, especially in the absence of influential French leadership in the EU (Beck 2013). But there were also practical considerations for not including France in our country selection. We are not native French speakers and we strongly believe that examination of newspaper articles in the native language is essential to avoid biases. To overcome such practical limitations, we believe that it is worthwhile to conduct similar research in other political contexts marked by forms of civic nationalism such as Norway, the United Kingdom and especially France, as well as political contexts marked by a more ethnic tradition of nationalism, e.g. Croatia or Hungary.

For our data collection, we select two newspapers per selected country: *Die Presse*, *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Bild*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *20 Minuten*, *The New York Times* and *Daily News*. The selection of the newspapers is based on four aspects: (1) the newspaper is written in a national native language (to avoid biases in the analysis); (2) the nationwide circulation is average; (3) the selection includes both a liberal-conservative quality newspaper and a tabloid for each country; and (4) the newspapers have an official website with online articles. Both newspapers and tabloids represent patterns of Islamophobia, yet, tabloids’ sensationalist rhetoric is typically more extreme and negative while the liberal-conservative newspapers’ expressions are typically more moderate (Moore et al. 2008). The pre-selection comprised 233 newspaper articles for the selected timeframe (September 2015 – March 2016); and based on the keyword *Muslim* or *Islam* in the headlines. The timeframe was chosen to be as relevant and up-to-date as possible; the death of the young Syrian boy, Aylan Kurdi, on the September 4, 2015, was a defining moment in raising international concern for the people risking their lives by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. In total, 80 articles, that is, twenty per country, are included for the discourse analysis of the patterns of Islamophobia.

Discourse analysis seeks to establish the link between patterns to prevalent contexts (van Dijk 2000). As it assumes that social phenomena, such as patterns of Islamophobia, are socially constructed, it puts the emphasis on the underlying meaning of communication (Hajer/Versteeg 2005). Thus understood, Islamophobic media discourses reinforce a social framework in which it is communicated what is normal and abnormal (Altikriti/Al-Mahadin 2015). Discursive humiliation and discrimination of a socially constructed outgroup is not only based on the content of the news coverage, but also on the structures and strategies of representing Muslims as the degraded ‘other’ (SETA 2016). Along with the role of media in enacting patterns of Islamophobia in news coverage, this explains our choice for discourse analysis as our method-

ological instrument. The media debate on the alleged European ‘refugee crisis’ in 2015, marked by rhetorical expressions communicated by leading politicians or other influential actors acting in the public sphere, is essential for grasping the construction of Islamophobic discourses through an analytical focus on particular slogans, stereotypes, specific terms and phrases (Ossewaarde 2014, 5). It is anticipated, that the newspapers’ coverage of the ‘refugee crisis’ in all selected countries is riddled with Islamophobic expressions. However, we expect that these expressions vary in terms of quality, quantity and topics, according to national modes of nationhood and citizenship.

For our discourse analysis, we had developed a coding scheme that contains categories, coding rules as well as related keywords. Possible plural, stem forms (e.g. terror, terrorism, terrorist), obvious synonyms (e.g. migration flow/refugee flow) and German translations of the keywords are guided by coding rules. The keywords are chosen to support and facilitate the search process. All selected newspaper articles have been coded in the qualitative data-analysis program ATLAS.ti. Each article has been coded multiple times, to ensure the codes are assigned correctly. The coded articles are used to reconstruct the national discourses on islamophobia for the chosen timeframes. Thereby, the link between the structural modes of nationhood and citizenship and the detected patterns of Islamophobia patterns are examined as national media discourses that are expected (in line with our theoretical assumption) to vary in accordance to the ethnic and civic modus.

National pride and Islamophobic prejudices in newspaper coverage of the ‘refugee crisis’

This section is divided into two main parts for each of the two lines of arguments we seek to develop. In the first part varieties in the patterns of Islamophobia as represented in the newspaper coverage are dissected. In the second part the linkage of these varieties to country-specific modes of nationhood and citizenship is examined. In this part, some striking patterns of Islamophobia are discussed – some of these are anticipated by our theory, and some are not.

Patterns of Islamophobia in newspaper coverage

It has been noted that Islamophobia is reactive to key events (Borrell 2015). In the news coverage of the alleged European ‘refugee crisis’, the key event

that intensifies patterns of Islamophobia, is the Cologne incident. The incidents in Cologne at New Year's Eve 2015/2016 generated an intense media debate on the role of women in Islam as allegedly being the lust object of Muslim men portrayed as sexual predators. A Swiss paper uses such Islamophobic generalisations and exaggerations by claiming that '*ganz normale muslimische junge Männer müssen aufhören, Frauen zu verachten und nur als Sexualobjekte zu sehen*' [entirely normal young Muslim men have to stop despising women and considering them only as sexual objects] (Ates 2016, n.a.). All selected newspapers cover the Cologne incidents and the alleged oppression of women in Islam in general, thereby asserting an incompatibility between Western and Islamic values. The generalised media image of women being sex slaves of men is frequently presented in news coverage and typically intertwined with Islamophobic claims that such sexual slavery is legitimized by verses in the Quran and by the patriarchal, sexist and misogynist structures of Muslim societies. A pattern of racialization is enforced in media debates, particularly in recurrent debates on the veil. The selected Swiss newspapers contrast the perceived gender inequality and injustice with women rights in Western societies. Therefore it is suggested that due the refugee crisis and massive influx of Muslim men, women rights in the West could be at risk.

Contrary to our expectations, in their coverage of the 'refugee crisis' newspapers rarely communicate the Islamophobic prejudice that Muslims constitute a criminal threat – an observation that contrasts with the findings of Cheng (2015) and Elchardus and Spruyt (2014). Although the Cologne incidents included some reporting on thefts, which were covered in one Swiss newspaper, crime was not issue covered. An Austrian newspaper linked arriving refugees to an alleged increase of crimes. The perception of the demographic threat – part of the first pattern of Islamophobia –, on the other hand, is prevalent in newspaper coverage and connected with the issue of large numbers of refugees. The demographic threat – the presence and development of high numbers of Muslims in Western societies – is communicated with metaphors (such as '*Flüchtlingswelle*' [wave of refugees], 'refugee streams' or 'immigration-invasion'), exaggerations (such as '*zigtausende Muslime*' [umpteen thousands of Muslims]) and the making of biased assumptions (such as assumptions concerning the reaching of the threshold regarding Muslim immigration). Metaphors of waves or streams de-individualize and de-humanize (Muslim) refugees. The link between unregulated migration, radicalization and terrorism is discussed in newspaper articles intensively since the attacks in San Bernadino (December 2, 2015), Paris (November 13, 2015) and Brussels (March 22, 2016), which all fall in the selected timeframe of this study. In Ger-

many, Switzerland and the US, newspapers typically communicate the notion that mostly young and strong Muslim men immigrate to the West. A Swiss newspaper asserts that female migrants are expected to follow their husbands. One thing is striking: newspapers in Austria and Switzerland refer particularly to the alleged crisis situation in Germany while the national situation is neglected.

As for the second pattern of Islamophobia, in line with our theoretical expectations, cultural anxieties are observed especially in the European newspapers and less so in American newspapers. Austrian newspapers ascribe disrespect towards European values to refugees. One German newspaper article elaborates on the vital role of culture for refugees, claiming that Western values have to be imparted and defended by Western people. Such demands for the preservation of the *Leitkultur* in countries like Germany are in line with other research findings (c.f. Kofman 2005; Lathion 2015). Social anxieties regarding social disintegration of Muslims are discussed in the media landscape of all four countries. Fears of social segregation widely circulate. For instance, Austrian and German newspapers refer to Islamic kindergartens as places that function to isolate children from influences of the majority society. In German newspapers it is noted that such social anxieties possibly impede integration in Western society and integration problems arise due to Muslims themselves not pursuing the integration of Islam in the national cultural context properly. US newspapers seem to identify the segregation of Muslims as imposed by American society, whereas all European newspapers illuminate the reverse, that is, they perceive an intentional development of parallel structures by Muslims themselves. It is notable, that the US refers only marginally to challenges of social integration in American society, yet, clearly sets the focus on Muslim integration problems in European societies.

Another major difference in media coverage in the European newspapers and the American ones is that European newspapers communicate in the midst of the 'refugee crisis' a fear of social decline whereas American newspapers do not. The arrival of uneducated people and associated expectations about rising unemployment and increase of welfare recipients trigger social fears. It is feared that the refugee crisis triggers a crisis of the European welfare state. Moreover, in several Swiss articles, the lack of social prospects for young and under-educated Muslims is associated with rising radicalisation and the emergence of security problems. The manner in which some articles refer to the left spectrum and political correctness in the context of allegedly rising radicalism is striking – and also noted by other scholars (c.f. Ekman 2015; Gardell 2014). In an attempt to legitimize the enactment of this pattern of Islam-

ophobia, claims to overcome 'unconditional political taboos' are expressed through the openly criticizing of Muslims and Islam. In general, Muslim radicalism features as a central issue in all selected newspapers. The influence of an alleged Arab imperialism of despotic Gulf states in Western societies is widely covered. The Saudi-Arabian regime in particular is accused of propagating a radical form of Islam by sponsoring mosques and Quran schools in Western societies. In a Swiss newspaper, the discussion of radicalism revolves around a study in which it is claimed that in European societies fundamentalism is more common among Muslim than Christian refugees. In other words, in the presentation of Muslim refugees as suspect agents of tyrannical regimes, newspapers express a political anxiety that is typical for the enactment of the second pattern of Islamophobia.

In the expression of political anxieties, topics like sharia law and the Quran are frequently discussed in the newspapers. In a Swiss newspaper political anxiety is expressed in claims that Islam challenges the democratic foundations of Western societies. It states that sharia law and the Quran do not only organize the relationship of people and God, but also determine the structures of society. Although widely noted by other scholars (c.f. Arjomand 2004; Cheng 2015; Ciftci 2012), the degree of political anxieties communicated in newspaper coverage of the 'refugee crisis' is striking. The connection of Islam and a political ideology is discussed with terms such as '*Hass-Ideologie*' [hate-ideology], '*Herrschaftsideologie*' [ideology of domination] or 'militant ideology'. Such Islamophobic rhetoric is interconnected with the perception of intolerance of Islam and Muslims associated with fundamentalist hate preachers. An Austrian newspaper enacts the second pattern of Islamophobia by communicating the political anxiety that Islam is a political project that destroys democracy from within European societies, via the acts of Muslim migrants. This Islamophobic claim is formulated as follows: '*ein Gegenprojekt an den demokratischen Grundfesten der pluralistischen Gesellschaft nagt* [a counter-project is gnawing on the democratic foundations of the pluralistic society]' (Benhabib 2015, n.a.).

The communication of political anxiety is closely intertwined with the reinforcement of the first pattern of Islamophobia in newspaper coverage. The perception of radical Islam, marked by political anxiety, is closely linked to the issue of insecurity. This Orientalist perception of the inner-threat of Muslims to Western societies is widely observed by scholars (c.f. Ekman 2015; Meer/Modood 2015). In our analysis, this perception strongly prevails in the newspapers we have selected. The topic is substantially discussed in all analysed newspapers and in the American newspapers even more extensively than in the Eu-

ropean ones. Several newspapers articles link the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ to growing insecurity through the assumption that terrorists associated with IS may have infiltrated the refugee routes. Several articles in Switzerland and Austria call for an open debate on the link between Islam and terrorism. It is remarkable that in a few US-American articles, the patterns of Islamophobia are deplored. In these articles, it is noted in a more liberal fashion (marked by a certain sympathy for the underdogs) how terrorist attacks affect the lives of American Muslims, due to ensuing Islamophobic sentiments.

Given the timeframe of our analysis, newspapers covered how presidential candidate Donald Trump enters public debates on Islam and Muslims with Islamophobic statements on barring of foreign Muslims. Trump’s generalised exclusion of Muslims reveals the non-differentiation associated with the third pattern of Islamophobia. The term ‘die islamische Welt’ [the Islamic World] used in a German newspaper is striking in the context as it spuriously summarizes all Muslims. That is to say, it is a term that homogenizes Muslims, which are portrayed as one single community – an observation that is in line with other scholars’ findings (c.f. Meer, 2014; Sayyid & Vakil, 2010). It is odd that with the exception of an US article on racial profiling, all newspapers make no reference whatsoever to complexions of Muslims. Several newspaper articles address Muslims as one single community and then, paradoxically, demand the dissociation of Muslims from radical groups. A Swiss newspaper enacts the Islamophobic pattern of racialization in the following paradox:

Die Muslime müssen jetzt beweisen, dass sie friedlich sind. Es besteht kein Generalverdacht gegen die Muslime, aber die Unschuldsvermutung gilt auch nicht mehr. [The Muslims have to prove that they are peaceful. A general suspicion against Muslims does not exist, however, the presumption of innocence does not apply anymore.] (Kelek 2015, n.a.)

In this paradoxical formulation, the newspaper enacts the third pattern of Islamophobia in the sense that it attributes ascribed characteristics – violence, lack of innocence as if these were natural and innate to ‘the Muslims’. Metaphors are used in the enactment of discursive racialization. For instance, the Quran is compared with a licence to kill in an Austrian newspaper or a smoking colt in the Swiss media. Such metaphors create the image that the Quran is the means to an end and legitimizes all sorts of violence (c.f. Kumar 2015). This essentialist image of Islam revolves around the perceived potential for violence implying that Islamic law is directly derived from violent text-passages without further contextualization. Only one Swiss newspaper article refers to the need of contextualisation of the Bible, however, it argues at the same time

that the Quran is still considered as the immutable words of God by many Muslims – as if it is natural that Muslims, given their ascribed characteristics do not contextualize the Quran but use religion as a pretext for being violent.

The perception of intrinsic violence – typical for the pattern of racialization – is intertwined with the Orientalist pattern that indicates the cultural and religious backwardness of Muslims. In Switzerland and Germany, newspapers communicate that Islam is in need of reforms. The actuality of certain verses of the Quran and its literal interpretation are criticized in the newspapers. A German tabloid uses generalisations and metaphors:

Der Islam und eben nicht nur der Islamismus wurde von Rückständigen gekapert. Die Visionäre des Westens leben in der Zukunft, die Visionäre des Islam leben in der Vergangenheit. [Islam and not just Islamism is captured by backwards people. Visionaries of the West are living in the future, while visionaries of Islam are living in the past.] (Reichelt 2016, n.a.)

The Orientalist backwardness perception of Islam is only mentioned in media debates on the threats of terrorism – a debate that is marked by specific references to the Quran and associated demands for reforms of Islam, in line with Western or national requirements and more secularist orientations. For instance, in some of the newspapers it is claimed Muslims value sharia law more than the national constitution. In Austrian newspapers it is stated that in Islamic kindergartens, children are intimidated to praise sharia law. And it is claimed that the providers of such kindergartens propagate bigamy, despite its legal ban in Austria. The negatively connoted term ‘mini-harem’ is used in such newspaper articles to enact the racialization pattern, through a derogatory portrait of the proceedings of Muslim marriages. In sum, although patterns of Islamophobia vary across selected newspapers, there are many similarities in news coverage of the European ‘refugee crisis’ – particularly when this news coverage is a coverage of terrorist attacks.

The visualisation in Figure 1 represents an overview of the Islamophobic varieties detected. The actual values of the ATLAS.ti output are translated by means of a colour gradient, so as to dissociate from the frequency of occurrence and concentrate on the substance of the quotes. Each level in the colour gradient matches five (extra) references to the categories (i.e. $0 = 0$, $1 \leq 5$ and $10 \leq 50$ references).

Modes of nationhood and citizenship in Islamophobic newspaper coverage

In this part of the analysis we seek to link the dissected patterns of Islamophobia to country-specific models of nationhood and citizenship. The distinction between the ethnic and civic model is, up to a point, manifested in the differences in media landscape of the selected countries. Newspapers in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, for instance, tend to elaborate extensively on cultural and social anxieties, which manifests a pattern of Islamophobia that corresponds with the ethnic model that is marked by emphasis on shared core values and traditions. In US newspapers, by contrast, cultural anxieties are only marginally and indirectly expressed; social anxieties are even less communicated. Political anxieties, however, are communicated in similar ways in European and American newspapers; this includes perceptions of the threat that Islam or sharia law allegedly poses to the national constitution and the legal system. The prominence of political anxieties in all newspapers is striking; it is the dominant emotion in news coverage in the context of the European 'refugee crisis'. It is a context in which political concerns are highlighted. In such a context, Islam is typically politicized in the mainstream media and portrayed as a security threat to the nation-state.

In American newspapers, such politicization of Islam came to a height in the coverage of the US presidential campaign. And the politicization of Islam is most explicitly expressed in the coverage of presidential candidate Donald Trump's speech on the banning Muslims from entering the US. Trump's ostracising rhetoric based on ascribed characteristics of a constructed outgroup, and its acceptance by mainstream newspapers, is striking, as it contradicts the expected linkage to the civic mode of nationhood and citizenship in the US. In other words, it can be argued that the explanatory factor of the modes of nationhood and citizenship does not apply in the context of American Islamophobic media discourses. Increased nationalist-populist propaganda, the argument goes, puts the emphasis on national core values, thereby contradicting the civic mode of nationhood and citizenship.

Yet, it must be emphasized that Muslims do not represent the majority immigration group in the US, therefore, the role of Islam in the media debates on immigration has been rather marginal. Cesari (2013, 2), for instance, states that terrorism and immigration are typically not linked in public debates in the US:

'[...] immigration debates have not been Islamicized in the United States. Similarly, terrorism remains at the margins of immigration and social concerns. Al-

though, in the aftermath of the Boston Marathon bombing of April 15, 2013, some political actors attempted to explicitly link repression of terrorism with immigration reform, due to the fact that the perpetrators of the bombings entered the United States as political refugees.¹

The statement of Donald Trump on banning Muslims, uttered in the context of the San Bernardino attacks, and his success in the presidential campaign, however, seems to contradict Cesari's claim. In his speech, Trump explicitly links the repression of terrorism to the barring of Muslims. Trump's demand for a ban of Muslims is not an enactment of the second but of the first pattern of Islamophobia. Trump's Islamophobic prejudices are marked by security concerns. The fear of terrorism and the sense of insecurity that it fosters impacts on the media debate on immigration in the US, partly due to so-called migration pressures. Hence, the explanatory relevance of the civic mode of nationhood and citizenship remains pivotal for Islamophobic media discourses in the US.

In the Central European states we have selected for our analysis, the situation is different. Here the ethnic model implies that the nation-state seeks to preserve national culture. And this typically means that the role of religion is emphasized in media debates on integration of migrants. In the context of the so-called European 'refugee crisis', the politicization of Islam becomes evident as the German, Austrian and Swiss states retract to national actions instead of relying on a European solidarity mechanism for the distribution of refugees. The prominence of political anxieties concerning Islam and Muslims in all national newspapers is in line with the second pattern of Islamophobia combined with the model of ethnic nationalism: European states increasingly stress their role as protectors of social cohesion and national identity managing migration (Kofman 2005). However, newspapers report that the role of the German government is striking, in the sense that it acted in contradiction to the ethnic model. It opened the borders for Syrian refugees and Angela Merkel confirmed that Islam is a part of German society at a widely covered press conference with Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu on January 12, 2015. However, Benner (2016, n.a.) argues that Germany took the 'role as Europe's default liberal political hegemon'. It opened European borders to prevent a humanitarian disaster within Europe and struggled to find time for a joint European solution. The widely reported admittance of uncontrolled entry of refugees to Germany can be understood as pragmatic 'unsentimental realpolitik'. A recent study by Decker et al. (2016) on nationalist-populism detects rising Islamophobic sentiments and hostility against migrants through-

out the German nation. This intensified Islamophobic climate marked by prejudice and national pride can be seen a consequence of the 'open border' policy, which indicates that the ethnic mode of nationhood and citizenship informs German identity construction. Hence, the modes of nationhood and citizenship remain an explanatory factor for the ways in which the patterns of Islamophobia are enacted in media discourses.

Concluding Remarks

A key insight our discourse analysis delivers is that the politicization of Islam und Muslims affected the media debate on migration in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the US. While Cesari (2013) observes no linkage between integration, Islam and terror in the US migration debate, our analysis reveals that in American newspaper coverage Orientalist patterns of Islamophobia came to inform the public debate on immigration. Our analysis uncovers the latest enforcements of the patterns of Islamophobia, that is, the new normal of degrading Islamophobic expressions, as accepted within the national media landscape (c.f. Altikriti/Al-Mahadin 2015). Our analysis reveals that the identified country-specific modes of nationhood and citizenship constitute a factor behind Islamophobic tendencies as country-specific expectations were typically met. Although this result might not look puzzling at first sight, the implications can contribute to a better understanding of the patterns of Islamophobia in news coverage and the structural political-administrative factors that underlie the ways newspapers represent Islam and Muslims in its discourses. Further research is needed to find out whether different modes of nationhood and citizenship stimulate different patterns of Islamophobia in other European states as well. It could well be that the civic and ethnic model manifests itself differently in Islamophobic discourses in other parts of Europe, due to, among other things, the different historical trajectories of the nation-states, different historical relationships to Islam and Muslims (e.g. the role of the Ottoman Empire or North African colonialism in their histories), and the impact nationalist populist movements have on media systems and public discourses in such nation-states.

Gardell (2014) points at the excessive political correctness in regard to the mainstream (typically liberal-conservative) media representation of Muslims and Islam that until recently was common. Nationalist-populist movements target this political correctness, recreating a new normal that is marked by political incorrectness and sensationalism. And while excessive political correct-

ness may have been characterized by somewhat latent patterns of Islamophobia, political incorrectness makes such patterns manifest. In the contemporary media landscape, nationalist-populist movements are a major source of stimulating proliferations of pride and prejudice against Islam and Muslims. Their rejection of the established media apparatus (and its liberal-conservative elites) and its suspicion of state-censorship of news and media information, affects media discourses. Subsequent research is needed to take this trend into account and analyse the enactment of the patterns of Islamophobia on alternative platforms, so as to accomplish a more comprehensive and presumably more troublesome picture of Islamophobic tendencies in news coverage.

Concept	Categories	AT	DE	CH	US
Stereotypes and Prejudices	Perception of demographic threat	4	3	1	1
	Perception of backwardness	1	2	3	1
	Perception of oppression of women	5	8	5	2
	Perception of physical oppression of women	4	7	2	1
	Perception of crime threat	1	1	1	0
	Perception of violence threat	3	3	3	2
	Perception of radical Islam	3	5	8	3
	Perception of security threat and terrorism	7	8	9	10+
Anxieties	Fear of cultural deterioration	4	7	4	2
	Fear of social decline	1	1	2	0
	Fear of social segregation	3	3	4	1
	Fear of ideology and intolerance	4	4	3	3
	Fear of infiltration of Islam	3	2	2	2
Racialization	Racialization	3	2	4	6

Figure 1: National Prevalence of Islamophobic Varieties

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